



THE
MODERN PART
OF THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL WRITERS;
BY THE
AUTHORS of the *ANTIEN*T.

Which will perfect the WORK, and render it
A Complete Body of HISTORY,
FROM THE
EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the PRESENT.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν
ἐγκόπως.
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MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXI.

CHAP. III.

The Modern History of EGYPT.

SECT. I.

Containing some curious and necessary observations on the present state with respect to its natural history, by way of connecting it with its ancient.

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^a **W**E cannot more aptly begin the modern history of this once opulent and celebrated kingdom, than by connecting our former and subsequent account of it (so unlike, *The design of this section.* or rather vastly different from each other, that one would hardly imagine them to belong to the same country) by such curious and necessary remarks on its natural history, as may best lay open to our readers the springs and causes of so great a change, and at the same time clear up such other doubts and difficulties as might otherwise arise in their minds at the sight of so wide and apparent a contrast. And this method we the more readily proposed to ourselves, as it will, moreover, give us the wished-for opportunity of retracting and exploding some errors on that curious subject, in which we too hastily followed the far greater part of the ancients and moderns; as well as add some valuable and useful observations which had escaped us in the ancient part.

^b **W**HETHER the so much extolled fertility and populousness of *Egypt* hath or hath not been, in some measure at least, exaggerated by ancient writers, when they tell us that the former could not only supply so many millions of the latter with wheat and other grain more than sufficient, but send such vast quantities of it abroad^a, we will not pretend to decide. At present, when its inhabitants are scarcely the twentieth part so numerous, and every spot as much cultivated as then, it very rarely yields enough to support them, insomuch that they are forced to have recourse to other product for their sustenance; of which their bread is but a small part. Neither is it made, as anciently, of the finest wheat; but mostly, except among the great and rich, of barley or millet-flour; and this last of a larger and coarser kind, called by the ^c *Arabs* dowra; which commonly yields fifty for one; whereas wheat at the best seldom above ten, and some not five for one.

^a Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 176. & seq.

Whence the
greater or less
overflow of
the Nile.

Its water free
from mud.

ONE main cause of this, with respect to the greater or less product, but not sufficiently attended to, is, on the Nile's inundation, the north wind, which commonly blows more or less about that season, and makes a kind of bar across its several mouths, hinders the waters from flowing so swift and abundantly into the sea, as they are known to do when any other blows; which causes them to rise considerably higher. Whereas, as soon as the wind shifts from that point, they are observed to decrease as much in one day, as they did in four whilst it continued in it. The fertility, which its waters give to the lands, hath been ascribed to the great quantity of fat mud which they bring down with them, and is a kind of rich manure. But, at present, there is no such mud to be seen in them; for they continue clear from the very beginning of the inundation till they are risen above seventeen feet; at which time, being swelled higher in the chanel than usual, and running with greater rapidity, they bring with them a brownish sort of loam, which they wash off from the borders, and which gives them a reddish colour, with the thickness or consistency of milk; but is quite different from the clayish mud above-mentioned, from which they are quite exempt. This is demonstrable from the sediment which they leave behind in those vessels wherein they are commonly preserved; which being at first rubbed with a paste made of the powder of bitter almonds, whether to accelerate their subsiding, or to stop the pores, we are not told, when emptied exhibit nothing at the bottom but the above-mentioned reddish colour, without any mixture of other mud or earth. So that, upon the whole, that foul scurf, which those waters leave upon the land after they are drained away, seems to be nothing else than the sediment of their ferment; which, after a forty days stagnation, corruption, and other changes they have undergone during that sultry season, intermixed with a large quantity of nitrous and concreted salts, with which they are impregnated, prove a much better manure than any supposed quantity of mud.

THOUGH this were not the case, it will be next to impossible to imagine, how that river could yearly bring such vast and extensive supplies of that pretended fertilising mud, and the whole soil of *Ethiopia* (whence its torrents sweep it down in such prodigious quantities, as to supply *Egypt* not only with so many thousand annual strata of it, but lay the foundation of a future addition in the sea, to the distance of twenty leagues; for so far, we are told, is this mud found, by sounding, to extend *) not have been long since exhausted of it. As to what a later traveller tells us, that the mud which settles in the *Milchias* is commonly about five feet deep, he only gives it upon hearsay †; and, if true, may be no other than the sediment we have been speaking of, and not a real mud; but to proceed.

Soil of Egypt
short of its an-
cient fertility.

Many grievous
diseases.

ALL that hath been written likewise by ancient writers concerning the extraordinary fertility not only of the soil, but of the women and cattle, if not more exaggerated than real, is now so far forgot, and contradicted by common experience, whatever may be the cause of that great decay, that it is hardly credited either by the present inhabitants, or by those who have been the most diligent enquirers into that so much cried-up fecundity; there being now no such superior degree to be observed in their females of all kinds above that of other parts of *Africa*, *Asia*, or any other warm country. Neither doth the climate here answer the character which hath been given of it, either with respect to its pleasantness or healthiness: for we need no stronger proof than the many and grievous diseases which reign in it during the whole year. One of them, and that no inconsiderable one, is that which attacks the eyes of vast multitudes, with such violence as not to be repelled by any remedy; they who are affected with it seldom escaping the loss of their sight: which hath given occasion to some travellers of the faculty to style it the land of the blind (A).

* SHAW's observations on Egypt, p. 432. Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 419, & seq.

† Pocock's observations on Egypt, vol. i. p. 200.

^b See

(A) This, tho' chiefly said of *Grand Kayro*, and other great cities of *Egypt*, where scarce one half their inhabitants escape being affected with that disorder; yet is, in a less degree, applicable to the whole country; for which various authors assign different causes; as first; the great quantity of quick lime which is used in building and white-washing of their houses; the sublimer particles of which being loosed and carried about by the wind, sticking close to the eyes, cause inflammations there, which commonly end in an almost, if not total blindness; and, what is still worse, mixing with the mass of blood, cause the distemper, in some measure, to become hereditary; so that even infants are not exempt from it, but many of them seem to bring it with them into the world from the womb.

To this, *Sandis* and other travellers add the excessive

height and heat of the sun, reflected from a salt and sandy soil; their copious sweating, which, if not washed away by frequent bathing, shuts up the pores, infects the blood with prurigenous particles, and amongst the poorer sort especially, who are seldomer able to bathe, is still increased by the meanness of diet, and the brackishness of their water. All which must proportionally affect the eyes, being most tender and delicate; seeing it is not less detrimental to the other parts of the body, where it not only causes those grievous tumours already mentioned, but itch, scabs, and other scorbutic and leprous humours, to which they are all, in some degree, subject. To all this, some add their excessive proneness to venery, and other causes of the like kind, which are too obvious as well as nauseous to be mentioned (1).

(1) Vide *Theven. Sandis, Pocock, & al. sup. citat. Greenhill's art of embalming, let. ii. p. 163, & seq. Grang. voy. into Egypt, p. 21, & seq.*

- a THE next is a kind of pestilential fever, which rages from the vernal equinox to the next solstice, and carries off vast multitudes. The autumn is usually attended with grievous carbuncles, and other swellings in the knees and thighs; which seldom fail of dispatching a patient in two or three days. The small-pox, which rages mostly in the winter season, causes likewise a dreadful havoc among them: and during the whole time of the swelling of the Nile, the inhabitants are universally afflicted with the most stubborn dysenteries and bloody fluxes, occasioned by the great quantity of salts with which the waters of that river are then impregnated. The same may be said of the most refreshing winds, those northern ones which blow from April to September, that is, during the most sultry season of the year; and which, though they greatly contribute to allay the excessive, and otherwise intolerable heat, yet prove very dangerous to those who expose themselves to them, especially while in a sweat; for then they occasion the most excruciating pains in every part of the body, and often end in an incurable dead-palsy^c.

Autumn very unhealthy.
Cooling winds often dangerous.

- We omit some others, with which this country is afflicted in common with other neighbouring countries, such as the plague; which is the more prevailing in all countries where Mohammedism is professed, because they use no means either to prevent or remedy it, being firmly persuaded that they are not only vain and ineffectual, but contrary to their doctrine of predestination (B). It is seldom found to have its rise in Egypt through the putrefaction of the air, unless the waters of the Nile spread too far, and rise to too great a height, and occasion it by their long stagnation and the excessive heat of the season; but is commonly brought thither from Barbary, or from Greece and Syria; that from the former of which lasts much the longest, and is most violent; that from the latter much shorter and milder. But let either of them rage ever so severely, as it doth chiefly in the first summer months, yet it is always observed to cease at the sun's entrance into cancer, which is the time of the Nile's overflowing; from which scarcely one in ten thousand dies of it. The reason of which sudden change is owing to the wind's chopping about from the moist and sultry south, to the dry and refreshing north corner, which clears the air of all its infection.

Egyptians neglect all precautions against the plague.
Hence chiefly brought.

- THERE is another disease which the Egyptians are subject to, occasioned by their too frequent eating of beets, and other such olitories; which breed a viscous phlegm in the blood, and in time swell their legs to a monstrous bigness; which, though not painful to the persons so afflicted, doth yet render them unweildy and sluggish both in walking and business. But there is still one more dreadful disease in Egypt, and especially about the territory of Grand Kayro; which we must not omit, as it seldom fails of affecting the inhabitants once every year, and carrying off multitudes daily all the time it lasts. The Arabians call it *Dem al Muyab*, from the nature of its effects, it suddenly seizing on the brain like an apoplexy, and carrying off the patient almost as soon. About the same time children are usually seized with a malignant kind of pox, occasioned probably, like the other, by the infectious damps of the waters of the Keileg, which is a branch, or rather canal, cut from the Nile to Alexandria. Every year, when that river rises about eight or ten cubits, it falls into the canal, which runs quite through the city; and, on its relaxing, leaves the waters in a state of stagnation and corruption. They quickly turn green, then black, and at length exhale such pestilential streams as quite infect the air. Therefore, to prevent the children being destroyed by the poisonous stench above-mentioned, they are commonly removed, some time before the infection begins, to some remote and healthier habitations^d. If therefore these be the dire effects, upon young and old, of one single canal of stagnated water, what must they be through the whole space of the low country, which is all over infected with them. And yet this is that place which hath been most cried-up by the ancients for its amenity and healthiness. But we have said enough to shew, if their accounts were really true, and not exaggerated, how much it is altered since for the worse, not only in those respects, but likewise with regard to the so much boasted fecundity of its animals, and the product of its soil. All which, being but the unavoidable effects of that arbitrary go-

Drop y, whence occasioned.

Apoplexy in Grand Kayro, how occasioned.

Its dreadful effects.

The country unhealthy and poor.

^c Vide GRANGER's voy. to Egypt, anno 1730. THEVENOT's travels, part i. c. 80. Pocock's observations on Egypt, p. 95, & seq. ^d *Ibid.* *ibid.* Vide & MAILLET, let. 13. NORDEN, & al.

(B) We are indeed told, that the Turks at Constantinople, and some other parts of the Ottoman empire, have been prevailed upon, by the practice of European merchants settled amongst them, to use all proper precautions and means against that destructive distemper*. But the Egyptians, more tenacious of their prejudices, not only despise, but condemn all such wise precautions as vain and impious; and, in consequence, scorn to avoid infected persons or places, or even to wear the cloaths of those who have

died of that distemper: insomuch that their apparel, bed-furniture, and household goods, are immediately exposed to sale in the public markets by the common cryer, and bought up without fear of being infected by them. By which surprising obstinacy, the distemper hath often been so far propagated, that it hath carried off a much greater number of people; and in the city of Kayro hath, within the short space of six or seven months, been observed to have destroyed above five hundred thousand (2).

* *De hoc, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 678, & note (M).*
Maillet, & al. ubi sup.

(2) *Vide Greenhill's art of embalming, let. ii. p. 166.*

vernment they have so long groaned under, will be easily accounted for by taking a short view a of their present.

Crocodiles and sea-horses not to be seen below the cataracts.

BUT before we come to speak of that grand spring of these great changes, we shall beg leave to subjoin some others, no less curious, with respect to their animals. We have seen in the ancient part of this work, this kingdom infested with some of the most dangerous and destructive, not only to man and beast, but to the very product of the land : such as the crocodiles and sea-horses, which swarmed along the banks of the *Nile*, both in the *Lower* and *Upper Egypt* ; but which have been so effectually destroyed in the former, that there are rarely any to be seen of either kind below the cataracts ; or if, by chance, they are, the sight is as strange to them as it would be to an *European* *. The natives, as well as the *Arabs*, have proved equally industrious and diligent in finding means, at all hazards, to extirpate them in b this, though they suffer them, more through indolence than cowardice, to range and ravage in most other parts of *Africa*.

The ibis

starved out of it.

ON the other hand, the *Ibis*, anciently so numerous, and esteemed for the vast destruction they made among the whole serpentine species, are now become as rare and scarce for want of their proper food. They have been succeeded by a sort of inhabitants, known by the name of *Ophiophagi*, or serpent-eaters ; of whom our learned author tells us †, as he was informed, that there are above 40,000 at *Kayro*, and the adjacent villages, who live upon no other food than lizards and serpents ; upon which account they were allowed, among other peculiar privileges, the honour of attending more immediately the black embroidered hangings, which are yearly sent from thence to the kaaba at *Mecca* ; of which we shall speak more fully in the c sequel.

Succeeded by the stork.

To the *Ibis* hath since succeeded the stork, a bird scarcely known in that country ; but since then become so excessively numerous, that the same reverend author tells us, he observed three flights of them, in their passage from *Egypt* into *Syria*, as he lay at anchor at the foot of *Mount Carmel*, each of which took up more than three hours in passing by, and extended itself about half a mile ‡.

Now as numerous, and no less esteemed.

The stork is, moreover, held in great esteem and veneration, not only by the natives, but among the superstitious *Mohammedans*, who would deem it a horrid piece of prophaneness in any one either to hurt or molest, and much more to kill it. And this not barely on account of the great service it is of in destroying an infinite number and variety of noxious insects, which cover the face of the earth after the inundation is over, as well as swarm d on their lakes, ponds, and other stagnated waters and fenny lands ; but for the great share of conduct and prudence they display in their assembling, removing from, and settling in, divers parts of the world, at proper and regular seasons of the year : more particularly still, on account of some of their motions and peculiar gesticulations ; which they interpret as acts of religion and adoration of the Supreme Being (C), and on that surmise esteem him no less sacred than the ancient *Egyptians* did their *Ibis*.

Why deemed sacred by the Mohammedans.

BUT the greatest and most sensible changes that this country hath undergone, are those which have been occasioned by the tyranny of its various governments.

Tyrannical government.

No sooner was this kingdom freed from the long and severe tyranny of the *Mamluks*, than it was made to feel the weight of a still severer yoke under their *Othman* conquerors, and their more rapacious bashas, or governors under them. Whether *Selim*, under whose banners it was reduced, did himself lay the foundation of its present government, or whether his successors have made any considerable change, is what we neither dare assert, nor indeed is it very material with respect to our present point, its sensible decay in wealth, strength, populousness, and e

* SHAW'S observations on Egypt, p. 427.

† SHAW, ubi sup. p. 430.

‡ Id. ib.

(C) These gesticulations, tho' peculiar to that bird, and strange and singular enough to attract the attention of the beholder, could yet hardly raise such an extravagant notion in any but an enthusiastic *Mohammedan*, or half-crazed *Pythagorean*. They chiefly consist in its throwing back its head, as often as it alights on the ground, or returns to its nest ; and this they interpret as a posture or act of adoration : it next strikes its upper and lower bill together several times, like a pair of castanets ; and that noise is deemed as equivalent to a vocal prayer, or ejaculation, at least. Lastly, it bends its head down to the ground two or three times ; and that they judge a devout prostration.

The degree of rationality they ascribe to them, from their conduct and oeconomy in removing from country

to country, is not quite so absurd ; tho' it hath nothing in it but what is common to other birds, even down to the wild geese. They constantly resort upon such occasions ; for about a fortnight before their flight, from all circum-jacent parts, into some spacious plain, and there form themselves into a dewan, or grand council, as the people phrase it ; where they determine the exact time of their departure, and the place of their next abodes †.

Those that frequent the fens of *Barbary*, are observed to assemble three weeks before their flight, tho' they are supposed to come from *Egypt*, whither they also return a little after the autumnal equinox, when the *Nile* is returned within its usual banks, and the country in a condition to supply them with proper nourishment.

† Shaw's observations on Egypt, p. 428, & seq.

- a fertility. It is, however, more than probable, that the avarice and ambition of those bashas have gradually contributed to sink its condition from bad to worse, as it is the richest government the sultans have in their gift, and usually bestow it either on their greatest favourites, or on those who can bid most money for it ; who seldom, if ever, enter into it with any other view than to enrich themselves at the expence of the subjects, and never want means nor pretences for turning every thing to their advantage. Neither, indeed, can it turn out otherwise, considering that, lest the post hath been obtained by favour or bribery, it seldom costs them less than between 4 and 500,000 crowns before they can reach *Grand Kayro*, the usual place of their residence^c. Add to this, that their commission, being limited to one single year, if any of them obtain a prolongation of it, as some have to three or four, each year's hath been purchased at no less a price than 100,000 crowns and upwards, besides the usual yearly sum of 600,000 more, which he is bound to transmit to *Constantinople* at a vast expence ; the carriage from *Kayro* thither being very chargeable, and wholly to be defrayed by him. Besides that annual sum, which was called *Hafnab*, and must be paid in ready specie, he is obliged to furnish the seraglio with a certain quantity of provisions ; such as sugar, coffee, sherbet, rice, corn, and other commodities, which are computed to amount to very near the same sum. He is, moreover, obliged by his post to defray the whole charge of the grand pavilion, which the sultan sends yearly to *Mecca*, and to send thither with it 100,000 crowns for the entertainment of that city and mosk, and the like sum to *Damascus*, to defray the charges of the caravan which sets out from thence for *Arabia*. Over and above all these vast sums, and other commodities, which he is bound to convey out of *Egypt* at his own expence, he is likewise to pay all the forces of that kingdom (of which we shall give a full account in the sequel) out of the yearly and other accidental revenues thereof, with which he is invested in full by his commission ; by virtue whereof he enters into his government in the month of *September*, which is the first of the old *Coptic* year ; and if continued longer than one year, which is often the case, hath a fresh one transmitted to him from the *Porte* about the same time : but it is a favour which cannot be obtained without a considerable expence.

Avarice of the bashas, &c.

The vast charges of their post.

Yearly sum paid to the sultan,

to Mecca and Damascus.

Payment of all the forces.

- Now to give our readers an idea how a basha is enabled to support such vast annual disbursements, we should lay before them some kind of estimate of his yearly income : and here we are told by a proper judge, who resided a considerable time at *Kayro*, as consul of the *French* nation^f, that it might easily be made to amount to double the value of what he pays to the grand signor, exclusive of the maintenance of his forces, were it managed with suitable œconomy. This is more distinctly confirmed by a later author^g, who tells us, that the whole land-revenue of that kingdom amounts to 10,000 purses ; of which the basha pays only 1200 to the grand signor ; and that the rest goes to the payment of the army, the maintenance of the temple at *Mecca*, and other purposes already mentioned.

Great revenue ;

- BUT, adds the former of these authors, the most considerable part of it arises from the pestilence, which so frequently rages in that country ; inasmuch that, during the three or four months it commonly lasts, it brings him such a vast income, that one single day may be worth to him 2 or 300,000 crowns, by the deaths of those who are possessed of large villages ; for these lands, which, by the laws of the *Ottoman* empire, revert to the grand signor, do of course fall to the share of the basha, who is intitled to them by virtue of his commission, and frequently amount to immense sums ; especially as, by the rapid deaths with which the purchasers are often snatched away, one after another, he is enabled to sell the same estate to three or four different persons in one week, no land-purchase being longer than the life of the purchaser. But herein is the great misfortune, that the basha sells those lands to the highest bidder ; who, upon all such occasions, attend in great numbers, and usually outbid one another ; the consequence of which is, that, in order to make the most of their purchase, they farm them out at such high rates, that the poor tenants find it difficult to get a bare maintenance by them.

especially in time of pestilence.

Inherits the estates of the dead.

- F BESIDES the above-mentioned income arising from the cultivated lands, he hath likewise another considerable one arising from the farming of the customs, and several other crown-revenues, amounting commonly to 1440 purses ; of which he pays no more to the *Porte* than 800, and sinks the remainder into his own coffers. To all these we must add a variety of other privileges and perquisites belonging to those governors, which are too obvious to want mentioning ; and which are equally grievous to the common people, and no less contribute to the misery that rages among them ; at the same time enabling the *Egyptian* basha and his court to maintain that lustre and grandeur, which it enjoyed under its former monarchs.

THE basha of *Egypt* is obliged to have twenty-four beighs under him, and seven bodies of militia, without whose consent he cannot undertake any thing. But it seldom, if ever,

His assistant beighs and militia.

^c MAILLET, & al. ubi sup.^f MAIL. desc. de l'Egypte, let. 12. GRANGER, NORDEN, POCOCK, & al.^g GRANGER's voyage into Egypt, p. 231, & seq. ubi sup.

Their number
seldom com-
plete.

happens that the number of the former is complete ; their pay, which amounts to 500 aspers *a per diem*, and 1000 whenever they take the field, being a great temptation to him, who alone hath the nomination of them, to sink as much of it as he dares. So that that dignity is seldom purchased at a less price than between 20 and 30 purses ; each purse amounting to about 500 crowns.

Seven corps of
militia.

It is much the same with respect to the militia or land forces, which is seldom found to be above half its complement ; and with this only difference, that, in this last, the officers sink the rest into their own pockets, though not without making some suitable acknowledgement to the basha for winking at the deficiency. We hinted above, that these were divided into seven distinct bodies or classes, called by them ports ; two of which are infantry ; *viz.* the *Janissaries* and *Agars* ; the other five are cavalry, and distinguished by their different names *b* of *Jumeli*, *Tuffekhi*, *Charaksas*, *Matafarrakas*, and *Chiaus*. The complement of the *Janissaries* should consist of 20,000 ; that of the *Agars*, and the other five, of 20,000 more : but it is a question whether they amount to half that number ^h. The infantry is chiefly kept to guard the city and castle at *Kayr*, or *Kayro* ; the *Matafarrakas* are sent to garrison other maritime cities, as *Alexandria*, *Rosetta*, *Damietta*, and some other inferior ports. The rest of them are chiefly used as guards and attendants on the beighs, or governors of provinces ; and the *Chiaus* to be sent out upon any extraordinary parties, or occasional excursions, as the basha and his dewan shall think fit to order them (D).

Their offices.

The dewan, or
grand council.

THIS dewan is held twice, some say thrice, a week, at his palace at *Kayro* ; *viz.* on *Sunday*, *Tuesday*, and some add, *Thursday* ⁱ. Those beighs and officers of the militia are the constant attendants of the basha, unless sent on some public expedition or service of the state, and from his dewan or grand council. These are they who may be truly said to engross the whole power and authority, he not being allowed to undertake any thing without their consent. Yet as he hath the sole right to nominate them, and winks at those abuses by which they enrich themselves in their respective posts, his influence over them is usually sufficient to attach them to his interest, and agreement with his measures. If there be any among the agas, of the militia especially, who betrays an ambitious view of gaining a superiority over the rest, he is sure to be set up as a mark of their jealousy ; and though he may sometimes succeed, yet his reign seldom lasts longer than till his co-rivals have found means to form a stronger party against him, which will quickly bring him to a tragical end. A politic basha never fails of having a watchful eye *d* over these intestine feuds, and improving them to his own advantage ; not only as they add so much weight to his authority as they take off from that of the dewan, but much more so by the spoils of those who become the victims of such commotions ; for, being thereby declared traitors to the government, they usually forfeit their lives and estates to him. Thus, tho' his power be ever so limited and cramped by the constitution of that state, a wise governor never wants means to support and strengthen himself against the opposition and cabals of his dewan.

Their mutual
jealousies and
cabals.

^h GRANGER, MAILLET, NORDEN, & al. *ubi sup.* into Egypt, p. 227, & al.

ⁱ Confer. MAILLET, *ubi sup.* & GRANGER'S voyage

(D) It will not be improper to apprise our readers, that the consul above-named, who resided there about 30 years before our author's arrival, gives a different account of the *Egyptian* militia, both with respect to the number of their bodies, their offices, and some of their names ; from which we conclude, that the corps is like to change according to the pleasure of the *Porte*, or of the basha and his dewan.

In the next place, he names but five orders or bodies of it ; *viz.* 1. the *Mustapharagas* ; 2. the *Azaphs* ; 3. the *Spahis* ; 4. the *Bachasuchs* ; and 5. the *Janissaries*. The first of them, whom he styles the most noble, tho' the least useful and esteemed, have the basha at their head. They are, according to him, a kind of nobility, consisting partly of those of his household and some beighs, and partly of rich merchants, who, for some private reasons, are obliged to put themselves under his protection ; but, being for the most part undisciplined in the military art, are kept more for show than service.

The second corps, which is the *Azaphs*, are infantry, not unlike that of the *Janissaries*, and also quite independent on the basha ; but are ever opposite and irreconcilable enemies to each other.

The *Spahis* are the next corps of cavalry to the *Musta-*

pharagas : they are divided into three banners ; *viz.* the green, the yellow, and the red ; each consisting, or should consist, of 1000 men, and each of them bearing the like ill-will both to the *Janissaries* and *Azaphs*.

The fourth corps, which our author calls *Bachasuchs*, is a small body of infantry, not exceeding 500 men, and governed much like that of the *Janissaries*, if it may not be rather looked upon as part of their body, as it includes much the same number of widows, whose husbands have died in the service.

The fifth and last corps, according to this author, tho' in itself the most considerable and powerful that the *Porte* maintains in this kingdom, is that of the *Janissaries* ; which consists of six or eight thousand effective men, besides almost an equal number of supernumerary ones, being chiefly merchants, tradesmen, and other natives, who enlist themselves among them merely for the sake of protection, and to be admitted to the same privileges and immunities which that corps enjoys ; but the pay of this last sort of *Janissaries* is commonly swallowed up by the former, who are looked upon as the true ones ; and when the former are summoned to the wars, or any of them die, a great part of their effects is seized upon by, and shared among, the latter. Thus far this author (4).

(4) Letter 9, *ubi sup.*

- ^a THIS grand council sits in a spacious and magnificent hall, which hath a most noble square or court before it, where the members of it parade with all their retinue, and make such a splendid appearance, not only by the vast number of their servants and horses, richly dressed and caparisoned, and glittering with gold, silver, and precious stones, but it is affirmed, by those who have seen both, to exceed even that of the grand signor in his metropolis. And it is upon that account, we are told, that soltan *Selim*, who subdued that kingdom, having held his dewan at this city of *Kayro*, and in the stately hall of the royal palace of the *Egyptian* monarchs, forbad the then basha and all his successors to meet any more in that magnificent apartment, lest the sight of so much grandeur and opulence, joined to the splendid appearance of their dewan, should inspire them with a desire of shaking off their loyalty to the *Porte*, and of making themselves absolute masters of *Egypt*. So that this hall, where the dewan now meets, is quite different from that of the ancient *Egyptian* kings; and, excepting its extraordinary largeness and spacious court lately mentioned, is almost destitute of every other ornament, there being nothing in it worth observation but only seven deal planks, each about half an inch thick, and closely fastened together by an arrow which that soltan shot quite thro' them. These are kept suspended over the place where the basha sits, as a monument of that prince's superior strength (E). *The hall where they sit.*
Grand appearance.
Forbid to sit in the ancient hall.
A monument of Selim's prodigious strength.
- ^b BESIDES the vast revenues and privileges already mentioned, appertaining to the basha, his beighs, and military officers, they have found out many other ways of enriching themselves by various other oppressions of the people, especially of the richer sort, whom, by some artifice or other, they either enlist, or pretend to have enlisted, under some one of their bodies; by which they fleece them while alive, and seize on the better part of their effects after their death; the basha conniving at all those abuses, either as a sharer in the spoil, or out of fear of obliging such a powerful body by discountenancing or suppressing them.
- ^c THEY carry this arbitrary proceeding as far as *Upper Egypt*, and among the *Arabian* cheyks, or chiefs, from whom they extort the most exorbitant contributions, under the specious name of tribute for living under their protection; by which pretended title they likewise claim the largest share of their estate when they die, and divide the rest among the children or relations of the deceased, according to their own discretion. This last kind of oppression is a privilege properly belonging to the corps of the *Janissaries*; which their griping officers have found means to usurp within these fifty or sixty years, in spite of the wise regulations of soltan *Selim*, that excluded every kind of military corps from possessing any lands; so that they have by this time got the far greater part of them into their hands by main force, and are in a likely way of becoming masters of all the rest. Moreover, we are told, these *Janissaries* are so bent upon this point, that they keep an exact roll of the various states, trades, and occupations in the kingdom; of all the rich and poor; of the various ways by which they have hitherto extorted many sums from them; and are ever concerting new ones to complete their purpose. What adds to the wonder is, that the *Othman Porte*, though fully apprised of it, doth not take any care to suppress an abuse, which may some time or other end in the total loss of that rich province ^m.
- ^d THESE extortions fall equally on the *Europeans* and other trading nations that are amongst them; and these *Janissaries* are never at a loss for a pretence to quarrel with them, sometimes about their dress, at others about their behaviour, as not paying a due respect, or for admitting some of the *Mohammedan* women into their quarters by night, and such other pretexts, whether real or false, in order to extort money from them; there being no other way to avoid their resentment than by a quick submission, and some answerable atonement, as speedy as valuable, according to one of their favourite adages, that *the egg of to-day is preferable to the chicken of to-morrow*. But, of all nations, that of the *Jews* is most hated, despised, and oppressed by this tyrannic government, though so numerous and so highly encouraged in all the
- ^e

^m MAILLET, & al. ubi sup.

(E) It is added, as a farther proof of it, that the arrow of the strongest of those, who shot with him at that time, penetrated no farther than the third board, though he was famed for the prodigious strength of his arm. But might he not, adds our author (5), be glad to slacken it upon this occasion, in order to ingratiate himself to his master, or out of fear, lest aiming imprudently at the victory it should have a contrary effect. However that be, the shooting thro' such a vast number of boards, of

which, he says, the first was of deal, but does not tell us what the rest were of, would still be a sufficient proof of that monarch's extraordinary strength, though any of the rest had done the same (6).

Dr. *Pocock* mentions likewise some leathern shields shewn here, above half an inch thick, and pierced by soltan *Amurat* with several spears; which he ordered still to remain in them (7).

(5) Maillet, & al. ubi sup.

(6) Maillet, ubi sup.

(7) *Observations on Egypt*, p. 33.

other *Turkish* dominions ; and we may add in this kingdom too, where they were once very a numerous, rich, and employed in some of the most important posts of the state ; but now, by this new set of oppressors, dwindled to a very considerable number, except at *Kayro*, and reduced to the lowest poverty ; but of this we have had occasion to speak in a former volume. This much may suffice to give our readers an idea of the tyranny and iniquity of the present *Egyptian* government (F), as well as the extreme indigence and misery of those who live under it.

The people
often ravaged
by the Arabs.

Splendid equi-
page of the
beighs.

How they
avoid the
basha's anger.

THOSE who live in the upper provinces of the kingdom may be said to be still more miserable, being not only equally oppressed by their voracious governors, but frequently exposed to the inroads and dreadful ravages of the *Arabian* cheyks ; who, by way of reprisal for the hardships they suffer from these petty tyrants, watch all opportunities to pour down upon the poor villagers with their numerous adouars, and carry all before them that comes in their way. It is true the beighs, who have the government of these provinces, are obliged to entertain a certain number of forces to suppress those freebooters ; but, as we lately observed, the number of the beighs, and much more that of their forces, is never complete ; nor are the latter kept in such a condition, and under sufficient discipline, to repel them, especially as their incursions are ever sudden, fierce, and desperate against all opposition : whilst, perhaps, those beighs, whose business and duty it is to curb and oppose the invaders, are parading it at *Kayro*, in such splendid equipages as would by far eclipse those of many of our *European* princes (G). If any such disasters happen to any of those beighs as the ravaging a province or canton, through his neglect of keeping a sufficient force against the *Arabs*, the basha hath power to punish him c with the loss of his place, with fine or confiscation of his goods, and even with death. The same he may do in case of any male-administration, other default, or even on any mere pretended one, and with no other view than to seize on their wealth : there have been instances of all these severities, tho' but seldom of late years. They are, properly speaking, little better than farmers of the lands which are in their respective provinces, and for which they are to pay a proportionable sum to the government ; but have found out an essential way to screen them-

(F) It will not, however, be improper to subjoin here, as a farther proof of what goes before, the abuse and corruption which gradually crept into the method of paying this militia, especially the corps of the *Janissaries* ; which is such as is hardly to be matched in any government we know, or have read of.

The stated stipend of every private man is three pence *per diem*, which is paid to them every three months by their respective treasurer, at the castle of *Kayro*. But every one of them is intitled to an augmentation of one or more pence by paying a certain sum, not indeed proportionate to the augmentation, but such as returns whole to him within the space of three years ; so that a monied man can get his pay increased from three or four, to ten, twenty, or an hundred pence *per diem*, according to the sum advanced, and which is as regularly paid as that of the lowest rate. The basha is the person who receives the sum, by way of security ; and, having received the principal, often leaves the interest to be paid by his successors. The worst of it is, that this high pay is continued after the death of the person who is intitled to it, and another of a lower pay is put in his room, tho' without receiving any advantage from it, the basha and officers sinking the rest into their pockets, to the impairment of the imperial revenue ; which, however, the sultans seldom fail of obliging them to refund in a great measure, by the frequent and large demands they make upon them, and which they are obliged to comply with, to avoid the loss of their all, if not of their lives (8).

(G) We have already hinted something of the superb appearance the beighs and militia officers make at the basha's court ; but, lest the reader should think that last expression exaggerated, we shall here subjoin a short description of the pompous equipages they commonly appear in, from one or two eye-witnesses, even upon the most trifling occasion ; such as their shewing themselves upon the public walks of the city, or on their weekly attendance at the dewan on the appointed days. Imagine then,

says one of our authors, one of these grandees, most magnificently dressed, and mounted on a stately horse, adorned with variety of gold and silver embroidery, and other rich embellishments, followed by thirty or forty beautiful youths, no less superbly mounted and accoutred, marching with all the grandeur and dignity peculiar to the *Turkish* nation, and this will give you an idea of their pride and gallantry.

But this is still inconsiderable in comparison to the appearance of the chief beigh, who hath the command of the *Mecca* caravan, and seldom appears on public days without a retinue of three hundred men, as sumptuously habited, and mounted on some of the finest horses in the country, covered all over with the richest trappings and housings, reaching to the ground, and adorned with costly embroidery ; the meanest of which are valued at 200, but some of them at above 500 crowns.

It must be owned that Mr. *Norden* hath, in one note, taken upon him to censure this account as extravagant ; but without producing either authority or reason to the contrary, tho' confirmed by other writers. Whoever reads his censure on the same author, and compares the account he has given of *Pompey's* pillar with his own (vol. i. p. 16, &c. *al.*) will find little cause for his severe remarks, but a pregnant instance of that spirit which too often prevails among gentlemen of his profession, and seldom fails to give a check to the pleasure, as well as the benefit, one might otherwise reap in reading of them.

But here it must be observed, that the height of their pride is mostly confined to such splendid equipages. They are much more frugal in the furniture of their houses, if we except the apartments of their women, which they spare no cost to adorn with every thing that is rich and delightful ; but, as to their own, they are less careful about their furniture, being uncertain how long they may continue in their posts, after which it all goes to the next successor (9).

(8) *Maillet, ubi sup.* 9 & 12.

(9) *Maillet, Granger, &c. al. sup. citat.*

- a. selves from such punishments, by putting themselves under the protection either of the *Janissaries*, *Azaps*, or *Spahis*, or even, to be still more secure, of all these three bodies; which is no difficult thing to obtain, provided the delinquent, whether really or pretendedly, be but rich enough to bribe his protectors to espouse his cause: for it is not to be supposed, that any of them will do so merely from a principle of justice or equity. In that case, a basha who hath no authority over them, but rather every thing to fear from their resentment, sees himself obliged to give up his views, and to drop the prosecution, be the accused ever so guilty; unless he can, by the same method of bribery, or by fomenting some dissension amongst them, secure a majority on his side; which last is the surest engine he hath to play against their cabals, in all emergencies of that nature.
- b. ANOTHER show of grandeur, which not only these beighs and militia officers, but all the opulent and wealthy, generally affect, is to have a vast number of slaves of both sexes, and in this respect they are to the full as lavish as in their other retinue; insomuch that there are some of them, whose number and value amount to 20 or 30,000 crowns; which is the more to be wondered at, because the plague, which so frequently rages there, seldom fails of carrying off one third or more of them, and by that means raises the price of them to such a height, that their loss cannot be repaired but at a prodigious expence. And as that distemper commonly makes a much greater havock amongst them in proportion, than amongst their masters, it often happens that one master lives long enough to see three or four hundred slaves drop into their graves before he dies. Another thing that enhances the price of them is, the great quantities which every basha is obliged to send yearly into *Turky*, both to the *Porte* and to all his friends at court. If it be asked how they are supplied with such vast quantities of them? we answer, that the inland parts of *Africa* are an inexhaustible source, and have actually, for these two or three centuries last past, furnished not only *Egypt*, but *Asia* and *America*, with myriads of them yearly, as we shall have farther occasion to shew in the sequel of this *African* history. And as they come from very different parts, so are they of different complexions, tempers, and qualities; some are white, others tawny or brown olive, and others almost white, who would in all likelihood be more esteemed for their rarity, were it not for the disadvantage they have above the rest of losing their whiteness through the heat of the climate: but this is not the case of the females, who are less exposed to the weather, and therefore are most esteemed, by the *Egyptians* and *Turks*, and those who are brought from *Abissinia*, on account of their charming eyes, regular features, and fine shape (H).
- c. THE last instance of grandeur, which the *Egyptians* of rank and wealth affect, is to have a stately burying-place, or burying-place, peculiar to their family, surrounded with a stately wall, and adorned, if not with imagery, yet with grand monuments, pavilions, pompous inscriptions, and other decorations; which yield a noble vista at a distance. They are, moreover, divided into partitions; one of which is for the males, another for the females, belonging to the family, and the rest for the domestics. But in no case doth the structure of these sepulchral, or any other of their finest edifices, come up to the ancient architecture for which this country was once so justly famed; the most celebrated of which we have given an account of in a former part of this work*. Their taste for that and other arts seems now as much absorbed, as if these noble and ancient monuments, which have ever been, and are still, the admiration of the world, had all been buried as deep under the sands and dust (as a great part of them actually are) as the vast *Colossian* sphinx formerly described, of which nothing now is to be seen but the head and neck¹; and many other stately temples and structures, of which nothing is to be seen but the roof, must be digged down to some of the windows, in order to get into and view the inside^m. And yet there is a sufficient number left every where, still visible and entire, to have preserved their taste for that noble art, had not the decay of its ancient

* See *Anc. Hist.* vol. i. p. 193, & seq. ad fin. 1. See *ibid.* p. 183, & seq. Vid. & Pocock, p. 44, & seq. NORDEN, vol. i. p. 121, & seq. & al. m *Ibid.* Vide & MAILLET, ubi sup. GRANGER'S voyage into Egypt, ch. iv. & seq.

(H) Some add, for the sweetness of their temper, they being wholly free from that sullenness which is natural to the blacks; some of whom will carry it to such a height as to starve themselves to death to vex their masters. The former, therefore, are more commonly chosen of either sex, but especially the males, to make presents to a basha, beigh, or great officer, and seldom fail of meeting with a gracious reception, and suitable return.

We are told farther, that the *Christians* and *Jews* are

not permitted to have any slaves, except of the negro kind; and even those they do not suffer them to send or take away with them out of the kingdom, lest they should oblige them to change their religion; tho' the greater part of those, which belong to the *Jews*, have been already induced by their masters to do so, and privately profess *Judaism*; but whether sincerely or out of policy is the question (7).

(7) Maillet, &c. ubi sup.

fertility and populousness, the extreme misery which the people are reduced to by the tyrannical government of so many new masters, as the *Saracens*, *Mamluks*, and now, more than ever, the *Turks*, so totally destroyed it, that those, who have been eye-witnesses of it, could hardly conceive how it was possible for such a nation so totally to degenerate into the opposite extreme of rudeness and stupid ignorance. If any faint remains of ancient ingenuity are still found amongst them, it is chiefly in the construction of their stair-cases, especially of the winding kind; which are pretty numerous, and requisite in the womens apartments, and which they carry on with great skill and nicety, as well as ease and speed. And this, we are told, is chiefly owing to an excellent sort of cement, or mortar, mixed with quick lime; which makes it whiter and more durable, quick in drying, and, when fully so, grows as hard, or even harder than the stone it binds: so that they can rear, our author assures us, such a stair-case without scaffold, by laying one step upon another; which is immediately dry enough for them to stand upon and place the next, and so on to the top.^a If it be true, how far might such a cement be improved in the rearing of other kinds of structures? but the *Egyptians*, it seems, are too indolent and stupid to aim at improvements, as well as too stubborn to be directed to them.

Wretched painting and gilding.

Writing with liquid gold.

General decay of trade and handicrafts.

Weaving manufacture.

THEIR painting is still more rude, whether in oil or water colours, and may be more properly called a dawbing, without taste, keeping, or any of that masculine and beautiful coloris, which is still to be seen in some of their ancient paintings that yet remain. Their gilding comes likewise infinitely short of that brilliancy, which, in their old ones, appears still as if newly laid on. They have, moreover, lost the art of burnishing the gold: for want of which every thing they do of that kind is rude and lifeless. The only curious branch of this kind they have preserved, is that of dissolving their gold to the liquidity of ink, and writing not only letters and books with it, but intermixing it with their paintings; which appears very beautiful, and preserves its lustre: but this is no secret peculiar to them; for we see it among the *Persians* and *Indians* in the same perfection.

IT would be needless, in a work like this, to descend to their other arts, trades, and manufactures, in all which one may observe the same visible decay of the genius and elegance for which that country was once so justly famed; nevertheless we shall, for the sake of the curious, subjoin in the margin a small scantling of them (I), by which they may frame an idea of the sad effects of tyrannic government, and how destructive it is to every thing that is conducive to the grandeur and happiness of a nation, and how soon, as well as naturally, it sinks it into the lowest degree of indolence and misery.^b

THE only manufacture, therefore, amongst them, worth mentioning, is the weaving, and is chiefly reducible to three branches; viz. the filken, linen, and woollen. With regard to the first, their raw silk is brought from *Syria* to *Damiata*, and is woven into large handkerchiefs or veils for the women; and a very rich sort of them is worked with gold, and flowered with several colours, to throw over such presents as they send from one to the other; some are made into cushions, sofas, and most of them very costly. Besides these, they have a considerable manufacture of several sorts of sattins and taffatees, in imitation of those which are brought from *India*, but vastly short of them in beauty and goodness.^c They weave likewise some other sorts of silks, and even velvets, but all vastly inferior to those of *India* and *Europe*,^d

^a MAILLET, ubi sup. p. 13.

^b Id. ib.

^c Pocock, ubi sup. p. 174.

(I) Thus, for instance, we are told, that a joiner sits, instead of standing to his work, the ground serving him for a bench, and his feet in place of a hold-fast to keep his work tight. His tools are a wretched plane, an ax, and two or three chissels. They have no notion of the lathe or wheel for turning, nor of squares, compasses, gauges, and a vast number of other instruments in use amongst us; without the help of which their work must come clumsy and rude out of their hands. But this is a defect, which, we shall shew in the sequel, is common to every part of *Africa*, except where the *Europeans* are settled, and have shewn them a better method: tho', even there, it is with great difficulty that they will be prevailed upon to improve by their example and instructions, or to exchange their old rude and laborious way for a better.

Of the metallic manufactures they are still more ignorant; and, except some knives, scissars, razors, and such-like, which are wrought amongst them, and owe their

value more to the goodness of the metal, than the ingenuity of the workmen, most of their commodities of that sort come to them from *Europe*, by the way of *Venice* and *Constantinople*.

That of glass, of old so admired for its transparency, beauty, variety of colours, and useful works, is now dwindled into the making of some oil-lamps, and coarse bottles for brandy and other such liquors; nor indeed is it possible for them to come at a greater perfection for want of proper fuel: for tho' they have all other necessary ingredients in plenty, yet having no other firing than that of straw, which is not strong enough to give them a thorough fusion, the metal must of course come out of a foul and disagreeable colour. The truth is, the better sort of it is little in use amongst them, either for drinking, glazing of windows, or other such uses. So that looking-glasses, and these commonly of the small kind, and beads of all colours, are in vogue, and brought likewise to them from *Venice* and other parts of *Europe* (8).

(8) Maillet, & al. ubi sup.

a as well as to those which their own country produced. The same may be said of their cotton *Cotten and* and linen, though they have both in great plenty and goodness; particularly their flax which *woollen.* grows in the *Deltba*. They have not the use of the wheel, but spin all with a distaff and spindle; which is a more tedious, as well as coarse way. The chief manufacture of it is at *Rosetto*, where they weave variety of linen, mostly striped, and used about their beds as a fence against the gnats (K). But the very best linen in the whole country is that which is made at *Mabal'a* in the *Deltba*, and at *Damiata*; it is mostly plain, and well woven, though not fine, and is used for the table; but there is a dearer sort, which is striped, with a silk border^a, for those of higher rank.

ALL their woollen manufacture consists only of an unnapped sort of carpets, used mostly for the seats of the dowans, or for sophas, and are woven with broad stripes of different colours, with little variety of any other kind.

THE only handicraft in which they excel, is the mounting of their hand-guns, and in pre-paring and shaping of the wood; in which great numbers are continually employed. The chief advantage of which, we are told, consists in the use of a peculiar plane, the under part of which is of well-tempered steel, about two inches thick. This much may suffice to shew the melancholy decay of their arts and manufactures, and the sad causes to which it was owing: and if these so necessary and useful branches of knowledge could be thus liable to so surprising a change, what devastation may we judge the same cause must have produced amongst the more liberal and intellectual ones, and the whole circle of those sciences for which this kingdom was once so justly celebrated^c, and looked upon by the rest of the world as the original source from whence they flowed unto them; especially from that fatal period which reduced it under the yoke of a succession of ignorant and barbarous tyrants, who took as much pride in eliminating the very memory and all the venerable and valuable monuments of them, as their natural princes had done in cherishing and promoting them. By these tyrants, however, we are far from meaning either the *Romans*, under whose government, though degenerated and vitiated in their taste for them, they yet maintained themselves in a flourishing condition: nor much less can we mean the *Arabs*, by whom they were next subdued, and especially the *Fatemite* khalifs^d, who both loved and encouraged them, and will be ever remembered with honour for that vast and noble repository of books, which they caused to be brought from all parts at a vast expence, and set up in their capital; of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the sequel. The devastation we mean was that which *Salah'd-din*, the first introducer of the *Mamluks* into *Egypt*, caused to be made of that noble library; which, *Makrifi* tells us, consisted of above 100,000 volumes, collected from several other parts of *Africa*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Greece*, *Spain*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and other countries of *Egypt* and *Asia*, and from some of the most celebrated universities and monasteries of these countries, the greatest part of them transcribed in letters of gold; a collection of the whole was looked upon as an inestimable treasure, till that ignorant and superstitious prince, before-mentioned, became the possessor of it, and, by the havock he made of those noble monuments, introduced that ignorance and barbarism, which have reigned in it ever since, both under the *Mamluk* usurpation, and since its conquest by the *Turks*. It is true, that a vast number of them were preserved from the flames, by the ignorance and avarice of the minister who was the chief judge and executioner of the sultan's orders; and if we may give credit to *Makrifi*, above-mentioned, instead of saving only those which treated of *Mohammedism*, and of the conquests of the *Mohammedan* princes, he luckily preserved those only which were the best written and most richly adorned, as these would fetch the most money; by which means they not only escaped the fire, but were bought at a vast expence by the great ones of the court, to adorn their own libraries, or those of their principal mosks. But even these, in time, became neglected, through the sordid ignorance or want of taste in those who had the care of them; for they looked upon them either as unintelligible, or not sufficiently interesting to set a due value upon them. Add to this, that, since the reduction of *Egypt* by sultan *Selim*, the bashas and other officers of the *Porte* have been ordered to search out for the most valuable and curious books of every kind, in order to get them conveyed to *Constantinople*. How, therefore, should there be any learning, or learned men, in a country that hath been stripped of all its valuable books of every kind, and under a government which hath, for above these two centuries

^a Pocock, ubi sup. p. 174.
512, & seq.

^c See Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 217, & seq.

^d De his, vide sup. vol. i. p.

(K) This sort is likewise made at *Kayro* and *Farumc*; at the latter of which places is also made a great quantity of sack-cloth, which is conveyed to the former. There is likewise a considerable manufacture of linen at *Sciout*, in *Upper Egypt*, and in some other places, for sheeting and other uses; which we need not dwell upon (9).

(9) Pocock's observations on Egypt, p. 174.

past, taken the most effectual means to discourage both the one and the other; so that we may date the decay of both from the fatal period in which this kingdom passed from the dominion of the noble *Fatemite* khalifs to the tyrannical usurpation of the rude and barbarous *Mamluks*: that of the *Turks* since having rather added to than remedied the evil^a.

Decay of military discipline.

ONE might, however, imagine that *Selim*, who first subdued it from the former, and settled it into a form of military government, under which it hath continued ever since, might have proved a means, how destructive soever to the liberal arts and sciences, of improving its military ones. But from what we have already said of the present state of the militia here, and the abuses which the officers of it have, by degrees, introduced into it, partly with the connivance of the basha, and much more by the power they have usurped over him, even this branch is sunk into as low an ebb as any of the rest, though formerly reckoned the best in the *Othman* empire. And the only benefit which the subjects may be said to have reaped from it, if it be any, is that of their being freed from the plague of long and vexatious suits, and the iniquitous practices of their cadis, and other courts of justice; the decision of all such controversies being wholly referred to the beighs and other militia officers, who command in the cities and provinces; whose sentence is commonly decisive, without appeal; and though, for the most part, in favour of the party that bribes highest, is at least prompt and free from these troublesome and expensive delays that usually attend most of the *European* ones.

Form of government, how settled by Selim.

THE truth is, that that conqueror, having once reduced this kingdom, and totally suppressed the power of the *Mamluks*, was naturally induced to settle the government of it and its militia upon the same footing as it had been in *Turky* by his predecessors; and accordingly fixed it upon a certain number of men, who were to be raised mostly out of that country, and only intermixed with some others drawn out of different provinces of his empire, together with some of his *Turks* who had lived some time in *Egypt*, and were best acquainted with it; and these he reduced into seven bodies or ports, and allotted to each their respective offices and posts, as hath been already mentioned. As for a naval force, he did not think it necessary, or perhaps convenient, to maintain one there, nor have any of his successors; but have nevertheless been able to keep that country in subjection by the sole help of their militia, dispersed, as we have already observed, through the several parts of it, and in their respective castles or garrisons.

Egypt maintained no naval force.

Its castles and garrisons, how governed.

THE most considerable of these are as follow; 1. at *Kayro*; 2. *Rosetto*; 3. *Alexandria*; 4. *Damiata*; 5. the *Labyrinth*; 6. *Adjeroute*; and two or three more of less consequence; the greatest part of which are ill kept, and worse garrisoned, since *Selim* ruined all that were in a condition to defend themselves. All these have their respective garrisons, consisting of *Janissaries*, or *Azaphs*, commanded by a beigh or other military officer, whose post gives him the title of aga. They have their subalterns under them, called *Schorbassis*, with whom they form the dewan. Their power, however, extends no farther than the fortress they command, though they seldom fail of stretching it beyond these limits, whenever they have an opportunity of enriching themselves by intermeddling in any affairs in their neighbourhood; where, as we have lately observed, they set up for judges, without appeal, and commonly decide in favour of the highest bidder: though if the other party hath friends powerful enough, which is sometimes the case, he may bring his cause before a higher tribunal, and be able not only to obtain not only a reversion, but be a means of punishing the unrighteous judge.

As to what regards the castles above-mentioned, it will not be expected that we should, in a work like this, enter into a description of them, which hath been so fully done by so many hands^b; and we hope it will be sufficient for our present purpose to give our readers some idea of their strength and garrisons, in order to shew with how small a force the *Turkish* emperors have been able to keep this once potent kingdom under their subjection and oppressive government.

City and castle of Kayro.

THAT of *Kayro*, which is now the metropolis of the kingdom, the residence of the basha and dewan, was once a spacious strong structure, but since gone to decay. It stands on a rocky hill, which seems to have been separated by art from the hill or mount *Gebel Dâwîse*, and is surrounded by a stout high wall; but is commanded by a higher hill on the north-east, and can, therefore, be a place of no strength since the invention of cannon, whatever it might be before. On the west side are still the remains of very grand apartments, some covered with domes, and adorned with *Mosaic* pictures of trees and houses, that doubtless belonged to the ancient sultans; but this part of the castle is now only used for weaving, embroidering, and preparing, the hangings or coverings that are sent yearly to *Mecca*. What strength and quantity of artillery this castle contains is not known, admittance into it being denied to all *Europeans*. However, we may suppose it hath a sufficiency of every thing to keep that vast and populous city in awe. The *Janissaries* are the chief guards of it, and of the town. *Old*

Garrisoned by Janissaries.

^a MAILLET, & al. sup. citat.

^b Vid. POCOCK, NORDEN, & al. sup. citat.

- a *Kayro* is also guarded by another corps of them, under a beigh who resides there, and, we are told, is changed every month; whilst the *Azaphs* guard the country about it^x. Another ^{and other} officer, stiled valla, answering to the *Turkish* soubasha, patrols through the city night and ^{officers,} day, but especially in the night. His business is to take up all loose and idle persons, all breakers of the peace, thieves, drunken and disorderly people; and, in some flagrant cases, ^{who abuse} he cuts off their heads upon the spot, or causes them to be bastonaded and imprisoned, according to the nature of the offence or offender: for if it be one of those who put themselves under the protection of the *Janissaries*, or other military bodies, he comes off much cheaper, is punished in private, and not on the spot. This officer, who is, or should be, the terror of rogues, is frequently prevailed upon, by some proper present, to become their protector; without which they must suffer immediate death. He is, moreover, the person to whom great men apply to have any offender delivered up, and they are sure of having him given up accordingly. There is another officer, called metelib, who hath the care of all weights and measures, and to see that all things be done according to them^y. We may, however, wonder upon the whole, considering the general corruption which rages in this vast populous city, from the basha, or governor, down to the lowest of his officers, the power and insolence of the *Janissaries* and other military bodies, the prodigious number of inhabitants, both natives and foreigners, which swarm in it (L), and the vast commerce that is carried on there, that the people in general live so quietly and peaceably as they are said to do. But it must be remembered, that the natives are kept under by main fear, and the others by mean policy: the former knowing, and for the most part feelingly, the severity of the government they live under, become by degrees so accustomed to the yoke, that they naturally chuse to submit to it, rather than incur a worse fate: the latter, by being timely admonished of the most effectual means to avoid giving any umbrage or handle to those in power, or any occasion to a *Turk* to quarrel with him, may chance to live quiet enough and unmolested among them. But if through passion, inadvertency, or even in spite of all his caution and resolution to avoid either, he has incurred their censure, there is still an expedient at hand to bring him off; viz. by submission, and an equivalent present to the affront or injury, whether pretended or real^z.

- It is now time for us to give our readers a short account of what is most worth their observation in this vast and opulent metropolis. It is commonly known to the *Europeans* by the ^{Cairo, or} name of *Cairo*, *Kayro*, and *Grand Kayro*; and to the natives by that of *Kabirah*, or *Al Ka-* ^{Grand Kayro} *berah*, from the name of the planet *Mars*, stiled by the *Arabs*, *Caber* or *Kaber*, the victorious, ^{described.} under whose influence the great conqueror of *Egypt*, *Giaffar*, or *Jawbar*, general of *Moz-* ^{Whence so} *Ledin'illah*, the first khalif of the *Fatemite* race in *Egypt*, did lay the foundation of it; in ^{called.} which, we are told, he took the advice of the ablest astrologers and horoscope-mongers, as was usual among the *Arabs*; and, from the assent of that warlike planet, called his new city *Al Kaberah*, or victorious, which the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, the earliest *European* traders into

^x Pocock, ubi sup. lib. iv. c. 2. ad fin.

^y Id. ibid. Vide & MAILLET, NORDEN, & al. sup. citat.

^z Pocock, l. i. c. 4. NORDEN, MALLEY, GRANGER, & al.

(L) Which, if not exaggerated, amount to about two millions, and is computed from the number of people that die in the time of the plague, which is positively affirmed to have amounted to 7000 in one day; whereof they pretend to make an exact computation by the number of biers that are let out to carry them to the burying-places (10). However that be, the city is, by all writers and travellers, allowed to be very full of people of a mixture of nations, such as original *Egyptians*; among whom are comprehended the *Coptic* Christians, *Arabians*, people of *Barbary* and other western parts of *Africa*, *Berberines* from *Nubia*, great numbers of their men coming hither to offer themselves as servants. These last are *Mollotas*, and keep a kind of government among themselves, under a cheyk, or head, to whom all the new-comers apply to be recommended to places; and, if in need, to supply them with money out of the public purse, when out of service through sickness, or any other accident; which money, when able, they are bound to refund.

Besides the nations already mentioned, here are also *Turkomen*, who are either sent hither from *Constantinople*, or brought by the bashas, and settle themselves there. A much greater number, if not the greatest part of its in-

habitants, are supposed to be of the *Mamluk* race; who obtained and held the government of *Egypt* 200 years, and of whom we shall give a farther account in its proper place. To these we may add the *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and *Jews*; and, among the *Europeans* settled there, the *English*, *French*, *Italians* from *Venice* and *Leghorn*, and a small number of monks of different orders, who have their several convents, and are protected by the *English* and *French* consuls; they are maintained partly by a small allowance from the court of *Rome*, and partly by the charity of their protectors and disciples.

The *European* merchants that are settled here, considering how much they are confined in that metropolis, do yet live agreeably enough, and sociably among themselves, there being no want of any thing to make their lives easy and pleasant. So that the morning is usually consecrated to business, and the rest of the day to diversion, either in riding abroad among pleasant fields and gardens, or in other recreations which the town affords. When *English* protestants die there, they are buried in the cemetery belonging to the *Greeks*, and have their funeral service read over them, unless they have a chaplain of their own to perform that office according to the *English* liturgy (11).

(10) Pocock's observations on Egypt, l. i. c. 4.

(11) Id. ibid. Vide & Maillet, Granger, & al. sup. citat.

this kingdom, afterwards corrupted into that of *Kayro*, and, on account of its largeness and opulence, *Grand Kayro*.

Its ancient and present names. Its most ancient name was *Mezr*, from whence the whole country is supposed to take the name of *Mizraim*; of which we have given an account in the former part of this work ^a. The place that warrior chose to build it on was near the ancient one, which, like that, hath had a vast variety of other names besides; as *Moph*, *Memphis*, *Al Mosser*, &c. and at that time was called by that of *Fostbad*, which signifies a tent or pavilion, and was given to it by *Amru ebn Aaz*, the lieutenant-general of *Omar*, second khalif of *Baghdad*, on account of some pigeons which had hatched on the top of his tent as he was laying siege to it.

Raised on decay of the old. *JAWHAR*, or, as others call him, *Giaffar*, was no sooner become master of *Fostbad*, than he set about rearing the spacious walls of his new *Kabirah*; in which he made such extraordinary dispatch, that both they and the city were finished in little more than four years, they being begun in the year of the *Hejrah* 358, of Christ 968, and completed in 362 of the same *Hejrah*, in which the khalif *Moez* made his public entrance into it ^c. From this time it began to thrive, grow populous and opulent, though not without the visible decrease of the old one, in spite of its more convenient and advantageous situation on the eastern bank of the *Nile*; whereas the other is seated, at about a mile distant from it, on a burning sandy plain, and about a league northward of the old one, and stretching itself along the foot of the mountain whereon the castle stands; which reflects the rays of the sun with such force upon it, that it is, in the hot season of the year, almost intolerable; but which is greatly allayed in the cold by the refreshment which that river brings along with it. Notwithstanding all which, such was the fondness of these khalifs for this new city, and so attractive the splendor of their court, that they suffered it to rise daily on the ruins of the other, without taking the least step to prevent it, during the whole time of that dynasty. The only chance it had since for retrieving its ancient splendor, was under the brave sultan *Salah Addin*, commonly called *Saladin*, the prince who deprived the *Fatimites* of the khalifat; who attempted to join these two cities into one, by surrounding them with a common wall, said to have been 26,000 cubits in circumference: but not living to see his design take effect, his successors wholly neglected it. The walls are, indeed, still standing; but the ancient city, with its fine buildings, erected by the *Saracens*, went gradually into decay ^d.

Old Kayro joined to the new by a wall.

Its buildings described.

THE greatest part of its buildings now, if we except what they call *Joseph's Granaries*, of which we have given an account formerly ^e (M), and the noble water-house, once a stately work of the khalifs, to serve their new palace and city with water (but since much neglected, and now in a sorry plight); these, we say, excepted, and the habitations of workmen and artificers; chiefly consist in houses of pleasure, belonging to the great officers and rich men of *New Kayro*, to which they resort for diversion, at the season when the waters of the *Nile* begin to rise; the rest of the ground being mostly taken up with gardens, vineyards, orchards, with stately palms, and variety of other fruit-trees. Neither have these houses any thing grand or regular, either within or without; but are mere saloons, some larger than others, and fit only for such recreations. To these we may add about half a dozen mosks, with minarets or towers, the famed synagogue of the *Jews* (N), the hospital belonging to the Roman ^e

^a Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 174, & seq. vol. i. p. 340, note.

^c See Biblioth. orient. sub voc. & sup. vol. i. p. 56. SHAW's trav. * Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 453.

^d MAILLET, NORDEN, & al.

(M) This structure, though it occupies a large square piece of ground, surrounded by a wall, and artfully divided into variety of partitions, wherein the corn paid yearly to the *Porte* is kept, hath nothing that shews that pretended antiquity they ascribe to it; much less any thing that can be compared to the grandeur of the other *Egyptian* antiquities. The walls, which seem to have been originally of stone, about 15 feet high, flanked at proper distances with semi-circular buttresses, look more like, at least in part, the work of the *Saracens*, as the reader may see by the account which Dr. *Pocock* and others have given us of it. The corn-chambers, being opened on the top, serve to feed a great number of pigeons and other birds, for which a certain quantity is allowed by way of abatement: the doors are secured with nothing but wooden locks, and the inspectors put a piece of common clay on the key-hole, upon which they stamp the impression of their seals.

We are told there were seven of these granaries; of which, however, there is none remaining but this that

receives the tax-corn from *Upper Egypt*, for the use of the soldiery: the others are either gone to ruin, or have been put to some other uses (*).

(N) Famed more for its boasted antiquity, and some valuable relicks in its possession, than for the fineness of its structure; which is said to be 1600 years old, and not unlike the Christian churches of those parts. The old reading-desk, they tell you, stands just over the spot in which the prophet *Jeremiah* was buried; whereupon they have long since forbore entering into it out of respect, and read their law in another. Dr. *Pocock* saw there, likewise, two ancient manuscripts of the pentateuch, and they pretended to have another of the whole Old Testament, written by *Ezra*; who, they told him, omitted, out of reverence, the writing of the name of God; but found it written throughout on the next day after he had finished it. This *Jewish* relick is kept, with great veneration, in a niche about ten feet high, and hath a rich curtain drawn, and a lamp always burning before it (†).

(*) De his, vide *Pocock's observations on Egypt*, lib. i. c. 4. Norden's *Old Kayro*, Maillet, Perry, Granger, & al. mult. (†) *Pocock's observations on Egypt*, lib. i. c. 4.

a catholics of the *Holy Land*, and about ten or twelve other churches and chapels, belonging to them and the *Copts*; among which is that of St. *Macarius*, where the *Coptic* patriarch is elected and consecrated; and another, in which is the pretended grotto, where the virgin *Mary* and her small family dwelt during their retreat into *Egypt*, and is held in great veneration amongst all the Christians of those parts; insomuch that the Roman catholics pay a certain yearly sum to the *Copts*, who are in possession of it, for the liberty of saying mass in it ^c.

THERE stands on the same eastern bank of the *Nile*, about a mile and a half north of *Old Kayro*, the town of *Boolac*, formerly a suburb of it; and hath maintained itself by its vicinity to the new city, of which it is the staple and harbour. The number of ruins and old mosks, which are seen in the neighbourhood of the old town, gives one room to conjecture that *Boolac* was not the only suburb belonging to it. It hath, on the north side of it, the *khalish*, or canal, which conveys the water from the *Nile* to *New Kayro*, after its overflow; but which, like the granaries and other useful works, is suffered to fall into decay, through the avarice of the beigh who hath the care of it, and gets about five hundred purses yearly by it, to the great detriment of the whole province, whose fertility is greatly diminished by it ^f. *Boolac* hath a considerable custom-house, as being the port to which the boats and barges from all parts of the *Delta* repair; and is likewise remarkable for a fine bagnio. And thus much may suffice for *Old Kayro*. *The port of Boolac, once a suburb of Kayro.*

THE new one is computed at about seven miles in circumference, exclusive of the old, and New Kayro the town of *Boolac*. We have already mentioned its disadvantageous situation along the foot of a mountain, and a mile distant from the *Nile*; to which we may add its sensible decay, both in extent and opulence, since it hath ceased to be the center of commerce from the *East Indies*, though it hath still continued to be the chief mart of the kingdom, as we have elsewhere shewn ^{*}; though it is to be feared, that the accounts we have of its former extent, populousness, opulence, and delightful climate, have been too much exaggerated for us to rely upon, or follow implicitly. *Much magnified by writers.*

WITH respect to the latter, its situation is allowed to be under the 23d degree and 58th minute of north latitude [†], and cannot be reckoned a moderate or delightful climate; especially as the heat of it is increased by the burning sandy soil about it, and the mountainous ridge which reflects it in a kind of focus. And this, in a great measure, explodes what some encyclopaedic writers have likewise said concerning its healthfulness, if what we have already observed, with regard to the many and dangerous diseases which rage in it, and sweep away such myriads of its inhabitants, was not sufficient to confute it. To all which we may add the narrowness and crookedness of its streets, that, amongst us, would hardly bear the name of lanes; and the slovenly manner in which they are kept, being neither paved, nor cleaned from dust and dirt, and only watered twice or thrice a day, and that before the houses of the better sort of people, not so much for cleanliness as coolness. The houses, likewise, are neither airy nor pleasant, the best of them being commonly built round a kind of court, without ornament, or even windows fronting the streets; the lower part built of stone, and the upper of timber-work, fitted up with unburnt brick; and others with earth whited over with lime. The inside is as plain as the out, nothing but use being regarded in their apartments and furniture, excepting their saloons, wherein they receive their friends and acquaintance, which are a little more ornamented. So that, upon the whole, they have hardly any fence against the torrid heats of an almost vertical sun, except that of the north winds, which commonly blow during the hot months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, and sometimes with such piercing coldness, as to oblige the better sort to exchange their lightest garments for others lined with fur. So that, whenever these winds fail them at that season, they are forced to endure a more scorching heat than those under the torrid zone; and, when they chance to blow by intervals, the transition from extremity of heat to that of cold, and *vice versa*, is not only disagreeable and painful to a great degree, but frequently occasions as dangerous diseases as the poisonous steams arising from their canal, when drained of its water; of which we have taken notice a little higher ^g. *Its situation hot.*

KAYRO hath a very great number of mosks; some reckon them to amount to 720, with minarets or towers, and each its preacher; and about 420, which have neither towers nor preachers, but are a kind of chapels or oratories. Some of the former are grand and beautiful; one in particular, called the *Mosk of Hassen*, is really magnificent, both with regard to the strength and solidity of its structure, and a certain grandeur which strikes the eye in a surprising manner. It is built in an oblong square form, very spacious and high, and surrounded at the top with a fine cornice, which projects a great way, and is embellished with variety of grotesque figures, carved after the *Turkish* manner. The entrance into it is likewise very beautiful, being inlaid with several sorts of marble, and carved as on the top. The ascent to it is *Narrow streets.*

^c NORDEN, ubi sup. POCOCK, GRANGER, MAILLET, & al. mult. before, vol. iv. p. 100. [†] MAILLET, ubi sup. vol. i. p. 239, & al. NORDEN, & al.

^f NORDEN, & al. ubi sup. ^{*} See MAILLET, POCOCK, GRANGER,

That of Hassen described.

by a flight of steps, but which are much broken, and the door walled up, because, in time of public insurrection, the mutineers often made it a place of retreat. The place is so strong, that there is now a constant guard of *Janissaries* kept within its precinct, in some adjacent apartment. Between it and the castle is a spacious piazza, and the only one in the whole city ^h.

That called
Kubeel-
Azabs,

a noble edi-
fice.

To the north of the city is another stately mosk, called *Kubeel-Azabs*, or the cupola of the *Arabs*; because it properly belongs to the military order. It is sixty feet square, and adorned with a stately dome, raised on a base of sixteen sides, in each of which is a window. The inside of the mosk is wainscotted round, about eighteen feet high, in pannels, the rest is of the most beautiful marble; among which are several slabs of red and green porphyry; the borders round the pannels are carved and gilt, and a sort of frieze ranges round, in which ^b are sentences cut in large golden *Coptic* characters. The walls above it were likewise adorned with *Arabic* inscriptions, in letters of gold, and the cupola above is painted and gilt in the most elegant manner. The mosk is hung with a great number of lamps, and ostrich eggs; adjoining to it are several apartments for the priests, and some still finer for great persons, who come to reside there. This great edifice is said to have been built by *Jawbar*, or *Jaasar*, who begged leave of the sultan to prepare him a place fit to offer him sherbet on his return from *Mecca* ⁱ.

The grand
aqueduct de-
scribed.

WE have already taken notice of the castle of *Kayro*, its wretched fortifications and garri- son; we shall now add two curious pieces of antiquity still remaining, and which were kept in good repair during the reigns of the khalifs and *Mamluk* sultans, though since much ne- ^c glected. The first is the noble aqueduct, which brings the *Nile* water to it. We find it mentioned by *Ctesias*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, and other ancient writers, as a grand piece of work. It consists of a prodigious number of arches and piers, of different dimensions, in the rustic stile. The arches are mostly from ten to fifteen feet wide, and the piers from eight to ten. Dr. *Pocock* counted them to the number of 289; but others to a much greater number, and *Granger* to 320 of each sort; only in some places there runs a slip of a continued wall with- out any arches.

THE structure likewise at the end of it, which draws the water from the *Nile* into the refer- voir, is a beautiful strong edifice, of an octagon figure, and in the same rustic stile; both the work of, or more properly new-faced by, the *Mamluks*.

Joseph's Wells
described.

Their vast
depth and
spiral descent.

THE other curious work, worth mentioning in this castle, is what the natives stile *Joseph's Wells*; not from the patriarch, but from a grand vizir of that name, as some pretend. The *Arabs* call it the *Spail* or *Spiral Wells*, on account of their spiral descent. They are of an oblong-square form; their mouth is 16 feet in breadth, 24 in length, and in depth 276, from the bottom to the upper wheel. This depth consists of two divisions, the first of which goes down no lower than 146 feet, at the end of which is a slope or resting-place; upon which they draw the water from the lower division, by means of another wheel, turned by oxen, which hath a string or rope of earthen pitchers.

Water brack-
ish.

THE second division is neither so wide, long, or deep, as the first; being only 15 by 9 wide, and 130 deep. Both divisions are neatly cut in the rock, and with such art, that the rock serves as a rampart on the west side to the descent; in which are cut, at certain distances, apertures to let in the light for the oxen and their drivers, which go down the spiral descent to the first platform. From this to the bottom of the other is much more dangerous, because narrower, and without a parapet. The water at the bottom is about nine or ten feet deep, but brackish and unfit for drink, except during the time of the inundation; and the same may be said of all the wells of the city. The reader may see this extraordinary well, and the noble aqueduct, more amply described and delineated, than our limits will permit us to do, by the curious Dr. *Pocock* ^{*}; whilst we continue our review of the other garrisons of this kingdom.

Castle of
Rosetto.

2. *ROSETTO* is the next castle and garrison; the *Egyptians* call it *Rasbid*. It is plea- ^f santly situated on the west side of that branch of the *Nile* called by the ancients *Bolbitinum*, affirmed by *Herodotus* to have been formed by art; so that you have the town and castle at your right hand as you enter the mouth of that river. It is esteemed one of the pleasantest places in *Egypt*; the length of it is about two miles, and consists only of two or three streets. The country about it is most delightful and fertile, as is all the whole *Deltba* on the other side of the *Nile*, and presents you with the most pleasant prospect of gardens, orchards, and of the finest fruit and corn fields, excellently well cultivated (O).

^h *Pocock*, *Granger*, &c. ⁱ *Pocock*, ubi sup. l. i. c. 4. ^{*} *Observations on Egypt*, lib. i. c. 4. Vide & *Norden*, *Granger*, & al. sup. cit.

(O) We are told, that a great part of the land about it belongs to *Mecca*. There is a tradition amongst them, that one of *Mohammed's* relations lived there; and they have built a mosk on the place where he dwelt, which

stands on the north end of the town. They have like- wise a notion, that, if *Mecca* was taken from the *Turks*, the devotion of it would be removed to this city (3).

(3) *Pocock*, ubi sup. l. i. & ii.

- ^a THE castle stands about two miles north of the town, on the west side of the river. It is a ^{the situation and strength} square building, with round towers at the four corners, and port-holes at the bottom of it, and some pieces of brass cannon. There were likewise some others, made after the ancient way; that is, of bars and hoops of iron, with some flowers de luce, and other ornaments. The walls are of brick, cased with stone, and are supposed to have been built in the time of the holy war, though since repaired by cheyk *Begb*; who is said by some to have been the builder of it. At a little distance lower, on the other side of the river, is a platform, mounted with some guns; and to the east of it are the salt lakes, out of which they gather great quantities of that commodity. At some farther distance, sailing up the river, one sees a high mountain, on which stands an old tower and some other ruins; it is from this tower that they spy the vessels that sail to and from this court. From this eminence, likewise, is discovered a large and deep gulph, in form of a crescent, and appears to have been the work of art, though it be now filled up, and discovers nothing but its ancient bed. This the consul *Maillet* supposes to have been the old *Canopus*. Our readers may see his reasons for it in his description of *Egypt* ^{The old gulph of Canopus}. For as to *Rosetto*, which some believe to have succeeded that ancient port, once so intamous for its lewdness and dissolute diversions, it plainly appears to be very modern, not above 150 years standing, and which, he thinks, was built to serve instead of *Fowa*; which was become so distant from the river, that the vessels could not come up to it. However that ^{Traffick of Rosetto with Kayro} *Rosetto* is now grown a considerable place for commerce, and hath some good manufactures in the linen and cotton way; but its chief business is the carriage of goods to *Kayro*, all the *European* merchandizes being brought thither from *Alexandria*, by sea, and carried in other boats to that capital; as these that are brought down from it, on the *Nile*, are there shipped off for *Alexandria*; on which account, the *Europeans* have here their vice-consuls and factors to transact their business; and the government, a beigh, a custom-house, and a garrison, to keep all safe and quiet ^b.

- THE third garrison, as well as second sea-port of *Egypt*, is that of *Alexandria*, once the ^{Port and castle of Damietta} metropolis, and the largest and most opulent city in the whole kingdom; but now reduced within the compass of a small neck of land, and stripped of all its ancient splendor; but, for some obvious reasons, we shall postpone the farther description for an article by itself, after we have given an account of the other three; and so pass on to the fourth in rank, called ^d *Damietta*, and which is situate on the opposite extremity of the *Delta* to that of *Rosetto*, and on the eastern, called *Bobastie* or *Pelusiæ*, branch of the *Nile*. This city answers to the ancient *Portusium*, though it now stands at a greater distance from the bar than it was observed to do at the time of the holy war. It is a place of great traffick, as well as *Rosetto*, and there ^{its great traffick} hardly passes a year, in which there are not above 100 vessels laden in it with different merchandizes, especially rice. The misfortune is, that it is no less infested with corsairs, who catch them either sailing in or out ^e. The town is large, but ill built, and chiefly inhabited by fishermen and *Janissaries*, who are said to be the very worst people in the whole *Turkish* empire, and the most uncivil and insulting to strangers, especially the *Europeans*, against whom ^{The inhabitants hate and insult the Europeans} they bear a mortal aversion; which hath continued ever since the time of the *Crusade*, this city being the scene of their war in *Egypt*, and the place where the *French* monarch *St. Lewis* was made a prisoner. No person, therefore, dares to appear here in an *European* dress; and they mention instances of some Christian consuls having been massacred there, and of others who have been forced to leave the place to avoid the like fate. They are, moreover, arrant thieves, and will steal the cables and other cordage or tackle of ships, and make use of persons of credit to treat with the captain about a price for the restitution of them; and this in spite of their laws, which strictly forbid the taking away part of a ship's tackle, under the severest penalties.

- ^f DAMIATA is defended by an ancient stout castle, which, we are told, cannot be less than 800 years old ^a; though a later author mentions two, and both standing by the water-side; but neither strong, nor over furnished with artillery [†]. Dr. *Pocock* mentions only a large round tower, built of hewn stone, and takes it to have been the work of the *Mamluks*, after they had recovered this city from the Christians ^c. The fishery of this place is carried on in great plenty, on the lake called by some *Menslet*, by others *Tanis* and *Bebeir*, and is farmed, ^{Large fishery on the lake Menslet} we are told, for 40,000 piasters ^f. This lake, which is reckoned the largest in all *Egypt*, extends itself above twenty leagues in length, and about eight in breadth, where broadest. It begins in the neighbourhood of *Damietta*, stretches itself east and west to the ancient *Pelusiæ*, and is parted from the sea only by a sandy bank of about half a league in breadth. During

^a Vol. i. let. 3.^b Vide *Pocock*, l. i. c. 2. *NORDEN*, *GRANGER*, & al.^d Id. ibid.[†] *GRANGER*, c. 9.^c *Pocock*, ubi sup.^e *MAILLET*, ubi sup.^f *GRANG. voy. en Egypt.*

the season of the *Nile's* overflow, it discharges itself into the *Mediterranean* by three large branches, which form three mouths called *Mendez*, *Tanis*, and *Pelusium*; but they remain dry after the overflow. This lake abounds with variety of fish, which are cured and salted upon a vast number of small islands near the shore, and are greedily bought up by the *Syrians* and *Nubian Arabs*. They cure likewise great quantities of what they call *Bootargos*, which are the roes of mullet, that are caught here in great plenty; and, when dipped in wax, are carried and sold all over *Turky*. They have here two ways, among many others, of fishing in this lake, which are no less curious than peculiar; the one is by the help of a tame pelican that they bring to it; who, by his exquisite scent, finds out where the fish are, and drives them into their nets, which are spread in a semicircular form, at a proper distance; and, to prevent his eating the fish in too large a quantity, as he drives them before him, the fishermen guide him on each side, by a thread they have run through his eye-lids, whereby they make him swim with his eyes shut; whilst they on each side, rowing in their boats, prevent the fish from straying from the net^s.

Two curious
ways of fishing
in it.

Its importance
and commerce.

THE other is by means of the dolphins, which are in great plenty there, and drive the fish towards the shore into little ponds digged for the purpose, the entrance of which they close with a net after they are got in. And our author adds, that these fishermen are stupid enough to look upon the dolphins as a kind of friendly genii to them. He likewise adds, that the *Damiatans* are of late become more reconciled and friendly to the *Europeans*, and even to the *French*, whom they most detested, on account of their monarch's making himself master of their city; which he was, however, obliged to restore, as part of his ransom. It is reckoned one of the keys of *Egypt*, on account of its important harbour on the *Mediterranean*, and to contain about 25,000 inhabitants, exclusive of its suburb on the other side of the *Nile*; which is chiefly inhabited by sea-faring men. There are likewise about 400 *Greek* families settled in *Damiata*; which, in some measure, carry on the whole commerce. They have a church, a bishop, and the free liberty of their religion, except that of ringing the bell. Besides these, there are multitudes of strangers of various nations and religions. It hath one long street, which reaches quite from the water-side to the other extremity of it, along the river; and there it is that the merchandizes are laden and unladen. It is surrounded with walls, except on the side next the water, and is governed by an aga and a kadi, both which are nominated by the *basha*. Its chief commerce is that of various sorts of fine linen cloth, of all colours; which are exported thence into various countries; besides the salted mullets, and their preserved roes, already mentioned^h.

The castle of
the labyrinth.

Lucas's ac-
count fabulous.

THE next castle, in rank, is that which hath its name from the famed ancient labyrinth, or is rather only what remains of that once magnificent structure. We have given a description of it in a former part of this work[†], according to the ancient authors, as well as of its present ruinous state, from some of those modern ones, whom we thought had given the most accurate account of it. And here we freely own one error we committed, in giving too much credit to one of them, who gave himself out, in his pompous description of voyages, for an eye-witness, and a more exact observer of what he wrote about this, and other parts of *Egypt*, than those who had wrote beforeⁱ; little suspecting at that time, that he had only imposed upon the public what he had found in other authors, or supplied out of his own brain, in order to answer the idea of a most intricate labyrinth; though from the principal walls standing, and other parts of the edifice which are thrown down, it appears to be a quite different structure. It cannot, however, be doubted that he hath been in *Egypt*, and even upon this spot, as some have suspected, from his misplacing it on the south end of the lake; as his name is still to be seen engraved on one of the columns[‡]. But what still further convinces one of his inaccuracy, is his affirming that the pillars, and other stones of that noble building, are of hard marble; whereas they are found to be, as *Pliny* affirms, only of white stone. However, we are not the first, by many, who have fallen into the same error out of credulity; and the least we thought we could do, was to take the first opportunity that offered itself, in the course of this *Modern History*, to acknowledge it to our readers, and to make them the best amends we could, by giving them a more genuine account of the present condition of that once superb structure, from more faithful hands, on whose veracity, as well as skill, judgment, and diligence, they may now safely rely.

Described by
Dr. Pocock.

THIS castle, which is, by the *Arabs*, called *Casr Caroon*, and is supposed to be the remains of the ancient labyrinth, stands west-south-west of the lake *Mæris*, formerly described §, about two, or, according to others, three miles from it, and may now be easily pervaded and examined without a clue. It is, according to the accurate *Dr. Pocock*, one hundred and sixty

^s GRANGER's voy. en Egypt. Vide & Pocock, & al. ubi sup.
VANSTEB, & al. sup cit. [†] Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 193, & seq. 265.
GER, ubi sup. c. 8. [§] Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 195, & seq.

^h COPPIN's voyage into Syria, c. 18.
ⁱ LUCAS's voyages. [‡] See GRAN-

- a feet in length, and eighty in breadth^k. The porch, which was rustic work, is almost destroyed, in no part above six feet high; and, from the remains of a flight of stairs on the east side of it, one may conclude that there were some apartments under it. He adds, that he should not have supposed it to have been covered, had he not seen the remains of pillars in the middle of it. The front of the building is more ruinous than any other part of it; the upper story in the middle is fallen down, and is entirely gone almost from this break. As the building now remains, there are forty-four tiers of stone, each nine inches deep, and consequently it is thirty-three feet high. There are signs of a cornice ranging round; notwithstanding which, the building must have been carried up higher. The three other fronts of the structure appear to have had some rows of fine brown marble and other stone taken off, which were adorned with cornices, and other sculptures and ornaments, and had a niche cut into them, of a size capable to contain some marble head; and might probably be designed to have some object or other of their worship placed in them, representing every sacred crocodile that might be deposited in them; and these stones were then lying on the north side of the temple^l. *Rows of niches taken off and lying down.*
- b This edifice consists of four spacious halls, but of different sizes, and a smaller one about twelve feet long, which form the whole extent of the building; and on each side of them are smaller apartments^m. The four large halls have door-cases crowned with double cornices, adorned with winged globes. The insides of these rooms, before they were filled with earth, are supposed to have been twenty feet high, and are covered with stones of such a length as to reach from wall to wall: the narrow apartments, on the sides and at the farther end, might be designed for tombs, or depositories for the dead. Over each of them is a work like a false door, adorned with cornices, and one of them charged with sculptures of hawks. The passage from the cell to the west leads up to one of the large apartments, by a hole that seems to have been broke in, and to come out at another. These our author supposes to have been designed to deposit the sacred crocodiles in: one of them being thirty feet by three, and the other eight by two. A way is broke in from the end of the long room to the apartments above. There are several other particulars relating to these apartments, which we shall not dwell longer upon, seeing he found it so difficult to offer any probable conjecture concerning their use and designⁿ; and all that we can conclude from them, as well as from what we have described from him, and another traveller lately quoted, is, that the whole edifice rather bears the face of some ancient palace or other public structure; but hath nothing remaining that could lead a judicious observer into the notion of its being the ruins of the famed labyrinth, described by the ancients. The misfortune is, that those celebrated edifices, of which they give us an account, are so disfigured and mutilated by time, and other changes which they have undergone, and the spot whereon they stood so altered, either by the building of new ones upon, near to, or at some distance from them, and our modern travellers have proved so emulous in defending their several conjectures against each other, that a reader is more easily bewildered than informed by them. *The apartments described.*
- c As for the wonder which both the ancient and modern writers have expressed at this edifice's being built altogether of stone, without the least appearance of timber in any part of its remains, there is nothing in it, but what may be observed in the other ancient buildings in that superb taste; especially since, according to *Julius Cæsar's* report, all the buildings of Alexandria were erected in the same way, without any rafting or other timber, and the several parts of each were held together by arches and mortar, and covered at the top by rough stone or Mosaic work, probably, as he himself hints, to preserve them from fire. However, this ancient and wholesome precaution hath been long enough set aside, as we shall shew when we come to speak of its present state. *Why built without any timber.*
- d BEFORE we leave the castle of *Caroon*, we shall only observe, that it is governed likewise by an aga and a kadi, both named by the basha; the former appointed to receive the tribute of this government, part of which he is commissioned to send to *Constantinople*, and the other to *Kayro*, for the sustenance of the soldiery^o. *Alexandria anciently built so.*
- e 4. THE next castle and garrison is that of *Adjeroute*, supposed to be the ancient *Hierapolis*. It is distant about twenty-nine hours from *Kayro*, on the road to *Mecca* (N); but hath nothing worth observing, save that the castle is an old square building, the garrison inconsiderable. *Other castles and garrisons.*

^k Observations on Egypt, lib. i. c. 7. p. 63.

^l Pocock, NORDEN, & al. sup. citat.

^m Pocock, ibid.

ⁿ GRANGER, ubi sup.

^o Pocock, ibid.

(N) The *Arabians* compute it to be 32 hours, or 480 derajes, of which 15 go to an hour; the difference is owing to the road that the caravan takes farther about: that being much about the distance which the lake of the pilgrims is from *Kayro*, where the caravan encamps and begins its journey (3).

(3) Pocock, ubi sup. l. iii. c. 1.

ill kept, and worse disciplined^p, since the time that soltan *Selim* thought proper to dismantle a it of the most material part of its strength, and ruined all that he thought in a condition to defend itself.

The present
state of Alex-
andria.

Why necessary
to be known.

Stripped of all
its ancient
magnificence.

The two ports
described.

The new one
inconvenient
and dangerous.

Its two castles.

Called the
Great and
Little Pharil-
lon.

Their two
moles leading
to the port.

We come now to give our readers a short description of the once celebrated city of *Alexan-
dria*, not so much on account of its ancient grandeur, which hath been fully described in a former part of this work, much less of its present, seeing it retains no more of it than the melancholy remains of what it hath been, when in its most flourishing state under *Ptolemaeus*; but as it is the place which those, who travel into *Egypt*, should be most acquainted with before-hand, as it is the first port they land at, and must begin to familiarize themselves to the strange manners and customs of the country, the disagreeable inconveniencies they must expect to go through, and the contempt, affronts, and insults, they must arm themselves b against, from a rude and unpolished people, and undergo a kind of probation of the various objects they are likely to meet with, as well as of their fare and treatment amongst them, and so learn experience from those who have gone before them^q.

FIRST then, instead of those ancient and magnificent structures they may have heard or read of, they must expect to behold little else but their ruins, fragments of stately walls, tottering towers and castles; whose architecture, being neither *Greek* nor *Roman*, induces one to believe them the work of the *Saracens*. Here they will see the most sumptuous temples turned into plain mosks, some of the finest pieces of architecture artlessly scattered, and employed to patch up an ordinary dwelling; the royal palace become a common prison for slaves, the once numerous and opulent inhabitants dwindled into a small parcel of strangers, and a multitude c of miserable wretches, servants, and slaves, employed in lading, unlading, and carrying of merchandizes to-and-fro, and in other laborious branches of its commerce; which is now the only thing it is considerable for, and is wholly owing to its convenient situation for it, and to its double port, one on each side; the old one destined for the vessels that belong to the subjects of the grand signor, and the new for those that come from *Europe* and other parts of the world, answering to their ancient distinction of ports of *Asia* and *Africa*^r. There is, however, a considerable difference between them; the former being large, commodious, deep, safe, and neatly kept; and hath only this inconveniency, that its entrance is difficult and dangerous, on account of its narrowness, and being clogged up with rocks; but, being once d passed, one enters into a fine spacious haven, about a league in length, and capacious enough for 1000 vessels to ride in commodiously and safely.

THE other, on the contrary, since called the new, on account of its having been severed from it in the time of the *Greek* monarchs, by a dyke which reached from the *terra firma* to the eastern point of the isle of *Antirbodus*; whereby all communication was stopped between them, except at one aperture left open for that purpose^s, is so very shallow in many places, and the bottom so rocky and craggy, that the ships are obliged to throw in, at certain distances, some empty casks under the cables, to prevent their being fretted and worn by it. Though this precaution usually preserves them, the vessels are still exposed to the danger of being lost by every violent blast, or stormy wind, because the anchors are prevented by it from holding so fast at such times, and frequently lose their hold; so that the vessel, once loosened, is frequently e cast away, even in the harbour, for want of sufficient depth and sea-room. The entrance into this last port is defended by two castles, of a bad structure, after the *Turkish* taste, which have nothing remarkable but their situation; all the rest coming vastly short of those noble structures, for which this city was once so justly famed. The *Great Pharillon* hath a small tower in its center, which terminates in a lanthorn, which is lighted up every night; but is so ill f served that it seldom gives a sufficient light. The island was anciently joined to the land by a causeway, and two bridges, 900 paces long, which have long since been covered by the waters, as well as the famous mole which *Adrian* had caused to be built at the end of the cape *Possidium*; some of the ruins of both may be seen in clear and calm weather^t. It is much the same with the other castle, or *Little Pharillon*, as it is called, on which one sees no footsteps of that celebrated library, which, in *Ptolemy's* time, was esteemed the noblest and most beautiful that had ever been seen. These two *Pharillons* are joined to the land, each by a mole, of which that of the island of *Pharob* is the longest, built partly of brick and partly of freestone, and is vaulted from end to end; which our author computes to be about 10,000 paces in extent; the vaulting is after the *Gothic* stile, and the water flows under the arches. The other mole hath nothing remarkable, but two zigzags, which serve for a defence in case of need; and both together; one on the right, and the other on the left side of the port, conduct insensibly to the shore. But as there are here and there many dangerous rocks, some above, others under

^p Pocock, ubi sup. l. iii. c. 1. GRANGER, c. 13. MAILLET.

p. 38. oct. edit.

^r Id. ibid.

MAILLET, ubi sup. let. 4.

GRANGER, ubi sup. c. 12. POCCOCK's obser-

vations on Egypt, l. i. c. 1.

^s MAILLET, ubi sup. let. 4.

^q NORDEN's travels into Egypt, vol. i.

^t De his, vide Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 627.

^a water, the safest way is to take a *Turkish* pilot, appointed for that end; who guides you safe through them into the port ^u.

THAT part of the city which borders on the old, and extends itself quite to the new one, on approaching it, offers to one's view a strange mixture of objects, of ancient and modern monuments, some entire, others decayed, broken, or one half above, and the rest buried under, a heap of ruins. The outer walls of the said city are still very beautifully built of hewn stone, though they appear to be ancient, all the arches being true and regular, and the workmanship of them very good. They are flanked with semicircular towers, 20 feet in diameter, at about 130 feet distance from each other. At each of them are stairs to go up to the battlements, there being a walk round the top of the wall, built upon arches; and, as they now stand, they seem to have inclosed all the city, except the royal palace, on the north-east. The inner walls of the old city, which seem to be of the middle age, are much higher and stronger than the others, and are defended by high towers; two of which are particularly large and well built, and stand to the north-west, towards the new city, on the strand, as the reader may see them delineated by the reverend author often quoted ^w. To whom we shall refer him for the further display of such other remaining ancient edifices, and monuments, as we had not room to describe in our *Ancient History* ^x. The truth is, these ancient relics have been so disfigured by time and other accidents, or are so far buried in the sand and rubbish, that there remains little else in and about this city, worth the attention of the curious, except the famous *Corinthian* column, vulgarly called *The Pillar of Pompey*, and the two obelisks, called *The Needles of Cleopatra*, the one still standing, and the other thrown down; all which have been so fully described, by every writer and traveller into this country (O), that it would be superfluous to dwell longer upon them in such a work as this ^y. If any thing besides has escaped the injuries of time, in this city, more than others, it is the great number of its cisterns, which are filled yearly with the waters of the *Nile*, by a canal that goes under the name of *Cleopatra*, and begins about two leagues from *Rosetto*, from whence it conveys them to this city, they being the only water they have in it; and, when that fails, they are obliged to supply themselves with it from *Rosetto* ^z. And yet these noble reservoirs, which once supplied this populous city, are reduced to six, which are in the old one, and are but ill looked after; whilst the far greater part of the rest are filled up with earth, as well as the noble pillars which supported them; which, we are told, were made of brick, and covered over with a matter impenetrable by water ^a (P).

The prospect of the city.

Walls and towers.

The Pillar of Pompey, and two obelisks.

The old cisterns and conduit.

Number and character of the inhabitants.

Commerce.

Jews carry on the larger share.

ALEXANDRIA is reckoned to have about 14,000 or 15,000 inhabitants; a strange colluvies of different nations, as well as from various parts of the *Turkish* empire; all in general given to thieving and cheating, and seditious above all others, were they not kept in awe by the severity of their government. The *English* and *French* carry on a considerable commerce with them, and have each a consul residing in it. Some *Venetian* ships also sail thither yearly; but with *French* colours, and under the protection of *France*. Here are likewise some *Greek*, *Armenian*, and *Jewish* merchants settled in it; who carry on the most part of the traffick with the *Europeans*, either as brokers, or upon their own stock; and one might be induced to think it is the former, that is, to the *English* and *French*; seeing, according to their treaties, they pay so much *per cent.* less than those who are subjected to the grand signor's tax, among whom are comprised the *Jews*, natives as well as foreigners, and the other trading nations who keep no consul there. But these, especially the *Jews*, of whom there are about a dozen rich families, who drive a large wholesale trade among a greater number of retailers of their own nation, have found out several ways to indemnify themselves for this disadvantage; one in particular is, by selling their commodities cheaper than any *Franks* can do; whereby, as well as by

^u NORDEN, ubi sup. 37, & seq. & alib. pass. ubi sup. c. 12.

^w Pocock, ubi sup. p. 3, & seq. & plate 3.

^x Vol. i. p. 183. vi. p.

^y De his, vide MAILLET, POCOCK, NORDEN, & al. mult.

^z GRANGER,

^a NORDEN, ubi sup. p. 19.

(O) With respect to the three last-mentioned monuments, it will not be improper to inform our readers, that the authors quoted in the margin do somewhat differ in their accounts of them, especially with regard to their present condition; and that one of the latest of them hath not only censured the fabulous father *Lucas*, but hath more vehemently inveighed against the late *Maillet's* description of them (4); though, upon farther examination of both their accounts, it doth not appear to us, that the consul's oversights, if they be really such, deserved the severe censures he has bestowed upon him.

(P) These columns, we are farther told, appear to be of

different sorts, and the greatest part in a *Gothic*, or rather in a *Saracenic* taste. And as it is not to be conceived, that they should have been placed in that manner from the beginning, it is reasonably supposed, that their gradual decay has occasioned a successive supply of them, and that some of them have taken the place of others, as occasion required; but, in the repairing of those reservoirs, they have made use of the cheapest materials (5), from which we may judge in what manner the rest must have been treated since they have fallen into still worse hands.

(4) Norden, vol. i. p. 6—16. & al. ib. 8vo. edit.

(5) Id. ib. p. 19, & seq.

their more frugal way of living, they at once out-vie them in traffick, and get profit enough ^a to grow rich. Besides, the farmers of the customs know full well, that, if they do not pay some private regard to them, they can cause the fewer merchandizes to come into this port, during the two years that their farm lasts; upon which account they generally tax them lower than they do the *French*, or other *Franks* ^b. The Christians, particularly of the *Greek* and *Coptic* churches, are mostly poor, their once-famed cathedrals of *St. Mark* (*Q*) and *St. Catherine* are gone to decay, and have little left of their ancient splendor ^c. The former hath been long since turned into a mosk, and still retains the name of the mosk of a thousand and one pillars; of which, we are told, it hath still four rows on the south and west side, but only one on the other two ^d. That of *St. Albanasius* hath likewise undergone the same fate. However, both *Greeks* and *Copts* have still each their own churches, which they call by the names of *St. Mark* and *St. Catherine*, in which they perform their cathedral worship, according to their respective rites, and pretend that they are those which were originally erected to these two saints, and on or near the place of their martyrdom; and each likewise pretend to shew some ancient relics of them; the one the patriarchal chair of the evangelist, and the other a fragment of the pillar on which the she-saint was beheaded, with some red spots in it, pretended to be drops of her blood. A late traveller tells us, that these two churches are so much alike, that one description may serve for both; and all he adds to the traditional account of them, above-mentioned ^e, is, that they are both very dark, dirty, and so full of lamps, that one would rather take them for pagods than for the temples of the true God; from whence he concludes, that *St. Mark* is infinitely better served in his church at *Venice*, than in this of *Alexandria*. The *Latins* have likewise a convent of *Franciscans*, which belongs to that of *Jerusalem*, and their chapel serves the *French* merchants instead of a church; and the friers, who are mostly maintained by them, serve instead of curates or chaplains ^f.

THE city is governed, like the other cities in this kingdom, by an aga, who hath a kadi and sub-basha under him, and all nominated by the head-basha. It hath likewise a small garrison of soldiers, who are lodged in the great castle on the south-west corner of it; but into which no *European* is admitted. Here are likewise continually some *Arabs* incamped within the walls around; which makes it dangerous to be abroad after sun-set, when the inhabitants are retired to their own homes. But the chief part of the garrison, which consists of a small number of *Janissaries* and *Affafs*, are lodged in the two *Pharillos* lately mentioned; where also resides ^d the aga or governor, who commands them, in one of the ancient balwarks. This doth not hinder them from being very haughty and insolent, not only to strangers, but to the mercantile and handicraft part of the inhabitants, though ever so considerable and useful; the government being more remiss in favour of the former than of the latter, insomuch that one of these *Janissaries*, we are told, made no difficulty to kill the farmer of the customs there, for refusing to take less of him than the duty imposed, and went off unpunished ^e; it being a common salvo among them, that what is done cannot be undone. However, to prevent the like disorders for the future, the governor hath caused a guard to be kept at the custom-house ^h.

EVEN the *French*, who carry on such considerable commerce with them, as we are told by ^e one of their chancellors there, who counted no less than 940 of their ships in one year at that port (*R*), and moreover keep a constant consul there, under that of *Kayro*, have met with the

^b NORDEN, ubi sup.^f GRANGER, Pocock, ibid.

& MAILLET, & al. sup. citat.

^c GRANGER, ubi sup.^h NORDEN, ubi sup. vol. i. p. 41, 8vo edit.^d Pocock, ubi sup. p. 7.^e NORDEN, vol. i. p. 42.^h Id. ibid. p. 42. Vide

(*Q*) This once stately structure, said to have been dedicated to that evangelist, and erected on the spot where he suffered martyrdom, stands now to the west of the city, and near the gate of *Necropolis* (*6*); but that which the Christian *Copts* enjoy, and perform divine service in, hath nothing of that superb colonade, or other marks of grandeur; tho' it be pretended to be the ancient patriarchal seat, and they shew in it the chair on which the evangelist sat, as first planter and patriarch of the *Alexandrian* church. His successors are pretended to have sieged here ever since, as we shall shew in the sequel, whether in this or any other church, and have made this city their chief residence the greatest part of their time; tho' of late years, whether by the grand signor's or his basha's order, or on any other account, they reside mostly at *Kayro* (*7*).

The *Greeks* and *Armenians* are likewise settled here in great numbers, and some of them drive a considerable trade, tho' they make but a small figure, being mostly very poor, oppressed by the government, and cruelly insulted by the *Turks*, especially the soldiery, who hate and despise them (*8*).

(*R*) The farther particulars, relating to the commerce of this and other cities of *Egypt*, being out of our province, we shall refer our readers for them to the authors quoted in the margin; especially to the first of them, who hath been the most exact and diffuse on that subject (*9*), as well as in his account of the various commodities imported and exported, whether to or from *Marseilles*, *Leghorn*, or *Venice*, together with the several prices they bore in the year 1673.

(*6*) Norden, Pocock, Maillet, Granger, *ch.* 12. Dr. Edw. Pocock.(*8*) Norden, & al. sup. citat.(*7*) De his, vide & Eutychii annal. Alexandrin. ex interpret.(*9*) Vansleb, Perry, Pocock, Maillet, Norden, & al. mult.

greatest

a "greatest difficulties, and been forced, by dint of interest, and presents to the basha at *Kayro*, to procure redress from this government against the insolence of one of those *Janissaries*. The instance, as related by an eye-witness, being too long for our narrow limits, we shall refer our readers to the account which hath been given of it ⁱ.

THE ground, for a great way round *Alexandria*, is so low and flat, that the navigators have *Barren soil*. scarce any land-marks to steer by, except the tower of the *Arabs*, which stands about twelve leagues west of it, and *Pompey's Pillar*, lately mentioned; which frequently obliges the vessels to steer towards the isle of *Cyprus*, and sometimes into *Syria*, especially in thick foggy weather. Neither doth the soil around it produce either grain or pasturage, but is every-where sandy, and barren of every thing but a few dates ^k; so that one may justly wonder, that the famous founder of it should pitch upon such a wretched spot to build so large and magnificent a city on, which was so difficult of access to the navigators, and so destitute of water, firing, and of almost every necessary of life; whilst, at the same time, one cannot sufficiently admire the magnificence of the *Ptolemies*, under whom, in spite of all these disadvantages, it became one of the most populous, opulent, and plentiful cities in all the world.

BEFORE we leave this city, which, as we have already observed, is the patriarchal see or *Patriarchate* metropolitan of all the Christian, *Coptic*, or *Eutychian* sect, it will be expected that we should give some account of the nature, extent, power, origin, antiquity, and election of its patriarchs, as well as of the particular tenets in which this church differs from the *Greek*, *Roman*, and other Christian churches. We need not here repeat what we have formerly mentioned concerning the *Copts* in general, that they were the ancient inhabitants of *Egypt*, and whence they came to be called by that name; which the *Turks* afterwards, upon their conquering of *Egypt*, where they found the Christians very numerous, gave them in mere contempt, and, perhaps, not without a glance on their patriarch, and the high title he assumes, of successor of the evangelist St. *Mark*, who is generally allowed by all the Christians to have been the first apostle and planter of Christianity in *Egypt*, and the first founder and bishop of this see. He calls himself, moreover, the head and supreme bishop of the *Coptic*, and, in that quality, thinks himself equal to that of the *Roman* church. However, though we have followed the generality of writers, in calling them by that nick-name of *Copts* or *Coptes*, they despise it, and call themselves *Eutychians* and *Jacobites*; which last is that which they have affected almost ever since *Jacobus Zanzales*, al. *Baradeus*, the learned bishop of *Edeffa*, revived their favourite doctrine of one nature in Christ, upon its decline, and travelled over the greatest part of the east to preach and propagate it; and, after having enjoyed the *Edeffan* see near 37 years, died in it anno 578 [†].

THE last town of note in this kingdom is that of *Suez*, which, though placed by some geographers in the *Arabia Troglodytis*, is nevertheless reckoned by *Ptolemy*, who calls it the city of heroes, one of the principal ones in the *Egyptian* kingdom, and is now, accordingly, under the government of the basha of *Kayro*. It is a considerable sea-port on the isthmus of its name, which joins *Afric* and *Asia* together, and advantageously seated on a small peninsula, that juts into the utmost verge of the *Red Sea*, and about 31 leagues south-east of *Kayro*; and by its commodious distance from thence, and the port of *Gedda*, is become the staple and magazine of all the merchandizes that are transported from the one to the other, as it was formerly of those that were brought from *India*, till the exactions of the government put a final stop to it. Notwithstanding which, it continues to be still the rendezvous of all the *Ethiopians*, who bring thither the richest of *Indian* commodities, as spices, drugs of all kinds, amber, musk, a great variety of precious stones, and other rarities; which are thence conveyed to *Kayro*, by land on camels, and from that place to *Alexandria*, on the *Nile*, by the Christian merchants; where they are shipped, and brought into *Europe*.

THE town is governed by a chief officer, who has the title of captain, or admiral, who presides over the maritime, and hath a kaymakan under him, who is at the head of civil affairs. He hath besides about 300 men, one half *Janissaries*, the rest *Arabs*; and these last are commanded by a cheyk, or civil officer of their own, stiled *sadar*. Both captain and kaymakan act in their separate provinces, or jointly, as their interest leads them. The latter has his constant residence in the city, the former only as long as the ships remain in the port. But, upon the whole, the *Arab* cheyk bears the greatest sway, and hath, in some measure, all the power whenever he is pleased to interfere; because the city, having no fresh water but what is brought thither from places eight or ten miles to the east-south-east, on the other side of the *Red Sea*, he can, upon any disgust, hinder it from being supplied with it. And even this water, when brought so far, though very brackish to the taste, and no less unwholesome to the body, is sold at the rate of five or more pence per pail-full.

ⁱ NORDEN, ubi sup. p. 43, & seq. POCKOCK, ubi sup. p. 10.

Annal. Alexandr. sub indice.

|| GRANGER, voy. en Egypte, cap. 10. POCKOCK's observ. on Egypt, vol. i. p. 133.

^k GRANGER, & al. sup. citat.

[†] Vide

Provisions
brought from
Kayro.

The port small
and shallow.

Poorly de-
fended.

Some guns and
culverines.

Time of the
ships sailing in
and out.

Fish ill-tasted
and unwhole-
some.

Metropolitan,
number of bi-
shops under
him.

NEITHER is this the only scarcity *Suez* labours under, the whole country round about pro-
ducing hardly any one necessary of life ; so that they are obliged to have their provisions,
even down to their pot-herbs and roots, brought to them from *Kayro*. There is nothing to
be seen all around it, for above 60 miles in compass, but a barren dry sand, without house,
men, cattle, or any kind of verdure. The inhabitants are, for the greater part, *Moham-*
medans, there being only about 60 *Greek* families, and a few other schismatics settled in it.
The town is small, but the houses, especially the public edifices, the key, which is a very
handsome long one, the magazines, mosks, &c. are of a curious sort of stone, which is com-
pounded of a great variety of sea-shells of all sizes ; yet so closely cemented together by na-
ture, that nothing but the chissel or hammer can part them ; and, when carved and polished,
bear a fine gloss, little inferior to marble. There are four handsome mosks in the town, and
a *Greek* church in a house. The haven runs from north to south, but is neither large nor
deep ; so that, at low water, it hath not above five feet in depth, whereby neither the gallies,
nor other large vessels, can come up to it, without first unlading one half of their cargo.
The rest anchor at another place, about five miles from it, where they find good riding. The
ships that go from *Suez* to *Gedda* are mostly built after the *Indian* manner, and, from their
clumsy make, most probably built in some of the *Dutch* settlements in *India*, carry between
80 and 100 ton weight, and have port-holes for 30 guns, though the best of them have hardly
above two, and the rest only two pattereroes, and them only to give the usual salute. They
have no pumps in them, but use leathern buckets to draw the water, with the help of a wind-
lass * ; for they never trouble themselves with stowing their provision of it in hogsheads ;
which is the less necessary in such kinds of navigation, where they only sail along the coasts,
and with the wind mostly behind them ; and these wells or cisterns serve them instead of bar-
rels, of which they commonly have two or more, according to the number of passengers, so
as to contain a sufficient quantity for their voyage.

THE town is not much better furnished with artillery than their trading vessels, having in all
no more than twenty-two old cannon, mostly unmounted, and in such a dismal plight, as well
as about five or six culverines, that they are scarcely fit for use. And it is well that there is
so little need of them, and so little to be feared from an enemy. *Thevenot* tells us of a kind of
barrack on the port, inclosed by a wooden lattice, in which are nine culverines, of different
sizes, the largest of which is of a prodigious length and bore. At a small distance are to be
seen, on an eminence, the ruins of an old castle, supposed to have been formerly built by the
French, in which there is still a large cannon ; under or near which the people imagine some
great treasure to be buried, but guarded by demons. The captain of *Suez* keeps two small
gallies, and some few inferior vessels, to scour on this part of the *Red Sea*. The time of the
merchant vessels sailing out of the port, is in spring and summer, when the winds commonly
blow briskly from the north ; and, for their return, in autumn and winter, when they blow from
the opposite point. The fishery about *Suez* is hardly worth mentioning ; what fish is caught
near it on that part being neither numerous nor wholesome, but unpalatable and hard of di-
gestion ; though we are told, that the *Red Sea* water is nothing so salt as that of the ocean or
Mediterranean †. The rest consists chiefly in naces, and some other shell-fish, which they
send to *Kayro* ; but which is neither more pleasant nor wholesome than the fish.

WE have had frequent occasion to speak of the isthmus of *Suez*, and of the various attempts
that have been made by the *Roman* emperors, and kings of *Egypt*, to cut a chanel through it,
and join the two seas together. All that we need add is, that there is to be seen a deep ditch,
which runs across from north to south, at about three miles distant from the town, and seems
to extend itself still farther through the adjacent sands, but all the way covered and filled with
them ; and is supposed to be a relique of that vain project, which gave birth to the expression
of *fodere isthmum*.

BUT to return to our *Alexandrian* metropolitan ; he is affirmed to have no less than one hun-
dred and forty bishopricks, either in *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Nubia*, or other parts which are subject to
his patriarchate ‡ ; besides the abuna or bishop of the *Abissinians*, who is likewise nominated
and consecrated by him, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter. The misfortune is, that those
diocefans, as well as the whole *Coptic* clergy and laity, are so oppressed by the government,
that they have laboured not only under the greatest poverty, but, what is still worse, most stub-
born and deplorable ignorance, ever since they embraced, in part, the *Eutychian* heresy (S) ;
which

* See these vessels more fully described in Pocock, ubi sup. p. 134, & seq. † GRANGER, ubi sup. c. 10.
‡ Eutych. annal. Alexand. See the list of them in RENAUDOT's hist. patriarch. Pocock, ubi sup. p. 279, & seq.
& al.

(S) We call it by the name of heresy, in conformity to the generality of controversial writers, tho', in reality, it was little more than a *logomachia*, as their learned pa-
triarch Gregory *Abulpharagus* rightly styles it, a dispute about words, and might have been easily compromised, if the bishops and monks of those days had been endowed with

- a which having been soon after condemned by the fourth council of *Chalcedon*, without any success, with respect to them, they became liable to all the anathemas and persecutions both of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and were used by them, especially by the former, as irreclaimable heretics, outcasts from the Christian church, and unworthy of the Christian name ^m.
- In this state of enmity, contempt, and misery, which contributed only the more to confirm them in their obstinacy and hatred, they continued till the invasion of *Egypt* by the *Turks*; when, partly out of revenge to the *Greeks*, and partly in hopes of obtaining better quarter from these powerful invaders, they joined them with great readiness, glad of so favourable an opportunity of retaliating the severities and cruelties they had suffered under them, with interest. Accordingly, they are taxed with having displayed a more than ordinary zeal against them, and of having cut off a much greater number of them than the *Turks* did; by which means they got the patriarch confirmed by those conquerors in all his privileges and liberties, which the rest have enjoyed ever since; and have preserved a kind of superiority of regard from the government, above that of the *Greek* church, who doth likewise reside in that metropolis, as head of his own flock, since their separation from the western or *Latin* church. Hence proceeded that virulent animosity and unchristian hatred, which hath reigned between the *Copts* and *Greeks*, ever since their becoming subject to the *Turks*; and which the *Romish* missionaries have endeavoured to put an end to, by trying every way and means to reconcile both to their antient mother, the church of *Rome*.
- b

A. D. 451.
Now much oppressed by the
Turks, hated
by the Greeks,
&c.

Side with the
Turks against
them.

Obtain a confirmation of
their patriarchate.

^m See the authors quoted under the note.

with the same irenic spirit, instead of that unchristian zeal which flamed amongst them, even in controversies of much less moment. But as this dispute was whether Christ had two natures, the human and divine, as was the general belief of the church, or whether those two natures were so absolutely, or the one absorbed in the other, as *Eutychius* affirmed, it was esteemed a point of too great moment to be so easily compromised between such furious opponents on both sides.

Eutychius, patriarch of *Alexandria*, was the first who maintained this new doctrine of one nature in Christ; for which he was excommunicated, and died in exile, though not before he had drawn a vast number of disciples, and some of the highest rank. He considered the opposite doctrine of two natures as too near akin to that attributed to *Nestorius*, of two hypostases, or persons, which he strenuously opposed. He was supported herein soon after by *Dioscorus*; who, to revenge his predecessor, called a new council at *Ephesus*, in opposition to that of *Chalcedon*, which had condemned him, and consisted of 630 prelates and fathers, with pope *Leo the great* at their head, and caused both pope and bishops to be excommunicated in their turn. And hence sprung the fatal breach between the *Latin* and *Alexandrian* churches; which hath continued ever since, in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the *Roman* missionaries to reconcile them to their church.

From this time, the *Alexandrian* patriarchs threw off the title of *Papa*, which they had assumed in common with those of *Rome*, and made an express law, forbidding any of their successors to resume it. However, tho' the *Chalcedonian* council might be too rash in their proceedings against *Eutychius* and his disciples, nothing can excuse the virulent treatment of the *Ephesine* against them, especially against so great and venerable a pontiff; and *Dioscorus* was justly punished for his indiscreet zeal, and, in his turn, anathematized, banished his patriarchate, and forced to die in exile, for his obstinacy in refusing to appear before the council. The consequence of which was, that *Proterus*, whom the court of *Constantinople* had nominated in his room, was assassinated in the cathedral, on *Good Friday*, 477, in a sedition raised by the *Monophysites*, who had already chosen another patriarch. From that time, there have been two patriarchs; the one of the *Greeks*, stiled the orthodox, and the other of the *Copts*, stiled schismatics; between whom hath reigned a perpetual war, till the Di-

vine Providence permitted them both to fall under the heavy yoke of the *Mohammedan* Khalifs, and next under the present one of the *Turkish* monarchs (11).

However, the *Coptic* party had, long before, the mortification to see that of the *Greeks* gain considerable ground of them, and their own to decline in proportion, both in number and credit; and it was actually sunk to a very low ebb, when their great restorer, the learned *Jacobus Zanzales*, bishop of *Edessa*, appeared in defence of the *Monophysite* doctrine; and by his writings, as well as his indefatigable travels through most parts of the east, did so effectually revive and spread it, that he hath been revered and esteemed ever since by the whole sect, who have affected to call themselves *Jacobites* from him; tho' the other Christians, as well as the *Turks*, call them still by their old name *Copts*, and some of the former, in contempt for their being circumcised, gave them the nick-name of *KUFTI*, or *GIRD-LERS*; meaning by it, that they are Christians only from the girdle upwards, but carry the scar of *Judaism* below it (12). For they have, since their first separation, whether out of a spirit of opposition, or in imitation of their neighbours the *Abissinians*, adopted both that and a multitude of other *Jewish* rites; of which we shall speak in the sequel. Their monks, likewise, who are dispersed all over the *Upper Egypt*, in poor wretched convents, amongst the most rocky and solitary parts, have adopted so much of the ascetic life of the old *Jewish* hermits, called *Essenians*, in *Judea* and *Syria*, and *Therapentes*, in *Egypt*, of whom we have given an account in a former part of this work (13), that they are looked upon as their spiritual offspring, and imitate them in nothing so much as in their long fasts, singing, and prayers, and other still more extravagant severities. Their patriarch commonly resides in the monastery of *St. Macarius*, with about 20 other monks, who live chiefly on the product of the ground, which they themselves cultivate. Their churches, church-utensils, as well as their dress, cells, gardens, &c. are as poor and mean as their diet, all over *Egypt*. Those of *Syria* and *Palestine*, where they are also very numerous, keep their churches and convents in better order, and are commonly more learned and civilized; whilst those of *Egypt*, by their ascetic way of life, contract a certain sourness in their temper, which, joined to their ignorance and tenaciousness, disqualify them for any conversation but among themselves (14).

(11) *De his, vide Eutych. annal. Alexandr. Asseman. Biblioth. orient. let. 2. pass. Renaudot, Liturg. orient. tom. 2. Hist. patriarchar. Alexandr. Baluzii collect. concilior. p. 902. Concil. Ephes. tom. iii. & al. aut. sup. citat.*

(12) *Purchas's Relat. lib. vi. c. 5. Rogers terre sainte, lib. ii. c. 4. Pori additions on Leo Afric. p. 390.*

(13) *See Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 169, & seq.*

(14) *Roger, ubi sup. Vide Pocock, Granger, Norden, & al. sup. citat.*

*Tamper'd with
in vain by
Roman mis-
sionaries.*

*Ignorance and
tenaciousness.*

Avoid disputes.

*Their great
power former-
ly.*

It must be owned, however, upon the whole, that, though both sides have hitherto shewn a themselves equally averse to any such re-union, the *Copts* are they that say least against it. The *Greeks*, who are more learned, and thoroughly versed in that controversy, have been always able to defend their separation from that church, by solid arguments from scripture, the fathers, and the belief and practice of the primitive church; whereas the very best of the *Copts* can allege little else than the traditions and customs they have received from their antient bishops and doctors, which is the whole canon they think themselves obliged to follow.

THE principal doctrine which they hold with great strenuousness, in opposition to other Christian churches, is, as we have observed in the last note, that of the *Monophysites*, or of one single nature in Christ. This error was at first propagated in *Egypt* and *Syria*, rather by sword and slaughter, like that of *Mohammed*, than by dint of reason and argument. The patriarchs of *Alexandria*, at that time the second in all *Christendom*, were both rich and powerful enough to claim an excessive authority over the clergy and laity; of which the ecclesiastical history of those times give many pregnant and dreadful instancesⁿ, which we willingly omit, as out of our province. And we need not wonder if it hath been maintained much in the same way, and with the like obstinacy, ever since. Their prelates and priests, conscious of their ignorance and incapacity to defend it, either industriously avoid entering into a controversy with the *Greeks* or *Latins*, or, if they cannot shun it, only appeal to their traditions and customs; alleging, that it would be impious, as well as presumptuous, to pretend to be wiser than our forefathers, who believed as we do; and would it be pardonable in us, to forsake the tenets they have taught us? If you press them so far with scripture-proofs, or the writings of the fathers, &c. or even from their own confession; that is, if you ask them, whether Christ was perfect man, they will answer in the affirmative; when you ask again, whether he was perfect God, they likewise answer, with an asseveration, yes, certainly; but when you infer to them from thence, that there must necessarily have been two natures in that Divine Redeemer; instead of yielding to the conclusion, they only give this short reply, *Stak far allah*, forbid it God! an expression they commonly use, when any thing is said to them that is contrary to their belief or inclination (T). And this is commonly the result of every dispute one hath with them^o.

*Circumcision
in both sexes.
1686.*

*Remissness in
baptism.*

*The patri-
arch's answer
about it.*

THIS stubborn tenaciousness extends itself no less to matters of practice and belief. They have adopted sundry *Jewish* rites, in common with the *Abissinians*, which, though abolished d from the first ages of the Christian church, they still observe with equal, if not with greater exactness and zeal, than they do the most essential ones of Christianity. Witness their circumcision and baptism, the former of which, if we may judge from their practice, they look on as so essential, that they administer it to both sexes; and so scrupulous are they in that point, that, in the year 1689, one of their most considerable persons at *Alexandria* refused to espouse a young woman of 16 years of age, who had been granted to him in marriage, till she was first resigned into the priest's hands, and been made to undergo that operation^p; whereas they are so remiss with respect to baptism, that they suffer their children to go without it, not only several months, but frequently years, without shewing the least concern about, or anxiety for, the many that die deprived of it. It is true, that, according to what they e stile their canon, that ceremony ought to be performed on the males forty, and on the females eighty days after their birth, according to their adopted *Jewish* ordinance for the purification of women^q, to the end the mother might be present at it. But when the patriarch hath been reminded of the danger there was of the infant's dying before that time, and of the unreasonableness of running that risk in mere compliance to a law which only affected the *Jews*; his answer was, that it was better a soul should perish, than that an ancient received canon should be infringed^r.

BUT it is much more to be feared, that this blind and uncharitable opposition is owing to the innate hatred which the *Copts* have conceived against the *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and *Latins*, who are more exact and scrupulous on that point, and, in case of danger, permit children to f be baptized at home, and by lay hands, or even by women; all which the *Copts* condemn, as uncanonical and unlawful.

ⁿ Vid. SOCRAT. chap. 14 & 15. & EUTYCH. annal. Alexand. sub an. 410, & seq. ASSEMAN, Biblioth. orient. tom. ii. pass. RENAUDOT, Liturg. orient. LA CROZE hist. Christian. Ethiopiæ, & al. mult. ^o MAILLET, Pocock, & al. ubi sup. ^p MAILLET, ubi sup. let. x. ^q Levitic. xii. 1, & seq. ^r MAILLET, ubi sup.

(T) Accordingly we are told, that some of the sprightly *French* belonging to the consul, having asked some of their women, whether, in their confessions (which are commonly public, and only in general terms) they

ever confessed any of the gallantries they indulged themselves with, in the absence of their husbands; they made them the same answer, *Stak far allah*, God forbid (15)!

(15) Maillet, ubi sup. let. x.

a THERE seems to be the same indecent contrast in all the other branches of the *Coptic* rites and church discipline. They admit of confession; but, instead of a private auricular and particular detail of their sins, exact no more than a public and general one, at proper appointed seasons, in which it sufficeth them to acknowledge themselves sinners; immediately after which, the good bishop or priest gives them his absolution, in the same general terms; God absolves or forgives you; and, without any other ceremony, reproof, or exhortation, dismisses them. In some cases of *meum* and *tuum*, and the like, they may be summoned to a private confession, where the person is examined about the fact; but it seldom produces the desired effect.

b If they are more strict in one thing than another, it is in their fasts; whether during their Lent, which begins with them fifty-five days before *Easter*, or their Advent, which lasts full forty-three days before *Christmas*, or on the eves of their holidays, or on other fast-days; during which they eat neither flesh, fish, fowl, nor eggs, and use neither butter or oil with their lenten fare; nor do they drink any thing but water all that time; and never break their fast with any thing till a little before sun-set. They even oblige their sick and dying, as well as children, after they are ten years old, to the same strictness. They preserve no regard for the sabbath; and, for that reason, not only exclude it from being a fast-day, but inveigh much against those that do otherwise, as being contrary to their ancient canon.

c Their courtships and marriages are pretty much after the manner that is observed all over the east. The maids are kept strictly out of sight, and not seen by their future spouses till the day of marriage; so that the addresses are performed by the relations of the man to those of the woman, and the terms of marriage concluded between them. When these are agreed upon, the ceremony is performed, without great shew or pomp, at the house of the intended wife; to which the bridegroom repairs with his friends. The priest is called in, who reads over the marriage-office before them; which, like the rest of their liturgy and divine service, is performed in the ancient *Coptic*, though understood by few even of their learned clergy. The ring is blessed, and exchanged from the finger of the man to that of the woman; who appears covered all over with a large veil, and discovers little else but the finger or hand that is to receive it. The priest's blessing concludes all, or rather introduces such a banquet, and other rejoicings, as their circumstances can afford; for, as we observed before, the *Copts*, as well as all the rest, are commonly very poor. The marriage-knot, however, is so far from being esteemed indissoluble among them, that not only the man, but what is rarely permitted or seen in those eastern parts, the woman, hath power to apply to the patriarch for a divorce; which he seldom fails of granting, not only in cases of breach of conjugal fidelity, but of any other dislike, whether mutual or only on one side, no matter which; the motive that induces the patriarch to this ready condescension is twofold; viz. the money which is commonly given for obtaining it; and, 2dly, that his refusal would not prevent their parting; for the displeased party would do it without his leave. Other branches of the *Coptic* faith, discipline, and worship, we shall refer to a subsequent chapter, in which we shall give the history of the great empire of *Abissinia*, where they make up the whole of the established religion, are most strictly and universally observed, and whence they have been transmitted to *Europe*, in a more ample and explicit manner, by unexceptionable hands. All, therefore, that needs be added with relation to the *Alexandrian* patriarchs, is, that they are the only ones who cannot be deposed by their bishops or government, except for apostacy or heresy; whereas those of the *Maronites*, *Greeks*, and *Armenians*, are often liable to it, through the avarice of the *Egyptian* Bishops, and the feuds that reign among their suffragans and clergy. So that, from the moment of his election and consecration, he becomes independant on any or all his diocesans, in all cases but that of heresy and defection from the *Monophysite* faith; for which several of them have been deposed and excommunicated*. And, with respect to their authority, they retain so much of it, with regard to their election, that they are still chosen to that dignity by and from among their bishops. These, at first, give their suffrages, *viva voce*; but if any dispute arises about the majority, or if the number of voters happens to be equal, the suffragans then give the name of the candidate in writing, and lay it, with great solemnity, on the high altar. However, the richest of the laity have a great influence in all these elections, and frequently cause them to be cancelled, if they like not the person chosen, they being the persons who lay down the money with which their firman, or patent, is purchased; which is afterwards repaid to them out of his revenue. When the election is over, he is first installed in the great church of *St. Macarius*, at *Kayro*, where he is elected; and afterwards at that of *St. Mark*, at *Alexandria*. He is obliged to preach once a year to his clergy; whilst they are all exempt from, or, to speak more properly, are unfit for, that duty; instead of which they read homilies

* Vide EUTYCH. annal. Alexand. sub indice Heretic. sub verbo Jacobitæ. Vide & MAILLET, let. xii. Pocock, p. 246.

† Vide MAILLET, & al.

* De his, vide ASSEM. in disert. in Monophys.

and legendary books to the laity, on set days, from the pulpit. They chuse young deacons a to serve in the lower offices of the mass, and other parts of the divine service; and who, tho' but eight or nine years old, receive the sacrament as often as it is administered †. And so much shall suffice with respect to the *Coptic* religion.

As for the others, which are tolerated in *Egypt*, such as the *Jewish*, *Greek*, *Armenian*, and *Latin*, there will be the less occasion for us to expatiate upon them, as they have been amply spoken of in a former part of this work, as the reader may readily find by consulting the general index of our *Ancient History* ^a, for each of them. Much less need we add any thing to what we have already said concerning *Islamism*, or the *Turkish* religion; which is the established one in this country, and which will be found fully treated of in the beginning of this *Modern Part* ^w; where, in the course of the *Arabic* history, we have also taken b notice of the reduction of this kingdom under their obedience, by the warlike Khalif *Al Moktafi* ^x, by whom that religion was first established in it, and hath been the reigning one to this present time, and is, in all respects, the same in *Egypt* as it is in the heart of the *Ottoman* empire; excepting, perhaps, that they are not quite so strict in observing it in the former, as they are in the latter; so that we have now no more to say upon that article, except their grand pilgrimage to *Mecca*, the center of the *Mohammedan* faith, which every *Moslem* is obliged to make at least once in his life (U), and which sets out from *Kairo* once a year, and is one of the most splendid and numerous cavalcades, or, as they term it, caravans, in all the East; and such is the zeal of the *Mohammedans* for that venerable city, that numberless multitudes of pilgrims, of all ranks and conditions, croud yearly thither from c *Turkey* in *Europe*, from *Asia*, and *Africa*, notwithstanding the vast expences, fatigues, and dangers, which attend that pilgrimage, and repair to *Kairo*, the place whence the caravan sets out, from *Morocco*, *Fez*, *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and other parts of *Barbary*, through long and dreadful deserts, and at the greatest perils, such as we have described in a foregoing chapter, for the sake of joining with them in that meritorious pilgrimage, which, among the other blessings it is attended with, intitles those who have performed it but once in their lives, to be esteemed and revered at their return, as great saints, by all their countrymen (W).

Vast zeal of the Moslems for their pilgrimage;

who are greatly respected after it.

Route to Mecca interrupted by a war, and a new one discovered.

We observed, at the beginning of this chapter, that the governors or *Bashas* of *Egypt* d are they who have the ordering of this caravan, appoint the chief officers and escorte which are to attend it, and furnish the grand pavilion and other hangings, which are designed for the grand mosk at *Mecca*, and which are wrought for that end at the castle of *Kairo*; the reason of which seems to be, that the route which they take from *Kairo* to *Mecca* is the very same which the *Mohammedans* of *Africa* followed, both in going and coming, before *Egypt*

† Pocock, ubi sup. p. 508, & seq.

^a In fin. vol. vii.

^w Vol. i. p. 17, & seq.

^x See before, vol. i.

(U) This famed pilgrimage is affirmed to be of much antienter date than *Mohammed*; not indeed on account of *Abraham's* tomb, or of his offering his son *Isaac* there, as the *Mohammedans* pretend, but on account of the famed oak of *Mambre*, or *Mamre*, under which that patriarch dwelt, and entertained the three angels, and, as *Nicholas Damascenus* tells us, became famous for the pilgrimages which all the neighbouring nations, Heathens, as well as *Jews* and *Christians*, made to it. And *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* assure us that it was a place of great resort in their time, not only on a religious but commercial account; so that *Mohammed* only enforced the continuation by new motives, which, added to the old ones, could not but prove effectual. Nevertheless his followers have not thought it of such absolute necessity, in order to their admission into paradise, but allow that it may be performed by proxy, provided the principal pay the charges of it (15).

(W) Meaning, doubtless, the ignorant and superstitious part of them; for the wiser sort know full well, that pride, avarice, and other worldly ends, have as great a share in these pilgrimages, as religion and superstition; seeing the city of *Mecca* is, at that time, no less a place of commerce than devotion, or, to speak more properly, one of the greatest fairs, at which the richer part of those pilgrims exchange the commodities of their own country, which they bring thither with them, for the noblest, richest, and most valuable mer-

chandizes of *Persia* and the *East Indies*, which are brought thither by the *Red Sea*; so that if of the 40,000 persons, of which these caravans usually consist, one excludes the mercantile part, and their numerous servants, the Emir Hadge, or chief commander, and his vast retinue, as well as the Janissaries, Spahis, and their officers, who guard the caravan (and are all considerable gainers in proportion to their posts), if to these we add the vast multitude of idle vagrants, who follow them merely to live upon their charities; it is to be feared the number of true devotees will be considerably lessened; and this will more fully appear by the account, which shall be given in the sequel, of the caravan itself, and those that compose it (26).

Moreover, with respect to those *Meccan* pilgrims, so much revered by the vulgar, we must not omit a common observation, stamped by experience into a kind of proverb, That they are commonly worse after a pilgrimage than they were before. And it is a common saying amongst them, *If a man hath been at Mecca once, beware of him; if he hath been twice there, have nothing to do with him; and if he hath been three times to Mecca, remove out of his neighbourhood* (17). Our author indeed tells us, that this is rather an observation of the *Jews* and *Christians*, than of the *Mohammedans*; but by all the accounts we have of it, it plainly appears, that few of the latter deny the truth of it, except the ignorant and superstitious.

(15) See Mr. Prideaux, Mr. Sale, and other commentators on the *Koran*. *Levant*, l. ii. c. 17, & seq. Maillet, ubi sup. Pocock, lib. iv. c. 5, & al.

(16) *Thevenot's voyage to the*
(17) *Ibid. iid.*

- a was subdued by the *Turks*, and consequently the best known and beaten; though these caravans were, in all probability, as often interrupted, as the wars between the *Ommiyad* and *Alid* khalifs raged, of which we have given an account at the beginning of this Modern Part^u: so that, to satisfy the devotion of the pilgrims on the one hand, and the greediness of the merchants on the other, they had been obliged to seek out for a safer route, which was by sailing up the *Nile*, quite to the farthest part of *Higher Egypt*, towards the small town of *Alessowan*, and thence to cross the ridge of mountains called since *Moccatem*, from the road which they were obliged to cut through it^x, in order to come to the small sea-port of *Aydab*, on the *Red Sea*, which took them up seventeen days; thence they cross over to *Giddab*, distant about two days sailing, in transports, sent thence for that purpose, which, in two days more land them on the *Arabian* coast.

- b THIS is the route they had been forced to trace for these caravans at an immense cost, not only in cutting a road fit for them through such a ridge of mountains (X), but in digging wells, of a great depth, in the rock, to supply them with water, and which, though so brackish that it was hardly fit for either man or beast, they were forced to dispense with. But no sooner were those bloody wars between the successors of *Mohammed* happily terminated, than every thing began to run in its antient chanel, and the former route again resumed, which hath been followed ever since^y, with this farther conveniency, that when *Omar* had made himself master of *Egypt*, and had chosen *Mecca* for the place of his residence, he sent orders to *Amru*, whom he had appointed governor of it, to cleanse the old *Khalis*, or, as others have it, to cut a great canal from *Kayro* to *Suez*, for the more easy conveyance of the merchandizes which are sent from thence to *Mecca*[†]: the misfortune was, that this canal was, thro' the negligence of the *Egyptians*, suffered in time to be quite choaked up with the mud of the *Nile*, by which this carriage by sea from *Kayro* to *Mecca* was quite set aside, and the caravan deprived of the benefit of it. Another inconvenience attending it, is that the day of its departure (as well as the length of its continuance, which is 100 days in all) is fixed to a certain day of their year; but as they reckon it only by moons, which makes it shorter by four days than the solar, it must of course happen, that, in the space of 33 of theirs, or 32 of ours, that day runs through all the four seasons, whether convenient or not for so long a march. It consists of two encampments, which are likewise fixed; those of *Kayro*, *Constantinople*, *Damascus*, and other places, compose the first; and those of *Africa*, from *Morocco*, quite round to *Tripoly*, make up the second; and this, on their departure, sets out one day after the former, and serves as a kind of a rear-guard, and encamps each night on the spot where the other did on the foregoing. But on their return the order is inverted, and these march first, and form the van-guard to the latter. The reason of which is, to

Vast expence and trouble of it.

The old one resumed.

A canal cut from Kayro; but is choaked up again with mud.

The time of their departure why inconvenient.

^u Vol. i. p. 258. & seq.

^x See SHAW'S Travels, p. 341.

^y THEVENOT, MAILLET, POCOCK,

& al. ubi sup.

[†] See before, vol. i. p. 240, & seq. vid. & MAILLET, ubi sup. letter 13.

(X) In this ridge, we are told, were found those mines of emeralds mentioned by *Strabo*, and so famed for their beauty and hardness, but which have been either exhausted, or, as others will have it, forgot and lost long since. The *Arabs*, we are told, are still in search of them, and find the roots or refuse of them in great abundance, as well as, sometimes, precious stones, chrystal, old medals, and small images of earthen ware, but few of these intire. These emerald roots are neither pellucid, nor of a deep green, like the fine old ones above-mentioned; whence it is imagined, that the mine is exhausted. Yet it is not improbable that the *Arabs* only keep it concealed, or, perhaps, quite covered over, to prevent the *Turks*, who are their masters, reaping the benefit of them; and to prevent being suspected about it, tell a tragical story of one of their princes, named *Muley Hassein*, who was lord of them, and the last of that royal race of kings who had heretofore reigned over *Egypt*; but had been driven out of it by the *Turks*, and reduced to a small canton within this ridge of barren mountains, and under tribute to the conqueror; but where he comforted himself for his loss with the possession of this rich mine, which enabled him to exercise the greatest liberalities among his neighbouring Emirs, among whom he quickly grew in the highest esteem, and was adored by all his own subjects. To all these comforts he added one more in a spouse, no less beloved than beautiful, and endued with all the excellencies of her

sex. In this height of contentment his ill fortune raised him a powerful enemy in the *Basha* of *Egypt*, who became at once enamoured with his emerald mine and his favourite wife, and ceased not accusing him to the *Porte* of sundry treasonable designs, till he received orders from thence to seize on him and his country; which he accordingly did, with a powerful army. The prince, with the small handful of his subjects, defended himself with his usual valour near six months; but being at length overpowered and surrounded by his enemy, beyond the power of escaping him, thought now of nothing but how to prevent their coming to the knowledge of the mine, and then fall, sword in hand, in the midst of the slaughter.

There were, it seems, but six of his most favourite servants that knew the entrance into the mine, and these he called to him, and declared to them the design of the *Basha*, in such moving terms, as easily persuaded them to submit their necks to the bow-string, to prevent their being tortured into a discovery. These were no sooner dispatched than he hastened to his wife's apartment, who, being apprised of his design, before he took his leave of her, he had the melancholy satisfaction to see her die at his feet, of a dose of poison which she had already taken, by way of precaution against the *Basha*. *Hassein* was not long in completing his design; for running with a desperate fury among the thickest of the enemy, he fell at length incircled with a multitude of them*.

* *De hoc, vid. Maillet, ubi sup. vol. ii. p. 59, & seq. in lett. vii.*

Turks afraid
of an old pro-
phesy.

prevent those *Barbaric Africans* attempting to make themselves masters of the city of *a* *Mecca*; the *Turks* pretending that there is some old prophecy, or prediction, that they would do so². And though that prophecy respects all the *Magharbin*, or western nations, and may as well mean the *Europeans*, or Christians, who have a greater claim to that situation; yet, as they are not sure which of the two it may mean, it is natural for them to take all proper precautions against both; though they are more afraid of the former, because they are of the same religion, and equally the disciples of *Mohammed*³.

Escorte of the
caravan.

The commander
in chief, or E-
mir Hadge.

His vast pow-
er and profit.

WE hinted in a late note, that these caravans joined to their devotions a considerable com-
merce, and returned home laden with the richest goods from *Persia* and *India*, which
come to *Gedda* by the *Red Sea*, and are thence conveyed to *Mecca*; and this, joined to
the richness of the presents which are carried thither, and the strong prepossessions of the
Turks about the prophecy above-mentioned, makes it necessary that they should be attended
by a sufficient guard, for which end there is always a draught made of all the best troops
in *Egypt* to escorte them, at the head of which is the Emir Hadge, or prince of the pil-
grims, who is commonly some opulent Bey, appointed by the Bascha, and hath, besides the
guard above-mentioned, between 400 and 500 horsemen, well mounted and armed, whom
he keeps in pay at his own charge, and for which the *Porte* allows him 100,000 sequins,
over and above his other perquisites, arising from the immense quantity of provisions, which
he causes to be conveyed on a vast number of camels, going and coming; the letting out
most of those that carry the trading pilgrims merchandizes; the presents which those who
make use of their own, and a vast number of officers and other inferiors, such as victuallers,
cooks, &c. are obliged to make to him; all which put together amount to a much larger
sum. His power is still greater, or in some measure absolute, from his first setting out of the gates
of *Kairo* to his re-entering. He hath power of life and death over the whole caravan, is
sole judge of all crimes, misdemeanors, and contests, which happen during the whole pil-
grimage, condemns to fines, bastinado, or even death, at his discretion, without being called
to any after-account, either for that, or for the vast sums which he sinks into his pockets
during the journey^b.

Ceremony at
his entrance
into the Do-
wan.

A DAY or two before his setting out, he repairs to the castle, with a vast retinue of his
own friends, domestics, and all the officers belonging to the escorte; and being entered into
the hall or Dowan, is received there with great ceremony by the Bascha, at the head of that
grand court, consisting of near 3000 persons. There his *Khathe Scharif*, or patent, which
confirms him Emir Hadge, is publicly read, together with the inventory of all the precious
things, which the Bascha then commits to his care, in their presence; namely, the new pa-
vilion, the number of purses which the Grand Signor sends as presents to the city and temple
of *Mecca*, and of those which are allotted by him for the defraying of the charges of the
pilgrimage. The Bascha then presents him with a splendid vest of superfine cloth, richly lined,
and a number of others of less value to his officers; to which he usually adds a large quan-
tity of provisions, such as cattle, fowl, rice, sugar, coffee, &c. to the value of about 2000
crowns, in lieu of which, the Emir, at his return, presents him with some of the richest
Indian merchandizes to an equivalent. Upon his leaving the Dowan, he rides through the
castle and several streets of *Kayro*, attended with the same splendid retinue, and clothed
with his new magnificent vest, the rich pavilion being carried before him to his own palace,
where he gives them and the grand officers of that city an elegant entertainment. The day,
and especially the evening, before his departure, is wholly spent in feasting and all kinds of
rejoicings between the pilgrims and their friends, who come to take their leave, and appear
in the finest dresses and equipages; the very ladies and their women, tho' on all other oc-
casions so closely kept, are permitted to assist at this festivity, and come thither in their
covered litters, or sedans; so that the city and the camp, where the general rendezvous is
kept, on the banks of the lake, about three or four miles from the city, affords one of the
most delightful and magnificent spectacles of the whole year, nothing being seen or heard,
during that short interval, but the finest illuminations and fireworks, accompanied with the
greatest profusion of the richest fare, and the greatest variety of concerts of music, both vocal
and instrumental. The common report is, that on the morrow, which is the day of the
caravan's departure, the number of those who return from the camp to the city, either on
horseback or in sedans, on mules, asses, or on foot, amounts to 150,000: and though our
author, who had seen it more than once, owns it to be exaggerated, yet he allows that there
could not be less than half that number^c.

The presents
delivered to
him there.

The grand pa-
vilion carried
before him.

Great rejoice-
ings and
feasting at the
camp.

Number of
pilgrims.

WE have already hinted, that the number of those which compose the caravan seldom
amounts to less than 400,000, but is often much greater, in times of peace and plenty, when

² MAILLET, ubi sup. lett. ult. Pocock, ubi sup. lib. iv. c. 5. & al. sup. citat.

^b Ibid. ubi sup.

^c MAILLET, ubi sup. lett. ult.

^a Ibid. ibid.

- a the commerce is not obstructed; and all the *Mohammedans* in general are brought up from their infancy with such an ardent desire of making that pilgrimage, that neither the fatigue and dangers, nor even the great expence that attends it, though naturally parsimonious (Y), can allay their zeal and devotion for it, their very women being allowed to perform it with the pilgrimage amongst the *Turks*, as well as it doth among some Christian nations, no less scrupulous and delicate than they in that point. However, they are very careful of performing it with all the decency and reservedness that the case will allow. The rich ones travel in close litters, or sedans, carried between two camels; and those of the lower rank in large covered baskets, two of which are thrown over and hang on each side of a single camel, wherein they sit conveniently, and sheltered from wind and rain, as well as from sight. Others, who cannot afford this kind of conveniency, have a way of riding on a single beast, yet so covered as to be quite out of sight: and all proper care is taken, and strict discipline kept, to prevent all that are of that sex from being insulted by the others.

Women allowed to make this pilgrimage.

How they travel.

Paint and other ornaments of the caravan.

The grand pavilion and sacred camel.

- ALL the camels belonging to the caravan are painted yellow, and have some kind of ornaments on their heads, breasts, and harness, especially those that go at the head of every company, which are known by the plumes of red ostrich feathers on their heads, a fine flag on each side, and their trappings are bespangled with variety of shells. The second and third of each drove have bells on each side, about a foot long; and all of them under their saddle a coarse carpet, to cover them at night^d. Those which belonged to the Emir Hadge, and to the richer sort of pilgrims of both sexes, are still more richly adorned: but none more magnificently so than those which are made choice of to carry the presents to *Mecca*, especially that which carries the great pavilion called *Mahmel*, or covering of *Mohammed* and *Abraham's* tomb, which is made in the shape of a pyramid, with a square base, all richly embroidered with gold on a green and red ground, the view of the house of *Mecca* being embroidered upon it, with a portico around it. The camel designed to bear it is said to be bred for that purpose. This is, like the rest, painted yellow, with a powder called *Henna*, and is covered with a rich carpet that comes down to his feet, so that nothing is seen of him but his head, neck, and crupper; which are richly adorned. After he has performed this office, he is esteemed sacred, and never more put to any use^e. The sum total of the camels belonging to the Emir Hadge amounts to 3000, but the rest is beyond computation.

- d We shall subjoin at the end of the article the order of the march, that it may be seen at one view. As for their encampments, they are so settled, as that the caravan shall arrive at *Mecca* in thirty eight days, neither more nor less, let the roads and weather prove favourable or not, unless the wild *Arabs* chance, as they sometimes do, to attack and plunder them; at which times they are obliged to join all their forces to beat them away, which will retard their arrival a day or two. On this account, besides the great guns which attend the caravan, they load some of their camels with a smaller sort, which serve to give the signal for encamping, marching, &c. as well as to fright away those free-booters, of whom we have given an account in a preceding chapter^f, when they approach them too nearly.

Often obliged to fight the wild Arabs.

^d Pocock, ubi sup. lib. iv. c. 5. MAILLET, & al. ubi sup.

^e Pocock, ubi sup. MAILLET, & al. sup. citat.

^f Vid. &

(Y) This expence may be easily guessed at, if we consider the length of the journey, which, as hath been already hinted, is full 100 days, and of the carriage not only of themselves, but of all their provisions, to the very water and fuel; they passing through no towns going or coming, except the city of *Medina*, and that only in their return, and meeting with no supplies of water, but once in three or four days, nor any eatables, except what some of the wild *Arabs* come on purpose to offer to sale, and that commonly at an extravagant rate. Those likewise which are bought up at *Mecca*, in order for their return, are commonly sold there three times as dear as at *Kayro*; these caravans bringing a dearth into every place they pass through.

Another no less considerable expence attending them is the fine appearance which every one endeavours to make at them, many of them above what their condition will allow; the large liberalities they affect to distribute among the multitudes of idle miscreants that follow them, with no other end than to live upon their bounty; and the rich presents they vie to make to the holy city and temple of *Mecca*. To all which if we add

the extravagant price they must pay for every thing, which either their curiosity or pride induces them to purchase, or sickness, or any other accident by the way, obliges them to procure, and the presents which must be made to the Emir Hadge and his officers for their escorte, protection, and any other accidental favours, it cannot appear, upon the whole, other than a very expensive journey, to those who undertake it merely out of devotion, how profitable soever it may be to the rest; and plainly shews how liberal and profuse they can be upon this occasion, who on all others are so noted for their fordid parsimony.

There are, indeed, vast quantities of lands and houses, and other revenues, belonging to *Mecca*, amounting to an immense yearly sum; a sufficient portion of which is appropriated to the service of this pilgrimage, to defray all those charges, and prevent all those impositions. The misfortune is, that the receivers find pretences to elude the right application of them, and sink a great part of them into their pockets; and what is appropriated for this caravan, is as much abused by the Emir Hadge (18).

(17) Vid. Maillet, Pocock, Norden, Perry, et al. sup. citat.

Manner of
their march-
ing.

In great dan-
ger from the
southern
winds, clouds
of sand, and
other frightful
accidents

Are met by
other cara-
vans.

Arrive at
Mecca, and
go to Mount
Arafat.

Visit other
places.

How the old
pavilion is
disposed of.

Vast traffick
of that fair.

THE departure of the caravan is fixed to the 27th day of the moon which follows their *Ramadan*^a. They commonly set out every day about four or five hours before the sun rising, and continue their march till about two in the afternoon. But when the season proves excessive hot, they begin to move an hour before sun-set, and march on till two hours before sun-rise the next morning. At such time the north wind commonly blows very brisk, and is so refreshing to them, that they not only open that side of their tents to it, but hang vessels in the air full of water, which quickly contract a most delightful coolness. But whenever that wind chances to fail them, as it sometimes doth, though rarely, the heat becomes so intolerable, that the people are seized with diseases, accompanied with lowness of spirits, that they seldom bury less than 300 or 400 in a day, which are perfectly stifled for want of breath; and if the wind chance to blow from the south, it carries with it such a fiery heat, as kills b one in an instant. We have given an account in the foregoing chapter of this kind of winds, and the precautions which the *Africans* take to avoid the dreadful effects of them, though too frequently to no effect: and it often happens that these winds bring with them such clouds, or rather mountains of sand, as serve to bury the bodies of those whom they have smothered with their fiery heat; by which means they quickly become so dry and light, that the subsequent caravans, by taking the same route, have not only marched over them, but felt them under their feet; and sometimes, by treading upon their toes, have reared the withered carcases full against their faces^b.

WHEN the caravan hath got safely through all these dangers, and is arrived at *Beddar*, or *Beddr*, six days journey from *Mecca*, it is joined by that of *Damascus*; which setting out c from that capital the same day this doth from *Kayro*, and keeping the same number of encampments, arrives there at the same time; after which they march jointly to *Mecca*. In this last they stay three days, waiting the arrival of those of *Bagdad*, *Balsora*, and other parts of *Asia*, as well as those which come from *India* by sea; all which usually get thither by that time, which is the day fixed for their repairing all in one body to *Mount Arafat*, distant about six hours from *Mecca*, and supposed by them to be the same mountain on which *Abraham* offered up his son *Isaac*ⁱ. There they celebrate the festival called *Korban Beyram*, or second *Beiram*, or, as the *Arabs* style it, *Je-Al-Korban*, and *Je-Al-Adbâ*, the feast of the sacrifice^k; from the immense numbers of oxen, sheep, goats, fowl, pigeons, and other poultry, which are slaughtered on that festival, and given to the poor, all over the *Moslem* world, and d here in particular, either upon, or more probably at the foot of, the mountain, by every pilgrim, according to his circumstances or devotion^l.

THIS preliminary ceremony being ended, they all begin to pare their nails, shave their heads and beards, and wash themselves all over, some only covering their nudities with a small piece of linen, whilst others, neglecting that superstitious nicety, as they think it, expose their naked bodies to public view; and repeat their prayers, suitable to the occasion, with all possible intenseness. This being ended, they return to *Mecca* by the same way, and pay their next visit and devotions to the house or station of the patriarch *Abraham*, the *Kaaba*, and other holy places of devotion in that city, of which we have given an account in a former volume^m, and then prepare for their return. During that time it is that the grand new pavilion, or covering, brought thither from *Kayro*, and lately described, is put e up there instead of the old one, which is delivered up to the Emir Hadge, to be conveyed by him to *Constantinople*, and presented to the Grand Signor, as was formerly done, who then used to have it cut in pieces, and distributed among all the *Mohammedan* princes and great officers, as most valuable presents. But whether it is their regard for such sort of relics, or on what other account we know not, but those Emirs have long since claimed a right to it, and cut it into small shreds, and sell them among the pilgrims at an extravagant price, they being all ambitious to purchase some small particle of it; and happy is he that can carry away the smallest bit either of this or of the old hangings, which are likewise soldⁿ.

ALL this time not only the mercantile part of the caravan, but all that come to this solemn f fair, are either exchanging their merchandizes for those of *Persia* and *India*, or buying for themselves and families such wares and other nicknacks and trifles as they are able, and suit with their circumstances; the poorest and meanest among them being no less ambitious to carry home something from that celebrated city, by means of the great and general liberality which at that time reigns among the rich and devout. As we have elsewhere described the city of *Mecca*^o, we need not remind our readers here that its smallness makes it altogether unfit to contain such a vast concourse of people, wares, beasts, and carriages, as resort to it at this season, and that each caravan hath its respective encampments in the plain about it,

^a De hoc, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 48, & (H).

^b Vide auct. sup. citat.

ⁱ Genesis xxii. 2, & seq.

^k De hoc, vid. vol. i. p. 181.
& seq.

^l Vid. ibid. p. 102, & seq.

^m Vol. i. p. 98, & seq. 102,

^o Vol. i. p. 98, & seq. & alib. pass. & auct. sup. citat.

- a where care is taken that both merchants and pilgrims be accommodated with all necessary conveniencies during their short stay. And it is a surprising thing to see what prodigious quantities and variety of the richest and most valuable commodities from *Persia*, *India*, and other parts, are bought and sold during that short space, besides the coffee, myrrh, incense, and other products of *Arabia*, amounting to several millions; and what is still more surprising is, the extraordinary ease and silence with which the business is dispatched; the whole time of the caravan's stay there being confined to twelve days; which being ended, the Emir Hadge gives his signal for their departure. However, it often happens that the wealthy merchants, not having been able to expedite all their affairs by that time, are forced to apply to him for a respite of two or three days longer; but this is seldom obtained without some valuable
- b presents; after which they may easily recover that time, by making a shorter stay than usual at the places through which they pass on their return. From their departure from *Mecca*, they arrive again at *Beddar* or *Beddr* in six days; from which they reach the city of *Medina* in three more, where the first *Mohammedan* Khalifs resided, before they removed their seat to *Damascus*, and where they pay their devotions at *Mohammed's* sepulchre, which we have elsewhere described^a, as well as the stately mosk erected over it. Here they likewise make their presents to the place, every one according to their ability; and after a stay of three days, return by the way of *Yamboos*, whilst that of *Damascus* leaves them here in its return to *Syria*. On its march, that of *Kayro* meets in its way, and at four different encampments, a fresh convoy with a plentiful supply of provisions and refreshments, sent from thence for that purpose; the last of which they receive when they are come within ten days journey of that city^c. But nothing, in their reckoning, affords them a more delicious refreshment than that of tasting again the waters of the *Nile*, after those brackish and distasteful ones which they had been forced to take up with during that long and fatiguing journey. Their next delight is the sight of their friends and relations, who fail not to meet them at the place where they had parted from them, and where, after the first congratulations, they are received with the same rejoicings, feasting, and other tokens of mirth, as had accompanied their parting.

Visit Moham-
med's tomb at
Medina.

Return to
Kayro.

- FROM this time those who have had the good fortune to return home safe, are dubbed with the title of *Hadge*, or Pilgrim, which is always tacked before their own name, as *Hadge Mebamed*, *Hadge Mustapha*, &c. and have a particular respect paid them above the rest. When introduced into their own houses by their near relations, they find the entrance adorned with garlands, and other trophies, and the inside splendidly decorated with domestic ornaments, for their reception. As for such of them as died in the pilgrimage, as they are destitute of those marks of joy, so are they likewise of those of mourning and sorrow. We may add here, however, that those that have happily survived it, appear so sunburnt, emaciated, and so strangely altered, that their relations can hardly know them; and the poor camels, which have borne the greatest burdens, bring little more of their own with them than their skins and bones; and though laden with the richest merchandizes, are no sooner rid of the loads than they are turned out by their inhuman masters, to starve in the barren
- e sands, being neither fit for sale nor thought worth their keeping; even that which was chosen to carry the pavilion, and is intitled to a plentiful and agreeable maintenance for the rest of his life (there being more than a sufficient provision made for it by the Grand Signor) is commonly dispatched in a little time, by poison, or some other private death, by those who are intrusted with the care of it^d. And thus much may suffice for a short sketch of this grand pilgrimage; there remains only that we subjoin to it the promised detail and order of the cavalcade, which guards and escorts it, and this the reader may see at one view under the following note (Z).

IT

^a Vol. i. p. 128, & seq.^c MAILLET, ubi sup.^d Ibid. ibid. vid. & al. sup. citat.

(Z) The order of the cavalcade which escorts the caravan's march.

1. One iron cannon, and six brass ones, each drawn by two horses.

2. Four frames, embroidered, and supposed of leather, drawn by men on foot, and carrying the powder and ball.

3. Seven camels laden with the provisions of the Emir Hadge, or prince of the pilgrims.

4. Four persons mounted on camels, and playing upon some musical instruments.

5. A Tartavan, or litter, carried by four mules.

6. Eight light litters of the Emir Hadge, each carried by two camels.

7. Seventy camels laden with biscuit.

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8. Fourteen camels laden with oil and butter.

9. Fifty camels laden with corn, and one with two boxes full of long wax candles, for the service of the house of *Mecca*.

10. Ten camels laden with coffee, sugar, &c.

11. Four camels carrying kitchen utensils.

12. Nine camels laden with plates.

13. Eight camels laden with the kitchen tent, and dressers for the cooks.

14. Eighty-six camels unladen, belonging to the Emir Hadge.

15. Twelve others in the same manner, richly caparisoned.

16. Sixty more, belonging to the Emir Hadge.

17. Fifty-four more, laden with water.

K

18. Ten

It is not, however, to be supposed, that the commerce which that caravan carries on a with *Mecca*, considerable as it is, is the only one belonging to this kingdom; though it is allowed

18. Ten more, loaded with tents.
19. Eight more, loaded with water.
20. Twelve ditto, carrying each a large box on both sides, for the use of the sick; two of them covered, and containing medicines, and one with two boards, with holes, for washing the dead; all of them provided by private benefactions.
21. Two camels, on which were the persons who take care of the sick.
22. Kettle-drummers, mounted on camels, and beating on them. The same almost at the end of every string of camels, at the distance of near half an hour, follow the rest.
23. Six camels laden with iron frames, in which they make their fire.
24. A single litter.
25. Four loaded camels.
26. Another kettle-drummer, mounted on a camel.
27. Twenty camels unladen.
28. Twenty cafes, with balls and powder, on camels.
29. Six camels laden with tents and other things.
30. Five more cafes of powder and ball.
31. Ten camels laden with water.
32. One camel mounted by a kettle-drummer, &c.
33. More cafes of powder and ball.
34. A single litter.
35. Two loaded camels.
36. Another with music.
37. Thirty camels unladen.
38. Ten overseers of the water camels.
39. Three camels more; and a fourth with music.
40. Twenty more with loads.
41. Two with water.
42. Sixteen water overseers on horseback.
43. Three camels mounted by men.
44. Forty unladen.
45. Four more cafes of powder and ball.
46. Two camels laden with water,
47. The Imam, or head Sheik, who is the chaplain of the caravan, and offers the sacrifices on *Mount Arafat*; his garment of ceremony white; he carries a green flag with his right hand, with which he blesses the people, by waving it gently to and fro.
48. Eleven camels unladen.
49. Three more mounted by pilgrims.
50. Two others with music.
51. Two mounted by the Sheiks who lead the van.
52. Twenty more without loads.
53. Twenty laden with water, and one with drums.
54. Ten others unladen.
55. Five more with water.
56. The banner of the Spahes, called Cherites.
57. Thirty of their body.
58. Twenty Iskiars of the same body, each having a pike carried before him.
59. The Sardar of the Sheiks, and his lieutenant.
60. Some of his led horses.
61. Two Seraches who serve under him.
62. Twelve slaves on horseback.
63. Thirty Iskiars, or elders of them.
64. Four slaves in coats of mail made of wire.
65. Sixty of the body called *Tuphekiers*.
66. One-and-twenty other slaves.
67. Twenty men on camels.
68. Twelve camels for the Sardar.
69. Two others without loads.
70. Two others with kettle-drums.
71. Seven more with baggage.
72. Fifty of the body of the *Giumelues*.
73. Their Sardar.
74. Twenty soldiers, with ten slaves, carrying bows and arrows.
75. Thirteen camels with men on them.
76. Two with kettle-drummers.
77. Four laden ones.
78. Two officers called Oda Bashas.
79. Two led horses.
80. Two Sabaderiks in Castans.
81. Seven camels laden.
82. Two led horses.
83. Two Oda Bashas.
84. One camel.
85. Thirty-four Chouxes, or messengers of the Dowan.
86. Other officers of it.
87. The officers of the Emir Hadge, in the following order;
88. A Choux, or messenger, in black.
89. Three standards.
90. Five saddled camels.
91. Eight led horses.
92. Two Seraches.
93. Two Janissaries.
94. Two Kajas of the Emir Hadge.
95. His Hafnadar, or treasurer.
96. Twenty-six saddled camels.
97. Five led horses.
98. One saddled camel.
99. Twenty-eight men on camels, two of them playing on musical instruments.
100. Five laden camels.
101. The body of the Afabs.
102. Their two Cabadericks.
103. Other Oda Bashas.
104. The standard of the Afabs.
105. Three in Castans, who walked.
106. Three others in the habit of ceremony.
107. The Sardar and his lieutenant.
108. Saddled camels.
109. Men on laden camels.
110. Players on instruments.
111. Another body of Afabs.
112. Another of Janissaries.
113. Two Sabadericks of that body.
114. Two Janissaries.
115. Two Seraches.
116. A standard.
117. Three men walking in Castans.
118. Three Janissaries.
119. Their Sardar.
120. His lieutenant.
121. Two Janissaries.
122. Two saddled camels.
123. Thirty-four men on camels.
124. Eight loaded camels.
125. Another body of Janissaries.
126. A standard bearer.
127. Another in a leopard's skin.
128. One-and-twenty Chouxes.
129. The Aga of the seven military bodies; with silver chains hanging from their horses bridles to their breastplates.
130. Twelve Beys, and before each two Shatirs in blue:
131. The Trogoman Aga.
132. The mute Serica Bashee.
133. His guards.
134. The Chooster Caja.
135. The Chouxes guards.
136. All the attendants of the Emir Hadge.
137. Eight Janissaries in the habit of ceremony.
138. Four officers of the Bascha.
139. Four Janissaries.
140. A standard.
141. Two more after that.
142. Four Arab Sheiks.
143. Two mad Sheiks, bareheaded, and in white shirts.

a allowed by all writers, to be greatly diminished from what it was under their antient monarchs. We have already mentioned some of their manufactures which are exported into most parts of the east; besides which, a very considerable share of its product is likewise exported into *Europe*; viz. flax, both in *ramo*, combed, and spun into thread; cotton spun, calicoes of of all sorts and dyes, yellow wax, saffron, fenna, cassia, sugar, and sal armoniac. To all which we may add, a great variety of feathers, variously dressed and wrought, as well as an immense weight of coffee, of *Mocha*, and a prodigious variety of other merchandizes and drugs, as silks and calicoes, spices, gums, &c. from the *East-Indies*, which are yearly landed at the port of *Suez*, by thirty or forty vessels, and thence conveyed by the merchants to *Kayro*, who send them back again, laden with commodities of *Europe* and *Egypt*¹. These ships go no farther from *Suez* than to *Gedda* on the east of the *Red Sea*, near the city of *Mecca*, from whence they return laden with coffee, frankincense, and some *Indian* and *Persian* commodities, the richest and most valuable of them being brought to *Kayro* by the caravan, as we have hinted already. There is one misfortune that often attends them on that sea, which is, that they must set out from *Gedda* in the *Hamseen* season, that is, 50 days before the middle of *May*, when the south wind usually blows, and, if they chance to be too late, must wait another year; and when those winds fail them, are often forced to stay a whole twelvemonth in some sorry and inconvenient harbour².

BESIDES those ships already mentioned, there are others which bring the coffee from *Fezeka*, in *Arabia Felix*, among which there are five or six belonging to the *English* and *French*, and are continually employed in that branch. Five of those ships which come to *Suez* belong to the Grand Signor, and the rest to private merchants. Every bag of coffee weighs between three and four hundred pounds, and pays 30 medins when it comes from *Fezeka* (A). It must be observed, here, by the way, that though the exportation of coffee and rice out of the *Turkish* dominions is absolutely forbidden, yet is that prohibition easily eluded by suitable presents; so that great quantities of both are brought thence into *Europe*, in spite of that severe prohibition; and this is so much the more remarkable, with respect to the former, because it is not, like the latter, which grows here in great plenty, a natural plant of this country, but is imported from *Yemen*, and other parts of *Arabia* and *Africa*. There have been frequent attempts made to reconcile it to the *Egyptian* soil and climate, but all to no purpose, though it thrives so well in *Upper Ethiopia*, from whence it is affirmed to have been originally transplanted into *Arabia*. What is worth our observation is, that the *Abissinians*

Produce and exports.

Coin.
Coffee and rice forbid to be exported.¹ MAILLET, NORDEN, & al.² Pocock, ubi sup. lib. iii. c. 1. & al. sup. citat.

144. The Emir Hadge, richly mounted and dressed, attended by

145. About 40 soldiers.

146. Two Janissaries.

147. The Kaja of the Dowan.

148. Sixty slaves with bows and arrows.

149. Two Imams.

150. Four led horses.

151. Three standards.

152. A band of music.

153. Four led camels.

154. Twenty-six laden.

155. Two men on camels.

156. The Sheiks of the mosks, followed by several companies of tradesmen, with their standards, some of them dancing, the fishermen carrying fish like serpents, probably eels, tied to the ends of their fishing rods.

157. Four Chouxes of the Dowan.

158. Sixteen Janissaries in their high dress.

159. The Sheik called *Cassani*.

160. The great standard carried by a proper officer, mounted on a camel.

161. Five camels, three of them with long trappings, richly embroidered.

162. The pavilion, or covering, as described above.

(A) A medin is a small piece of money, about the bigness of a silver three-pence, and of the value of three of our farthings, so that 30 of them amount to something less than two shillings. Mr. Norden calls this a silver coin; but it is more likely, from its value and bigness, to be only, as Dr. Pocock says, of iron, or brass, silvered over (18). However, it is by this that they reckon the value of their other coins.

Thus their fendoocli, which are the largest of their gold coins, are valued at 146 medins; and their genzerli, and mahhub, two lesser pieces of the same metal, are valued at 110 medins each.

They make use likewise in commerce of an imaginary piafter, valued at sixty medins, if there be not some error crept into the *French* edition, with respect to the figures; *Vansleb* reckoning the piafter at 30, and Mr. *Savary* at 33 medins (20).

As for the *European* coin, which goes current here, whether gold or silver, it rises and falls according as it has lost more or less of its intrinsic weight, or the fluctuation of the common exchange. And here we cannot but observe one misfortune which attends the commerce of this country; viz. the *Jews* commonly obtain the privilege of coining, and enjoy that of the common exchange, in both which branches they commonly prove great cheats. A much more dangerous abuse they are guilty of with relation to the richest and finest drugs, gums, &c. of *Arabia*, especially those of the medicinal kind, none of which escape being by some means adulterated, counterfeited, or contaminated, that go through their hands; particularly the fenna, which the *Basha* allows them the sole privilege of buying. It is commonly granted to one person only, who is also obliged to purchase all that is brought to *Kayro*, no one else being permitted to do so but he; after which one *English* merchant only is allowed to buy it of him; by which means the price is considerably advanced from a hundred medins, or about 12 shillings, the usual price of a camel load of it, at the first hand (21).

(19). Conf. *Journey into Egypt*, vol. i. p. 66. Eng. edit. 8vo. Pocock, ubi sup. lib. iii. c. 1. du commerce.

(21) Pocock, ubi sup. lib. ii. c. 5.

(20) *Diction.*

and

and *Arabs* make their infusion, not of the roasted berries, but the shells, or capsules, which a inclose them, and esteem it much more reviving and delightful than that from the berry * (B).

Imports.

THE chief imports are *English*, *French*, and *Venetian* cloths, silks from *Leghorn* and *Venice*, some drugs and dyes, tin from *England*, lead and marble blocks from *Italy*, great variety of small wares from *France*, *Venice*, and *Constantinople*, and from this last furs, and all sorts of copper vessels, and plates tinned over, which are much in use. All their iron is brought thither from *Salonica* in *Turkish* ships, to prevent its being exported out of the *Turkish* empire, which is likewise forbidden. Several of the *Barbary* woollen manufactures are likewise imported hither; and carpets from *Asia Minor*, and great quantities of coral and amber, are also brought hither to be sent to *Mecca*, to be wrought into a variety of ornaments and other toys. There is likewise a considerable commerce between *Upper* and *Lower Egypt*, by which each supplies what the other wants. But all these put together come vastly short of what it was wont to be before the way to the *East-Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope* was found out, when it enjoyed a much greater share of it, by landing all *Indian* and *Persian* goods at *Cossir*, on the *Red Sea*, and bringing them by land to *Kept*, or *Coptas*, in four days, and thence conveying them to *Alexandria*, whence they were dispersed through all parts of *Europe* by the *Venetians* and *Florentines*. This inland traffick, whether by caravans or upon the *Nile*, is moreover greatly obstructed by the wild *Arabs*, those especially who dwell on the mountains opposite to *El Guzzoo*, a most dreadful sort of robbers, who plunder all that fall in their way, either by land or water; and, though not very numerous, and continually pursued in their inroads by the Bey of *Girge*, do yet prove too strong to be dislodged from their rocky habitations, from which they are continually infesting the navigation of that river, whilst others of the same extract and profession do the same to the caravans by land ^w.

Cause of its great decay.

Some considerable branches still preserved.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these inconveniencies, and the loss of so considerable a branch, it is still found to carry on no inconsiderable share of that traffick; for though the *Europeans* have found out a much easier and expeditious way for their own, yet by that of *Egypt* all *Turkey* and *Barbary* are furnished with all those *Indian* and *Persian* goods, by means of the navigation that is still kept up by the *Turkish* vessels from *Surat* to *Mocha*, and especially with *Indian* muslins, and other fine linens, silks, &c.

THEIR commerce with *Asia* is still greater, which is carried on by the caravans, which come yearly hither laden with the richest commodities from thence, and which are conveyed to *Kayra* by that branch of the *Nile* which falls into the *Mediterranean*, near the port of *Damietta*, as we have hinted a little higher; which commerce consisting of constant and mutual imports and exports of the most valuable commodities to and from *Mecca*, and other parts of *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Palestine*, &c. must of course be still very considerable and advantageous ^x.

Commerce with Europe.

WE need not repeat here what hath been already observed of that which is carried on at *Rosetto*, on the other branch of the *Nile*, a vast quantity and variety of goods from *England*, *France*, *Germany*, and other parts of *Europe*. But there is still another no less advantageous,

With Constantinople of white and black slaves.

though less reputable branch, carried on between that port and the cities of *Constantinople*, and *Salatia* in *Anatolia*, consisting of white and black slaves of both sexes, which are yearly sold or exchanged in prodigious numbers, the former of which are brought hither from those two cities, and the latter sent hence to them. The greatest part of the latter which one sees, whether males or females, not only in the seraglio, or in the city and suburbs, but also in all *Turkey*, being conveyed thither from *Egypt*. Both sorts are sold at a high price, but the whites, which are brought hither in exchange for the blacks, are set up at a higher value, especially those that are young, handsome, and well-shaped of either sex. The lowest price they commonly bring is 200 crowns; and there have been those of the female kind, whose beauty hath cost the purchasers as far as 2000 or 3000 crowns ^y.

Great price given for the former.

Traffick with various African nations.

WE have lately, as well as in a foregoing chapter, taken notice of several caravans which travel through dreadful barren deserts from *Fez*, *Morocco*, *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoly* into *Egypt*, with great variety of the commodities of their own countries, and appear at *Kayro* in a most strange variety of dresses and complexions, some of which spend between seven and eight months in that journey. Among those numerous nations, there are two who have some-

* MAILLET, ubi sup.

STEL, & al.

PERRY, & al.

^w NORDEN, ubi sup. MAILLET, ubi sup. POCOCK, ubi sup. lib. iv. c. 3. VAN-^x MAILLET, VANSLEB, POCOCK, & al. sup. citat.^y MAILLET, ubi sup. lett. 13.

(B) Our author adds, that the *Arabs* call the berry *Bian*, and when roasted, ground, or infused, they give it the name of *Cabone*, or, as *D'Herbelot*, writes it, *Cahoveh*; which is their general name for all potable liquors, though most particularly for this, as the most

esteemed and in vogue amongst them (22). From hence the name of coffee is not only passed into *Europe*, from the similitude of the aspiration *b* to our *gh* or *f*, but hath been indiscriminately given not only to the infusion, but to the berry and the plant.

(22) Maillet, ubi sup. See also *D'Herbelot Biblioth. orient. sub voc. Cahoveh*.

a thing curious and worth taking notice of in their way of traffick and behaviour; the one is that of the *Croys* (C), who bring thither gold dust, and exchange it for an equal weight of silver, with which they purchase copper vessels, cutlery work, and other trinkets, and in particular some sort of sea shells, which pass current among them instead of coin ².

THE other nation, whose name, country, and wares, our author doth not mention, are still more singular in their way of commerce, they stiffly refusing to conclude a bargain with their chapmen, let them offer ever so fair and advantageous an exchange, till they have been soundly thrashed with a bull's pizzle; after which they are all compliance, and come immediately to an agreement. Our author adds, that he never was present at any of these bargains, but it brought the *Muscovitish* discipline of the husbands on their submissive wives, of which we have given the origin in a former part of this work ³, into his mind.

EGYPT still preserves one considerable branch by the way of the *Nile*, both with the great and opulent empire of *Ethiopia*, and other inland parts of *Africa*, which is no less considerable than those we have mentioned; it consisting in gold dust, elephants teeth, ebony, and other commodities we have spoken of in a preceding chapter ^b, and shall have occasion to mention in the history of *Abissinia*. For though these seldom trade so far out of their own country, yet they drive a large traffick of those commodities with the *Nubians*, whom they call *Barbarians*, and who transport them from thence into *Egypt* by their caravans, which chiefly consist of merchants, as they style themselves, though so poor and wretched, that the greater part of them, at their arrival at *Kayro*, appear in rags, and some of them almost naked, and so emaciated by the heats and fatigues of that long journey through rocky and barren deserts, and in want of all necessaries of life, that they might more easily pass for a regiment of poor starved slaves, than for men who drive so rich and considerable a commerce; there being scarcely a year in which there doth not one or two of these caravans arrive at this metropolis richly laden from these parts, not only with gold-dust, musk, amber, and variety of rich gums, but some thousands of black slaves, which are sold in *Egypt*, one with another, for between 80 and 100 crowns ^c. These, as well as the white ones which are brought hither from *Turkey*, are distributed into several large houses called *Oftielli*, and belonging to that particular Bazar, or market, the blacks on one side of the house, the whites on the other, where they are exposed to sale. There are several other Bazars in *Kayro*, the two most considerable of which, next to that of the slaves, are the *Camilli*, or mercers change, and the *Sabamin*, which is that of the druggists, in which last are sold vast quantities of yellow amber, in large sacks and boxes, and of the bigness of one's fist, some larger and some less. These are afterwards wrought into variety of trinkets, especially beads, which the *Turks* make use of to tell the number of their prayers. Among the various other drugs belonging to this Bazar, which we have no room to enumerate, is the famous powder, or earth, called *Hannab*, or *Al-Hanna*, in great vogue and esteem in all these eastern countries, and which is made use of both by men and women, to paint their hands and feet; the revenue of which, we are told, amounts to 18,000 ducats ^d.

e THERE are here several markets for cattle, and in particular for horses (D), and a vast commerce might be made of them, could the *Egyptians* be prevailed upon to let them be

² Ibid. ibid.
ubi sup.

³ Anc. Hist. vol. ii. p. 283, in fin. not. (K).

^b MAILLET, POCOCK, PERRY, & al.

^c MAILLET, & al. ubi sup.

^d LA CROIX Afric. part i. c. 5. sect. 5. MAILLET, & al.

(C) They are said to be situate on the coast, over-against the island of *Pheasants*, in the *Atlantic* ocean, and are so affected with the bad air of *Kayro*, and the unfavourable smell of the place, that they are usually taken notice of for their going along the streets with their mouths and noses muffled up, as in the time of pestilence; which disagreeable scent our author ascribes to the vast quantities of fish consumed in that city, and commonly fried in oil. This may be one cause; but from what we have before said of the narrowness and dirtiness of its streets, and of the many stagnated waters, dried canals, and other unwholesome steams in and about it (23), the reader will not be at a loss for a better apology for these *Croys*, who may, in all likelihood, be accustomed to a much sweeter air, and more moderate climate (24).

(D) It is agreed on all hands, that the horses of *Egypt* are very beautiful, fleet, and more fleshy than those of *Barbary*, and would consequently be more admired in *Europe* than they. They have them of two breeds; viz. the *Arabian* and *Egyptian*, both finely shaped, limbed,

and of various colours; but the former are more strong and fiery, and the latter more fit for shew than use, and for the most part spoiled, lamed, and gouty, by being mounted too early, and rode too furiously, as is the fashion among them, and often designedly, in order to prevent the great officers coveting them for their beauty; so that those which have escaped that ill usage, bear an extravagant price at *Constantinople*; whither, in spite of their scarcity, they are sent yearly in great numbers, some by commission, but mostly in presents to the court, by the *Bashas* and great officers, to their friends and patrons there. Had the *Europeans* leave to buy them before they are fit to be mounted, and to rear them up in a better way for exportation, it is probable they would soon grow more numerous and useful, and become an advantageous branch of commerce; but that hath not hitherto been, nor is likely to be, obtained from the *Porte*; and, without a special catesherif from hence, it would be not only in vain, but dangerous, to attempt it (25), for the reasons alleged above.

(23) Maillet, ubi sup. letter 13.
ubi sup.

(24) See before, p. 2, & seq.

(25) Maillet, Pocock, et al.

Exportation of horses forbid. exported out of the *Turkish* dominions; but that is what hath been often tried in vain by the *Europeans*; neither merchants, nor even consuls, having been able to obtain leave to export one of them; even the *Basha* himself is afraid to grant such a favour, though so highly bribed for it, for fear of causing an insurrection among the people. The truth is, that they are so *Egyptians tenacious of their old customs.* tenacious of their ancient customs, that it is with great difficulty they are brought to suffer any of their merchandizes to be exported into *Europe*; insomuch that the *Alexandrians*, we are told, rose up in arms at the first bale of coffee which was put on board for *Marseilles*^a; though they have since been prevailed upon, by proper bribes, to wink at those vast quantities which are now exported in spite of the *Porte's* severe prohibitions of it. However, we do not find that the like hath been attempted by any *Europeans* with respect to horses, which they will not suffer any Christians to ride on, except the consuls, either in this or any of the great cities in the *Turkish* dominions^b.

Traffick on the Red Sea capable of great improvement. WE have already hinted something of the *Egyptian* and *Turkish* traffick carried on by the *Red Sea*, by a small fleet of about thirty or forty vessels, belonging mostly to the Grand Signior, and the great inconveniencies it is frequently exposed to; all which might not only be prevented, but that commerce greatly improved, if rightly conducted; and if those vessels were better armed, manned, and equipped, and proper care was taken to have some men of war kept there for the security of their navigation to and from *Persia* and *India* to *Kayro*, by which means that metropolis would become the grand mart and magazine of all the richest commodities of these countries, from which they might be dispersed through all *Europe* at a much easier and cheaper rate. It is happy, therefore, for the maritime states in *Europe* that the *Othman* court is either so blindly inattentive or negligent in so important a point, which, if duly attended to, must, in a short time, inevitably ruin their whole *East-India* trade, but which, for that reason, they have cause to wish it never may^c.

Antiquity and usefulness of caravans. WE should now conclude this long, but curious and important article, with a short account of those beneficial caravans, which, in spite of the great decay which this new commerce into *Judea* hath caused to this of *Egypt*, do still contribute so largely towards its support. But as we have in some measure described the mercantile one in a preceding chapter, and the religious one to *Mecca* in this, we shall confine what we have further to say of those of *Egypt* to some few particulars which have not been yet taken notice of, but which we hope our readers will not think impertinent to the subject we are upon, as to the method in which they are carried on, and conducted forwards and backwards, and their way of bringing up and accustoming their camels (the chief beast of burden used in them) to those long and fatiguing marches, through sandy and barren deserts, with so little, and sometimes with no sustenance of food or water for days and weeks.

WE need not here observe, that the desire of gain, joined to the difficulties and dangers from wild *Arabs*, wild beasts, and other accidents, in such long voyages, gave the first rise to these caravans, which are no other than an association of a number of merchants and travellers bound to the same place or country; and the antiquity of them, even from the time of the patriarchs^d, is more than sufficient to demonstrate the usefulness and necessity of them in those hot and barren climates; and, indeed, without such associations, no commerce of such lengths and difficulties could be carried on; but when once a certain number of merchants have joined themselves in this design, fixed their place of rendezvous, the time of their departure, and taken all other necessary precautions and helps for conveniencies, safety, and dispatch, experience shews what may be performed by them, what long and barren deserts may be crossed, what difficulties and dangers may be surmounted, and what rich and extensive commerce may be carried on, and with what vast and diffusive benefit they may be managed to and from the remotest countries.

WE have already hinted what commodities these of *Afric* carry into *Egypt*; some of which, as elephants teeth, ebony, and other kinds of wood, though of heavy and cumbersome carriage, as well as the water and provisions which they are obliged to take with them, even to wood for fuel, are, nevertheless, as much a part of their cargo, as the gold dust, gums, and other richer commodities; and for this the Divine Providence hath amply provided those countries with plenty of camels, a beast exactly fitted for such burdens, and such other fatigues as necessarily attend this painful way of travelling, and so docile and patient, that, with a little care in the bringing them up, they are taught to carry very heavy and cumbersome burdens through these sandy and barren deserts, over long ridges of mountains, both hard and craggy, and with a scorching sun over their heads, without that constant refresh-

^a MAILLET, lett. 13.^b Pocock, lib. i. c. 2. MAILLET, & al. mult.^c Idem ibid.^d Vid. int. al. Genesis xxxvii. 25, & seq.

a ment of food, drink, and in some cases of even rest (E); for want of which, horses, mules, and other beasts of burden, would expire, in less than a quarter of the time that they continue without it.

THE method commonly taken to rear them up to this wretched servitude from the beginning is, by keeping them muzzled from sucking, first for half, then for a whole day, and so longer by degrees to five or six days; they next train them up to crouch on their bellies whilst they are lading and unlading; and, when fit to go with a caravan, they prepare them for their short allowance by a gradual fast from one to seven days; after which they are fit to undertake the journey. They travel but slowly, seldom above twenty miles a day; but make amends for it by the weight they carry, and the small pittance that is allowed to them, as well as by the trouble they save their drivers from loading and unloading, being mostly accustomed to sleep with their burdens on their backs. We lately observed the dismal plight which those that went with the caravan of *Mecca* commonly came back in, at the end of 100 days; though they commonly fare better during their journey than those we are speaking of, whose journey being much longer and more painful, must not be expected to return in better case, nor to have their painful services meet with a kinder return, than they; that is, to be turned out to starve on some of the adjacent deserts. Such is the unnatural ingratitude of those who live and grow rich by their useful labour.

THAT we may not dwell too long on this subject, and yet give our readers a sufficient idea of the fatigues, dangers, and extraordinary expensiveness of these caravans, we shall close this article with a short sketch of that which comes from *Nubia* to *Kayro*, which we have already had occasion to mention, on account of the wretched equipage of its merchants, and the richness of its cargo, consisting of the most valuable commodities of both *Ethiopias*, and other kingdoms of *Africa*. The traffick of this caravan, which now seldom fails of coming twice a year to *Kayro*, was formerly carried on, with great difficulty and danger, on barges, or flat-bottom boats, which, in spite of its many and dreadful cataracts, used to sail or row up and down the *Nile*, from *Dangola* to *Kayro*, and from thence up thither again. This was done by coming as near to those cataracts with their vessels as they could; and there unloading them of their merchandizes, they carried them by land, together with the barges, which were made small and light for that purpose, on their shoulders, till they came to a proper place to put them on board again: and this trade they continued till they had mastered all the cataracts, which could not be executed without great labour and expence, to say nothing of the danger; and shews what pains and hazards these people would expose themselves to for the sake of gain.

THEY have since found a safer and more expeditious way of conveying these merchandizes from one kingdom to another on camels by land; by which means they can come twice a year to *Kayro*, and return back to *Dangola*, by crossing the *Libyan* desert, by the way of *Gari*, a town situate on the *Nile*, about four days journey on this side of *Dangola*, where the merchants from *Sanaar*, the capital of *Fungi*, or *Fund* (F), *Gondar*, capital of *Upper Ethiopia*, and many other trading cities of *Africa*, meet at a certain fixed time, with all their various goods, and form what is now called the *Nubian* caravan. And here, at their departure, they leave the banks of the *Nile*, and enter into the desert above-mentioned, which takes them up thirteen days in crossing; after which they come into a spacious valley, about thirty leagues

(E) This last we add, because it often happens, that these poor yet useful creatures, either by ill usage, being over-burdened, or fatigued, or through some hurt in their feet, legs, and such-like accidents, contract such weakness and torpors over all their limbs, that, were they allowed to lie down to rest, they would become so stiff as not to be able to rise or pursue their journey; upon which account they are obliged to keep them moving and walking about the encampment, with their burden on their back, which is seldom less, but often above, 500 pounds weight, till the caravan begins to march; and they are forced to follow in that dismal plight, till (which is often the case) their strength being quite exhausted, they sink under their misery, and are eased of their burden, which is immediately divided between some of their companions, whether able to bear it or not, and they left to expire in the burning sands, or be devoured alive by birds or beasts of prey (24).

(F) Mr. *Ludolph* is the author who calls it by this last name, and by that of *Sennar*, and reckons that country

a part of the ancient *Nubia* (25). Mr. *De Lisle* differs somewhat from him, and says the *Fungi* are a people subject to the kings of *Sennar*, or *Nubia* (26). The *Portuguese* writers, on the contrary, say they border on the north of *Abissinia*, and are subjects, or tributary to it (27), springing from some old maps, made at random, or from fabulous memoirs, which placed the *Nile* to the lakes of *Zaira*, *Zembra*, and *Zafflan*, about five or ten degrees beyond the line, and the *Abissinian* empire to reach as far as the *Mountains of the Moon*, placing the *Fungi*, and their capital of the same name, on the west side of the lake *Zafflan*. But we are now fully assured that the limits of that empire come above six degrees short of the line: and some more recent and exact geographers have since placed the city of *Fungi* on the coast of *Zanguebar*.

They place likewise another of that name in the kingdom of *Ambara* in *Abissinia*; all which are now found to be erroneous, and not worth confuting (28).

(24) *Maillet*, *Granger*, *Pocock*, et al. ubi sup. of *Nubia* and *Abissinia*.

(27) *Atlas* ibid.

(25) *Hist. Ethiop. lib. i. c. 2. n. 7.*

(28) *De his*, vid. *La Martiniere*, sub voc. *Fungi*.

(26) See his map

long, and running almost from north to south, which is covered with palm-trees, and yields a plenty of fresh water, by digging about a foot deep into the ground; a stage no less comfortable and desired, after travelling thro' such a burning desert, than uncommon in most parts of *Africa*. Here they move on by slow journies, to refresh themselves from their late fatigues, and to prepare themselves for traversing a new ridge of mountains, which run from north to south along the *Nile*, on the *Libyan* side, till they come to *Montfaloot*, a town of *Upper Egypt*, where they pay the first customs to *Egypt*, consisting of a certain number of black slaves; and when the caravan comes in sight of the *Nile* again, for the first time from their departure from *Kayro*. At *Montfaloot* they embark on that river, and sail down to *Kayro*; and on their return remount it to the same place, and then resume their old route homewards through the same ridge of mountains, delightful vale, and barren deserts; through the last of which they b are forced to travel seven or eight days without meeting with any water, or place where they can dig for any; during which the camels must go without, or take up with a very scanty portion of it; and the people are forced to drink that which they bring with them, which is by that time become very unfavoury and distasteful.

*Danger of
losing their
way.*

*Reject the use
of the compass.*

BUT this is not the greatest inconveniency they are liable to in their thirteen days march through this desert: there is another still more frightful and dangerous, namely, the difficulty of steering their course right through those vast pathless sands, where they meet with neither mountain, tree, or any thing to serve them for a landmark to direct their guides: so that, if they decline ever so little from their right course, they are in danger of being all lost for want of water; which is commonly all spent before they can recover the right point, if c ever they do, to come at a fresh supply of it. They have been often advised, we are told ¹, to make use of a compass, which would in a great measure prevent such dangerous deviations, but they have as often rejected that counsel, though told that other *African* caravans had followed it, to their no small satisfaction and advantage. These *Nubians* are either too stupid or conceited to be put out of their old way, and will run the risk of perishing in those dreadful deserts, or of being swallowed up alive by those clouds of sand, which we have elsewhere mentioned ^k, rather than owe their safety to the advice of an *European*. Besides, as they are all either *Mohammedans*, or poor ignorant idolaters, the former adhering to their doctrine of predestination, and the latter to their images, charms, and other superstitious preservatives, more than to any human means, though ever so well founded and experienced; of which we d shall now give a signal instance, not foreign to the subject we are upon, of their commerce with *Egypt*; and with it we shall close up this article.

BESIDES those rich merchandizes which the caravan brings into *Kayro*, the natives drive another traffick, which consists of a sort of light timber, or wood, which bears a great price there, and of a coarse sort of earthen ware, which they make in their country. These they venture to bring down to *Kayro* in large floats upon the *Nile*, at the time that its waters begin to rise, neither minding its rocks nor cataracts; but committing their wares and persons to the waves, both leap down each cataract with equal unconcern. The only danger they provide against is that of the crocodiles and sea-horses; to keep off which they light fires, and keep a watch at night, and make a dreadful howling at proper intervals. If their floats e chance to strike so hard against a rock as to break the cords that tie them fast, they have no other chance for their lives than to stick close to one or other of the fragments, till they come to some place where the current runs smoother, and there endeavour to get them all together, and tie them closely again. As for their earthen vessels, if ever so many chance to break, by that or any other accident, they make themselves amends by selling what is left so much the dearer, when they come to their journey's end. As soon as they find themselves drawing near to the last cataract, they shut their eyes, and stop their ears with their hands, to avoid being scared at the frightful sight and noise, and a few moments after find themselves shot away a mile below it ¹.

*Modern Hi-
story of Egypt.*

*At first subject
to the Khalifs
of Baghdad.*

WE have, by this time, gone through all the material and curious particulars relating to f the modern state of *Egypt*: there remains only that we resume the history of it from the epocha where we concluded its ancient part; viz. at the end of the *Greek* emperor's reign, when that prince's avarice and breach of faith obliged the *Egyptians* to exchange the *Roman* yoke, under which it had been reduced by *Augustus* into a *Roman* province, for that of the *Saracen* Khalifs ^m, under the Khalifat of *Omar*, or *Haumar*, and the command of his successful general *Amru Ebn Abaz* ⁿ. From which time *Egypt* continued in subjection to those sovereigns, and became a province of that now largely aggrandized empire, and under special governors appointed by them, of whom *Amru*, the general above-mentioned, was the first; a subjection which, however heavy and displeasing to them at first, and whilst they were go-

¹ MAILLET, ubi sup. lett. ult.
Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 12, & seq.

^k See before, p. 32.

ⁿ See before, vol. i. p. 233, & seq.

¹ MAILLET, ubi sup. lett. 2.

^m See

a verned by those vicegerents, did, in a short time, raise that kingdom nearly to as great a height of glory and splendor, as it had been under the *Ptolemies*, especially after that famed schism which broke out between the Khalifs of *Baghdad*, in the year of the Hejra 296, and of the Christian æra 908, under *Abu Mohammed Obeida'llah*, the famed founder of the *Fatemite* dynasty in *Africa*, who set up a new Khalifat at *Kairwan*, and took the title of *Mohdi*, or *Al Mohdi*, or director of the faithful, which, till that time, was peculiar to the *Abasside* Khalifs, as we have seen in a former volume ^o; which dynasty continued in his family during the space of 272 lunar years, either at *Kayrwan*, or in *Egypt*, where his successors removed their residence, under a succession of fourteen princes, or Khalifs, in the order following.

b 1. *ABU MOHAMMED OBEIDA'LLAH*, or *Mohdi*. 2. *Al Kayem*. 3. *Al Mansur*. 4. *Moez* *The Fatemite*
Ledin'illah. 5. *Aziz*, or *Al Aziz*. 6. *Al Hakem*. 7. *Dbaber*. 8. *Mostanser*. 9. *Mos-* *dynasty by*
tali. 10. *Amer*, or *Hamer*. 11. *Haffedh*. 12. *Dhaffer*. 13. *Faez*, or *Al Faez*. 14. *Had-* *whom founded.*
bed, or *Adhed*. All these, from the fourth, took likewise the title of *Ledin'illah* from him; which signifies the faith or religion of God: but none of them were acknowledged by the *Abasside* Khalifs, but rather branded with the title of schismatics, and nicknamed *Obeides*, from their founder, or *Alides*, from their descent. Not that they own indeed that founder of theirs to be descended from *Ali* the son of *Fatema*, *Mohammed's* daughter, for that they utterly declare against; but call them so in derision, for presuming to claim such a noble descent (G). Their reigns, of which we have given an account in a preceding part of this history, are full of their mutual hostilities, and irreconcilable hatred; and one of them (Khalif *Al Kader*) so highly resented their laying claim to it, that he published a most virulent manifesto against them, in which he scruples not to charge them with manifest falsehood and imposture. We have elsewhere given the substance of that bitter and injurious piece in a former volume, to which our readers are referred ^p for further satisfaction.

c WHATEVER effect the Khalifs of *Baghdad* might promise to themselves by these hostilities, or even by publishing them in such a grand and solemn manner, it is plain it had no other on that of *Egypt* than to inspire him with a greater desire of outvying them in power, grandeur, wealth, and conquests. Accordingly we have seen, in a former chapter, the progress of these new Khalifs in extending their power, not only far beyond that part of *Africa* where they then resided, but even as far as *Sicily* ^q, and the surprizing strength and stupendous works of the city of *Mohdia*, which their founder built, and called by his new name, and which we have there described, are an ample evidence, though far from being the only one, of their early power and opulence, as the reader may see by what hath been said of these three *African* Khalifs in the chapter above quoted ^r.

d NEITHER have their successes proved less ambitious or less successful in enlarging their dominions, after they became masters of *Egypt*, and removed their court thither. And this it was that gave them an opportunity of raising it to such a height of magnificence, as the *Arabic* writers thought they could never sufficiently extol ^s. Nothing could be more grand or sumptuous than their palaces, divan, seraglios, mosks, and other public edifices; nothing more superb, splendid, and numerous, than their ministers retinue and attendants; nothing more rich or brilliant than their dresses and appearance, and the furniture of their apartments in the city, or their tents and other equipages in the field. Whatever successes they had in the latter, whatever conquests they made either in *Syria*, *Palestine*, or other provinces, whither they led their victorious armies, were always celebrated with the utmost pomp and splendor, and yet in such a manner, and with such circumstances, as shewed at once their grateful acknowledgements to the Giver of all victory, and a due sense of the vanity of all worldly pomp and glory.

e THEIR custom was not to return to their capital without being met in a spacious plain, at some small distance from it, by all the grandees and officers in the kingdom, in the most

^o Vol. i. p. 511, & seq.

^p Vol. i. p. 615, & seq.

^q See their following history, pass.

^r Ibid.

^s De his, vid. *LEBTARIC*, *ABU'LFEDA*, *EBN SHONAH*, *AL MAKIN*, & al. plur.

(G) Accordingly one of their authors (29) affirms, that *Obeid Allah's* right name was *Saed Ben Ahmed*, the son of *Abdallah Al Khadab*, which last was given him on account of his having his eyes deeply sunk in his head. Another says, that none but the ignorant believed *Obeid Allah's* being descended from *Ali*. On the contrary, says he, we have very good proofs that his father was a *Jewish Mage*, and by profession a lock-smith, in the city

of *Salamiab*, in *Syria* (30); which original is further confirmed by *Abu'l Vahab*, *Al Bafri*, and *Abu Becr Al Balani*. Some others have likewise endeavoured to explode this descent from *Ali*; and the most moderate of the *Abasside* writers make him to be descended from *Ishmael Ebn Jaafar*, of the posterity of *Ali*, and from him call the *Fatmites* the *Ishmaelians* of *Afric*, to distinguish them from the rest (31).

(28) *Ebn Shonah*, ap. *D'Herbelot*, sub voc. *Fatimiab*.

et sub voc. *Moez et Obeidallah*. See also vol. i p. 564, & seq. & al. passim.

(30) *Dabeb* ap. *eund. ibid.*

(31) *Id. ibid.*

splendid dresses and equipages ; these being attended with a numerous retinue not only of their a relations, domestics, and dependents, but with crowds of other wealthy subjects, who came to be spectators of the noble cavalcade, and to add to the number and grandeur of it. All these took care to have the richest pavilions and tents ready, dressed up in the grandest manner, for the Khalif's reception, as well as for themselves and retinue ; and, after his arrival, commonly spent three whole days at this brilliant encampment, with all manner of rejoicings, feastings, music, fire-works, &c. before he made his entrance into his metropolis. Nothing can be imagined more grand than the march and entry of this procession into the city, through roads covered with rich carpets and other fine cloths, and strewed over with flowers and other odoriferous plants and gums, and hedged on each side with crowds of his congratulating subjects ; the streets through which he was to pass being not only covered with the b same rich carpets, but hung on both sides with the finest tapestry. The Khalif, preceded by his guards and household officers, superbly mounted and dressed, and attended on each side with about an hundred pages on foot, all likewise in their richest attire, appeared mounted on a stately horse, whose harness and accoutrements were enriched with jewels, pearls, and curious embroidery ; himself arrayed with the utmost grandeur, and his turban sparkling on the left side with some precious stones of the greatest beauty and value. The first place in the city where he alighted was the head mosk, where he and his numerous attendants went to offer up their prayers and thanks for his safe return. From thence he was attended with the same pomp and ceremony to another no less sumptuous mosk, where were deposited the bodies of his ancestors, which *Moez Ledin'illah*, the first of the *Fatemite* race who subdued *Egypt*, had caused c to be brought thither from *Kayrwan*, and where he himself and his successors lay also interred. A proper *memento* this to him, in the height of his successes, or in the midst of pomp, and of what it must all shortly end in. From thence he was conducted to his palace, and filled it and the whole city with festivity and joy *. From this scantling of their outward grandeur, one may see that they did not, like the *Persian* and other eastern monarchs, affect to be invisible to their subjects, but were rather delighted with every fit opportunity of shewing themselves to them in all their royal grandeur.

Grand apartments in the palace.

Manner of standing in the presence.

Requests of the subjects how presented.

Great profusion at their tables, by which many poor families are fed.

THE same splendor and magnificence ran through all the edifices and apartments of the castle, as well as their furniture, and the number and splendid appearance of officers and attendants ; but more especially the Dowan, where the grand council sat ; the halls of justice, d where they often presided, and those in which they received ambassadors, were all built in a grand and august taste. They were spacious and lofty, divided somewhat like our cathedrals into three or four ailes, adorned with stately cupolas, and supported by pillars of the richest marble and most beautiful workmanship. At the farther end of the middle aile, facing the grand entrance into the hall, was the Khalif's seat, embellished with very costly materials, and curious work : on each side stood his prime ministers, more or less near his person, according to their rank and dignity, and in the most decent and humble posture, folding their arms across their breasts. But when they held a council, or court of justice, they were allowed to sit on cushions. The same order was observed by those nobles and officers who were seated in the other ailes ; all of whom composed a numerous as well as brilliant assembly of e several hundreds of the grantees of the kingdom, besides a much greater number of other officers civil and military. The same solemn order was observed in the grand hall of justice, where the Khalif often assisted ; and next to him sat the lord chief justice, nearest to his person. The subjects, who appeared there for justice, were admitted into the middle aile, near the bottom of which was ranged a balustrade, which kept them from going farther. Here the petitioners presented their requests, which were conveyed by proper officers to the lord chief justice, who read them aloud to the Khalif, explained the nature of them to him, and answered to all the questions he asked ; after which they proceeded to give judgment, *in dernier resort*, this being the supreme court, from which there could be no appeal, but to which the inferior ones, both civil and military, might be appealed from : and here the appealing and plaintive f subjects had another opportunity of seeing their sovereign, in the majestic pomp and grandeur of his court *.

THEIR opulence was no less conspicuous in their tables, not indeed so much in the costliness of their meats, or the studied extravagance and luxury of their dishes, as in the vast variety and profusion of them, and the great number of persons who were daily and regularly fed by them, amounting to several thousands of different ranks and qualities, from whom the relics were afterwards distributed among a great number of poor families, and fed a still greater number of mouths. They were no less liberal and extensive in their other charities, particularly in founding and endowing of mosks, monasteries, and hospitals ; but these we need the less dwell upon, having had so frequent occasion to take notice of them through g

* De his, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 564, & seq.

u Vid. auct. sup. citat.

- a the whole *Mohammedan* history; this kind of religious liberality being one of the principal virtues in which all the princes and great ones of that religion have strove to excel. Having thus far prefaced the history and reigns of the *Fatemite* Khalifs, with a display of their wealth, power, and magnificence, and given, in a former chapter, an account of the reigns and conquests of the three first princes of that dynasty in *Africa propria*, we shall now proceed to the history of the remaining eleven, who reigned in *Egypt*, from the first conquest of it by *Moez Ledin'illah*, to the abolition of that dynasty by the *Mamlukes*.

- ABU TEMIM MAHUD, the son of *Mohammed Al Mansur*, and surnamed *Moez Ledin'illah*, The reign of Abu Temim Mahud. the fourth *African*, and first *Egyptian* Khalif of the *Fatemite* dynasty, began his reign in the former, in the year of the *Hejra* 341, and of Christ 953, and resided, like his three predecessors, in the cities of *Kayrwan* and *Mobedia* successively, till the year 358; at which time he sent his head general *Jaawar*, alias *Giauhar*, a *Greek* renegade *, but who, for his extraordinary valour, had been raised by his father from the condition of a slave to some of the highest posts, and made chief commander of all his forces, upon his long intended invasion and conquest of *Egypt* (H), at the head of a powerful army. *Jaawar*, with such a force, Great success of his general. met with little or no difficulty in reducing a kingdom at that time so little prepared against it; and having penetrated as far as its capital, then called *Fusthad*, and anciently *Mezr*, and *Babylon*, and made himself master of it, presently after laid the foundations of a new city, to be for the future the residence of the Khalif his master and his successors, and from that time had the name of *Al Kabirah* given to it, but is better known to the *Europeans* by that of *Kayro*, or Kayro when, and by whom, founded. *Grand Cairo*, as hath been hinted a little higher †; so that the conquest of the kingdom, and the building of that city, were completed, according to the best *Arabian* chronologers, in less than four years from *Jaawar*'s first setting out upon that expedition, and in less than two, according to others; of which difference we have taken notice in a former volume ‡, that the first, all things considered, seems to us by far the most probable of the two.

- HOWEVER that be, we learn from the former §, that Khalif *Moez* was no sooner informed of the success of his general, than he prepared himself, with all expedition, to go and take possession of his new conquest. Accordingly we are told, by the authors last quoted, that he ordered all the immense quantity of gold which he and his predecessors had amassed to be cast into ingots, of the shape and bigness of mill-stones (such, we may suppose, as were Moez transports his riches and the remains of his ancestors thither. made use of in their hand-mills for grinding corn), and to be conveyed thither upon camels backs: to shew, moreover, that he was fully resolved to abandon his dominions in *Barbary*, and to make this new kingdom the seat of his and his successors residence, he caused likewise the remains of his three ancestors to be removed from the former to the latter, and to be deposited in a stately mosk, erected for that purpose in his new capital of *Kayro*. A most effectual motive this to induce them to do the same, as it was become an established custom and duty among those princes to pay their respectful visits to those sepulchres, not only on certain stated times among the *Mohammedans* by their *Koran*, but by his example on other public occasions, as that lately mentioned on their return from a successful expedition, and such-like.

- e THE next step of consequence which he took to confirm himself in his new Khalifat, was to suppress the usual prayers made in the mosks for the *Abasside* Khalifs, and to substitute his own name in their stead; which, according to some *Arabic* writers, was complied with not only in *Egypt*, but in *Syria* and *Arabia*, and even in the city of *Medina*, that of *Mecca* being the only one which refused to acknowledge him ‖. But this was not till two years, as we are

* De hoc, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 564, & seq.

† See before, p. 13, & seq.

‡ Vol. i. p. 566 (H).

§ ABU'LFED. chron. ad ann. ABU'L FARAJ. dynast. p. 314, & seq. AL MAKIN, lib. iii. c. 4. & al. ^b EBN SHONAH ap. D'Herbelot, p. 595. See also before, vol. i. p. 564, & pass.

(H) Of the occasion of this important invasion, we meet with a long and strange account in a *French* author often quoted in this chapter (32), which he hath, we suppose, taken out of some *Arabic* romance, and spun into an amorous novel, interwoven with various and diverting episodes; so that the conquest of *Egypt* was owing chiefly to a violent passion which the Khalif had conceived for the then reigning queen of *Egypt*, who was a paragon of beauty, and other outward female excellencies, but which had unhappily kindled such an unnatural vice in her, as had rendered her odious to all her subjects. Those readers who are delighted with such romantic embellishments, may have recourse to him. Had

love been the motive of that conquest, it is hardly to be supposed that the *Arabic* authors quoted above would have omitted making some mention of it, especially as the possession of so extraordinary a princess would, in the account even of those *Arabic* historians, add no small glory to the conqueror of *Egypt*. But it plainly appears from the whole tenor of their relation, and the behaviour of the Khalif, that the fertile and opulent kingdom of *Egypt* was the sole object of his wishes; which he had no sooner obtained, than he abandoned his dominions in *Barbary*, to make this new kingdom the seat of his and his successors residence (33).

(32) See his conquest of *Egypt*, in his 5th lett. of his description of *Egypt*, vol. i. p. 195—233. Hague edit. 12mo. 1750.

(33) *Abu'lfed. et al. sup. citat. vid. & D'Herbelot Biblioth. orient. sub voc. Moaz.*

told,

told, after the reduction of *Egypt* by his general, when he began to assume the title of *Fatimite Khalif*, and successor of the family of *Ali*, in opposition to those of *Baghdad*, the descendants of *Abbas*, of whom we have formerly spoken, and ordered the following words to be added to the public prayer he enjoined to be made for him, *Long live Ali, all whose actions were truly laudable*; which words he caused to be inserted in the *Collect*, if we may so style it, for the *Khalif*, beginning with the words which preface every chapter of the *Koran*, and with which every *Moslem* begins his prayers, and almost every thing he doth, *In the name of God, merciful, &c.* From this time the schism between these *Khalifs* and those of *Baghdad* began to be publicly known and avowed, and wars and mutual anathemas pronounced against each other, as long as it lasted; that is, from the year of the *Hejra* 362 to 567, as we have shewn in a former volume ^d.

ALL this while *Moez* was strengthening himself in his new *Khalifat*, without much regarding the excommunications and other public censures against him and his adherents, which were fulminated from the pontif of *Baghdad*; nor much less the libels which were published against his pretended lineal descent from the family of *Ali* (1), but was taken up chiefly with his own secular affairs, especially the hastening the finishing of his new city of *Kayro*, which his general and wazir had begun under the horoscope of the planet *Mars*, called by the *Arabs* *Kaber*, or *Kaer*, from whom it had the name of *Kaberab*, vulgarly *Cairo*, given to it. He was no less profuse in adorning it with stately mosks, palaces, and other public buildings and embellishments. He died in the 45th year of his age, and 21st of his *Khalifat*, of which he spent eighteen in his capital of *Kayrwan*, and the last three in *Egypt*, and ordered his body to be interred in the magnificent mosk at *Al Kayro*, which he had erected, and in which he had deposited the remains of his predecessors, in the year of the *Hejra* 365. He is reported to have been a prince of singular justice and moderation, by all the *African* historians, and hath been highly celebrated by the famed *Hani*, a poet of *Arabic* extraction, but born in *Spain*, and who had accompanied him in all his expeditions, and highly extolled his virtues and exploits in several of his poems; but, upon some discontent or ill treatment, unfaid all he had said in praise of him, in a bitter satire which he afterwards wrote against him ^e.

Death and character.

Aziz Billah, 2d Khalif of Egypt, a favourer of the Christians.

Ill success in Syria. Year of the Hejra 381.

Strips and imprisons his Vazir.

Forced to release him.

Jawhar dies in disgrace.

MOEZ was succeeded by his son *Abu Al Mansur Barar*, surnamed *Aziz Billah*, who, being but twenty-one years of age at his entering into the *Khalifat*, committed the whole conduct of the government to the noble *Jawhar*, or *Jaasar*, his father's long-experienced general and prime minister, and caused him to be proclaimed, not only through his *African* dominions, but even in those of the *Khalif* of *Baghdad*. *Aziz* proved a prince of great humanity and generosity, and his government so mild and easy, that he was universally beloved by all his subjects. He married a Christian, by whom he had one daughter, in whose favour he created two of her uncles, named *Jeremiab* and *Arsenius*, her mother's brethren, the former patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and the other of *Alexandria*, both of them *Melchites* and orthodox ^f. He was not, however, so successful in his war against *Al Aftekin*, Emir of *Damascus*, against whom he sent his chief general *Jawhar*, at the head of an army, to drive him out; but, after a close siege of two months, was obliged to make that shameful and disgraceful retreat, of which we have spoken in a former volume ^g. Nor in his next expedition into *Syria*, and his siege of *Aleppo*, under his new general *Mansabekin*; which he was forced to raise at the approach of the *Greeks*, who were sent to its relief, in order to give them battle; and, having gained a complete victory over them, attempted the place with the same ill success, and thought fit, at length, to abandon it, without the *Khalif*'s leave. The reader may see a fuller account of that expedition in the volume above quoted ^h.

NEITHER came he off more honourably in his attempt to punish his new vazir, *Yakub Ebn Yusef*, and his brothers, for their avarice and cruel extortions, by which they had amassed an immense wealth amongst them. He caused them, indeed, to be all seized, and each of them to be separately imprisoned, and their ill-gotten riches to be confiscated to his treasury; but this severity excited such an universal tumult through the whole city of *Mesr*, and so much outrage and plundering to be committed, that he was obliged to release them out of their confinement, and refund all the wealth, to prevent a general insurrection in their favour. In this year died the once successful and highly esteemed general *Jawhar*, to whom the *Fa-*

^d Vol. i. p. 566 (H).

^e D'HERBELOT, ubi sup.

^f See before, vol. i. p. 579.

^g Vol. i.

p. 578, & seq.

^h Vol. i. p. 594, & seq.

(1) We are even told, that as he was one day reviewing his forces, he was boldly asked by some private man, what kindred and family he was of? To which he rea-

dily and unconcernedly answered, pointing to his troops, and to the sword which he held in his hand, *Those are my family, and this my kindred* (34).

(34) *Rab. Allakiar*, ap. D'Herbelot, p. 595, & seq.

a *temites* owe the swift and noble conquest of *Egypt*; but since then stripped of the honours and riches he had so gloriously acquired, on account of his ill success, and shameful disgrace, in *Syria*, lately mentioned ⁱ.

AL AZIZ, notwithstanding all the ill success he had met with in *Syria*, was still meditating *Khalif's* a fresh expedition thither against the *Greeks*, who were possessed of the most considerable *death*, 996. places, when he was suddenly snatched away by death, as some authors say, in *Bath al Belbis*, or *Belbais*, others say, by a complication of diseases, in the 386th year of the *Hejra*, being then forty-two years eight months and fourteen days old, and having reigned twenty-one years five months and seventeen days ^k. We have already observed, that he is represented, by the *Charaïr*. generality of the *Moslem* writers, as a prince of a most excellent disposition, singular justice,

b lenity, and affection to his people: notwithstanding which he hath been severely lampooned during his life, for his too highly favouring the Christians and *Jews*, and suffering them to insult over and oppress his faithful *Moslem* subjects. He had actually one of the former, named *Isa*, for his secretary, and one of the latter for his treasurer, whose name was *Manasseh*; who, they complained, upheld them in their insolence; both whom he discarded, and stripped of all their wealth, on that account. And this very thing might be the motive which induced him to treat some other satirists, who had wrote against his Vazir, and other ministers, with such generous lenity as he did; of which, and some other particulars relating to his character, we have elsewhere given an account ^l.

He was succeeded by his son *Abu Al Mansur*, since surnamed *Al Hakem*, but under the *Al Hakem* guardianship of one of his white eunuchs, named *Arjuan Al Arghevan*, a minister of great *Beamr'illah*, experience and approved integrity; to whom *Aziz* committed that important trust before his *3d Khalif of* death, his son being then no more than eleven years old. We find nothing remarkable concerning the former part of his reign, till the year of the *Hejra* 396, or, according to others, 397, and in the 11th of his reign, when a strange insurrection was made in his dominions, *A dreadful re-* under the conduct of an obscure water-carrier of the city of *Mesr*, though descended, or *volt raised* pretending to be descended, from *Hesham Abd'al Malek*, of the house of *Ommiyah* ^m. *against him*.

He was chiefly known by the nick-name of *Abu Rawak*, or rather *Butler*, from his carrying his water about in bottles.

He began this dangerous enterprize, as all upstarts of that stamp usually do, by preaching *d* and crying aloud for a reformation of life and manners, both in the streets and highways, among the zealous *Moslems*; and, by a more than ordinary shew of sanctity, captivated such vast multitudes of them by degrees, that he saw himself, at length, at the head of a considerable army; by whose assistance he made himself master of all the *Upper Egypt*, whence, having defeated the troops that were sent against him, he led his own to the kingdom of *Barka*, which he as quickly reduced. *Al Hakem* had till now seemed to despise these forces, *Rebels de-* and their contemptible leader; but at last, alarmed at their prodigious success, thought it high *feated*. time to gather up his best troops from all parts of his dominions, even from *Syria*, to send against him; who attacked them with such bravery and speed, that they were all either cut in pieces, or put to flight, and their leader, who had by this time assumed the title of *Al Nayer* *e* *Beamri'llah*, taken and brought prisoner to *Mesr*; and, after having disturbed the state several months, was put to death by the *Khalif's* order, and, as some write, was beheaded in his very presence (K). Upon which his revolted followers were quickly dispersed, and an end put to the insurrection, after several bloody battles fought on both sides ⁿ.

THE next considerable event, during that *Khalifat*, was the virulent manifesto issued out at *Baghdad* against the *Egyptian* *Khalifs*, and exposing their false pretensions to the *Fatemite* line. *A severe ma-* We have already given a full account of this extraordinary piece, and the probable occasion *nifesto against* which gave birth to it, in a former volume ^o, and shall only observe here, that that politic *the Egyptian* pontif had got it subscribed by a good number of the real descendants of the house of *Ali*, as *Khalifs*, well as by a much greater of *Kadis*, and other eminent men in the law, in order to give the *1015*. *f* greater sanction to the contents of that declaration, and to explode more effectually the pretensions of the *Egyptian* *Khalifs* to the *Fatemite* lineage. *Hakem* was horribly piqued at this

ⁱ AL MAKIN, ABU'LFED. & al. sup. citat. vid. & sup. vol. i. p. 595.

vol. i. p. 600, & seq. ^l Ibid. p. 600, & seq.

& seq. ^m AL MAKIN, ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

^k AL MAKIN, ABU'LFED. vid. &

ⁿ De hac, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 5, & vol. i. p. 258. 610,

^o Vol. i. p. 615, & seq.

(K) According to *D'Herbelot*, and his authors, the *Khalif* ordered him to be tied, hands and feet, on a camel's back, and to be led through the streets of *Mesr*, with an ape fastened to his back, which kept thumping him on the back of the head with a hard stone till he

died (35); but *Al Makin* and *Abulfeda* only say, that he was beheaded in the *Khalif's* presence, and his head exposed to public view in all the streets of the capital; after which, both that and the rest of his body were publicly hung on a gibbet reared for that purpose (36).

(35) *Biblioth. Orient.* p. 411.

(36) *Ubi sup. vid. & vol. i. p. 610.*

manifesto, which had been artfully spread through his *Syrian* and *Egyptian* dominions, as well as those of the Khalifat of *Baghdad*; but, as he knew he could not explode the greater part of its contents, he satisfied himself with issuing one of his own, full of invectives and bitter anathemas against the whole race of the *Abbaside* Khalifs. Not long after which, he had the mortification to hear, that his favourite *Kayed Abu Shajah*, whom he had raised to the government of *Aleppo*, renounced his dependance and subjection to him, and set up for Emir of that metropolis.

Al Hakem
runs mad, and
fancies himself
God.

AL HAKEM, by what accident we are not told, did at length run quite mad, and issued out the most preposterous edicts; one, in particular, enjoining all the shops and houses in *Al Kayro* to be kept open and lighted, forbidding the women to stir abroad on any pretence, and the hosiery and shoemakers to make neither shoes nor hose for their use. He ordered also, that whatever other necessaries were brought for their use, should be reached in to them at the door half-opened, and at the end of a fork, pallet, or slice; and the women to receive it from behind the door, unseen, and with their hands covered with their long sleeves. His madness grew to such a height, as to fancy himself a god; and, insisting upon being addressed as such, ordered a long catalogue to be written of above 16,000 persons, who complied with his folly.

The Dararian
sect acknow-
lege him such.

THESE were mostly the *Dararians*, a new sect sprung up about this time, and were so called from their chief, one *Mohammed Ebn Ishmael*, surnamed *Darari*, who is supposed to have inspired the mad Khalif with that impious conceit; and who, setting up for a second *Moses*, taught his followers, and openly affirmed *Hakem* to be the great Creator of the universe: for which blasphemous impiety a zealous *Turk* made no scruple to stab him in the Khalif's chariot. His death was followed by the plundering and pulling down his house at *Kayro*, and the massacre of many of his wicked followers, during a three days uproar in that city; all which time the gates being shut up, the poor *Turk* was taken, condemned, and executed, by order of the Khalif.

Pilgrimage to
Mecca sup-
pressed, 1017.

THIS abominable sect, of which we have elsewhere given a full account^p, and which, our authors tell us, had propagated itself from *Persia*, where it had its rise, quite through *Syria*, *Egypt*, &c. as being artfully calculated to strip *Mohammedism* of every thing that is disgusting to corrupt nature, and to introduce all kinds of licentiousness, did not expire with its author. *Darari* left a disciple behind him, named *Hamza*, who, encouraged by the infatuated *Hakem*, spread it far and wide through his dominions; so that there quickly followed a total abrogation of all the *Mohammedan* fasts, festivals, pilgrimages, the grand one to *Mecca* in particular, together with the usual yearly presents of tapestry from *Kayro* to *Mohammed's* tomb; of which we have given an account in a former section^q.

The Turks
alarmed for
their religion.

THESE, and many other the like insults and indignities, committed in this and in his *Syrian* dominions, to which that sect had spread its poison, justly alarmed the zealous *Moslems*, and made them apprehensive, that his design was to abolish *Mohammedism*, and introduce his own worship, with its licentious tenets, throughout his two kingdoms. They were, however, rid of all their fears soon after, by the unexpected murder of the Khalif; which had been some time hatching against him, between his own sister *Setar Molcha*, and the head general of his troops, who hired a man for that purpose, named *Ebn Dawas*, who, under pretence of the Khalif's designing to cut him off, caused him to be assassinated, with his small retinue, on *Mount Al Molkatton*, where he usually repaired with them every morning before day-light, to have, as he gave out, his close intercourses with God, as *Moses* did on that of *Horeb*^r.

Al Hakem
assassinated,
1020.

THUS fell the impious Khalif, in the 411th year of the *Hejra*, the 26th of his reign, and the 37th of his age, unregretted by any, and abhorred by all his subjects, not only on account of his strange impieties, but of his frequent and mad sallies of tyranny and cruelty; of which the reader may the better judge by the instances we shall subjoin in the margin (L). Immediately

^p Vol. i. p. 623, & seq.
^r AL MAKIN, ABU'LFED. RENAUD. ubi sup. & vid. sup. vol. i. p. 624, & seq.

^q See before, p. 28, & seq. vid. & pass. RENAUDOT Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr. p. 390—397.

(L) We have already given a large account of this Khalif's character and mad extravagancies, and shall here only recapitulate, in few words, some of the most flagrant and inhuman, by way of specimen; and among them we may reckon his ordering the city of *Mesr*, or *Al Kayro*, to be plundered and burned, and its inhabitants to be massacred by his troops, for a lampoon, full of complaints against his tyranny, and his atrocious behaviour at that most dreadful scene (37). He forced,

moreover, all the Christians and *Jews*, by sundry cruel methods, to renounce their religion, and in a little while after permitted them to return to, and make open profession of it; but obliged all men and women, of both religions, to wear a mark of distinction upon their upper garment, to prevent their being taken for *Moslems*. He caused some of the churches of the former to be demolished, particularly that of *Calvary*, or resurrection, at *Jerusalem*, and to be rebuilt some small time after.

(37) See before, vol. i. p. 625.

a diately after his death, which his sister kept concealed till she had privately made away with his murderers, she took upon her the reins of government, and caused his son to be proclaimed his successor, under the title of *Thaber Ledini'llah*.

AL THAHER was but seven years of age, when he was proclaimed Khalif of *Egypt* and *Al Thaher, Syria*: he was before called *Abu'l Hasan Ben Ali*, but was then saluted by the surname of *Abu 4th Khalif of Al Thabur Leezar-dini'llah*; and his aunt took upon her the regency of the two kingdoms of *Egypt* and *Syria*, and, surviving her brother four years, died in the year of the *Hejra* 415, as we have elsewhere shewn ¹. *Al Thaher* reigned, after her decease, eleven years, but so

b obscurely, that the *Arabic* writers have not left us any thing considerable concerning his reign, excepting what some of them say, in opposition to the rest, that he made the strictest enquiry after his father's assassins, as the most public and severe objects of his justice and resentment; whereas the others tell us, that his aunt caused them to be privately murdered before she declared openly the death of her brother ¹. The former give it to us as one of the most shining parts of his Khalifat, and the latter as a pregnant instance of his courage and policy. However that be, some of them add, by way of panegyric, that he was a prudent and peaceable prince, and a lover of poetry. He reigned fifteen years and some months, and died at *Al Kayro*, in the year of the *Hejra* 427, and was succeeded by his son *Abu Zamim Ma'bad*, an infant, under seven years of age; who in time assumed the title of *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, and enjoyed the Khalifat sixty years, though not without sundry deep-laid conspiracies, which were formed against him during his long reign; but which, however, he found means either

His death,
1035.

Mostanser
Bi'llah, 5th
Khalif of
Egypt.

Forbid to be
prayed for,
1038.

c to detect or defeat, by his extraordinary address and sagacity, and was, in other points, a prince of great moderation; and, by his mild government, gained the love of his subjects. He had, however, the mortification, in the third year of his Khalifat, to see himself publicly disclaimed by *Saleh Ebn Warshal*, the Emir of *Harran*, one of his vassals, who forbade him to be prayed for through all his dominions, and ordered the name of *Al Kayem*, Khalif of *Baghdad*, to be substituted in his room ².

ANOTHER revolt happened against him in his *Syrian* dominions, whither he speedily sent a powerful army, under the command of *Anushtekin*, or *Anush-Takin*, who quickly reduced those parts, and added some farther conquests to his dominions there. This expedition happened in the sixth year of his Khalifat, and 433d of the *Hejra*. But the most shining part d of his reign was his assisting the revolted *Al Bassasiri* against *Al Kayem*, the Khalif of *Baghdad*, both with troops and money; inasmuch that he was at length obliged to apply to *Togrol Bek* for assistance against that successful rebel. As we have given a full account of that transaction in the history of the Khalifs, we shall refer our readers to it, to avoid repetitions ³, and only observe here, as most pertinent to our history of the *Egyptian* Khalifat, that *Mostanser* carried his success in that revolt so as to cause himself to be proclaimed Khalif of *Baghdad*, in that grand metropolis, and to be prayed for as such in the principal mosk of it, in the 450th year of the *Hejra*. So that nothing less, in all probability, than the powerful interposition of the great *Togrol*, in favour of *Al Kayem*, could have prevented his making himself master of his Khalifat and dominions. How all these prospects and measures were defeated by that conqueror, the proud *Bassasiri* defeated and slain, and *Al Kayem* restored in great triumph to his capital, by the superior force of that generous prince, we have shewn in the volume above quoted ⁴: and from this æra we may date the gradual decline of the *Egyptian* Khalif's glory. His disappointment, by the defeat and death of his chief instrument and assistant, was soon followed by the defection of the city of *Aleppo*, in favour of *Mahmud Azzo'ddawla*, the defeat of that powerful army which he sent to reduce it, and the total loss of that important place ⁵, with its rich and considerable dependencies; and, what was still more deplorable, by the horrid ravages and butcheries which that tyrannic rebel committed, not only in that principality, but in all the adjacent provinces, which he put to fire and sword, not sparing age, sex, or condition, without opposition.

Success in Sy-
ria, 1041.

against Al
Kayem, 1054.

Proclaimed at
Baghdad,
1058.

¹ Vol. i. p. 626.

& al. ² Conf. AL MAKIN, ABU'LFED. ABU'LFARAJ. & LEBTARIK EBN AMID KONDEMIR, p. 656, & seq. ³ Vol. i. p. 653, & seq. ⁴ Ibid, p. 656, & seq. ⁵ Ibid.

In like manner he revoked the manifesto which he had published against all the Khalifs which had reigned since *Ali*, as usurpers of the succession; but confirmed his former interdiction of pilgrimage to *Mecca*, the fast of *Ramadan*, or lent, the keeping of *Friday* holy, and the five prayers of the *Moslems* on work-days, though all enjoined by the *Koran* (38); and, instead of visiting *Mohammed's* tomb at *Mecca*, ordained that devotionary

journey to be made to another mosk in *Arabia Felix*; to which he himself made one journey, according to the rites and tenets of *Hamza*, the successor of *Darari*, who now set up for chief director of that impious sect, which, amongst other monstrous licentiousnesses, allowed of marriages between fathers and children, brothers and sisters, &c. and forbade all the fasts, festivals, and pilgrimages, enjoined by *Mohammed* (39).

(38) *Ibid*, vol. i. p. 48. 181, & alib. pass. ubi sup. & al.

(39) Vol. i. p. 623. D'Herbelot, Al Makin, Abu'lfar. Renaud.

A grievous famine, 1066.

Direct effects of it.

Extreme misery of the people.

The Khalif's singular generosity to them.

A grievous pestilence.

Invaded by the Turks.

1067, 1068.
New revolts in Syria.

The Khalif's poetic taste.

THESE dreadful disasters were followed by a most terrible famine, which raged with such a fury, not only in *Syria*, but over all *Egypt*, in the year 459 of the *Hejra*, that cats and dogs were sold at the rate of four or five *Egyptian* dinars, and every kind of provision in proportion. Myriads of inhabitants died in *Al Kayro* for want of food; insomuch that the very Vazir's domestics were so reduced by it, that he had but one servant left who was able to attend him to the Khalif's palace, and to whom he gave the care of his horse, at his alighting at the gate; but, at his return, found him, to his great surprize, carried off, killed, and eat, by three poor almost-famished men. He went back, and complained of it to *Mostanser*, who ordered them to be apprehended, and hanged on gibbets erected for that purpose; and, to his much greater astonishment, was told, on the very next morning, that a fresh famished troop in that neighbourhood had torn the flesh off their carcases, and left nothing hanging but the bare bones. And to such a degree of misery were the people reduced by that time, that, not only in his capital, but in many other cities and towns of *Egypt*, the carcases of those that died, either through want, or any other distemper, were boiled, and the small remains of flesh publicly sold, at a vast price.

ALL this while the Khalif had shewed the most exemplary instances of charity and generosity towards his subjects; but finding all too little to supply the wants of such vast multitudes, thought it incumbent upon him to enlarge his beneficence; which he did to such a degree, that of above 10,000 horses, camels, and mules, which he had in his stables, he had not above three horses left when that calamity was happily removed. He had, moreover, not only parted with all the money, jewels, and other things of value, with which his predecessors had enriched the royal treasury, but had likewise parted with all the costly furniture of his palaces and seraglios, as well as an immense wealth which *Bassasiri* had brought away from those of the Khalifs of *Baghdad*, at his taking and plundering of that capital; of which the reader may see a more diffuse detail in a former volume^a, together with that of sundry other dreadful disorders committed by the Khalif's troops during that calamity, which need not be here repeated.

A most grievous pestilence, that immediately followed the famine, which is commonly the natural consequence of it, occasioned by the great variety of unwholesome food, which, greedily devoured by the famished multitudes, helped to complete the misery of this unhappy kingdom (M), not only by the myriads of its remaining inhabitants, which it carried off, but by the encouragement that its calamitous and desolate condition gave the lately-revolted *Abu Ali Al Hasan Nasreddowla*, to invade it at the head of his numerous *Turks* and *Curds*, the very next year. He began with besieging the Khalif in his own palace; who, being then in no condition to oppose his progress, was constrained to buy himself off, at the expence of all the valuables that were left in his exhausted treasury and capital; yet did not that hinder the merciless plunderers from ravaging all the *Lower Egypt*, from *Al Kayro* quite down to *Alexandria*, and committing the most horrid cruelties through all that long tract, quite to the desert of *Al Kolzon*; in which they were sure to meet all the way with fresh reinforcements from amongst the poor ruined inhabitants, whose desperate condition made them readily join themselves to them^c. In the two subsequent years there happened two very considerable revolts in his *Syrian* dominions, the first at *Damascus*, and the second at *Aleppo*, in which the revolted Emir of it ordered the *Fatemite* Khalifs to be suppressed through his dominions, and those of *Baghdad* to be substituted in their stead^d.

TOWARDS the latter end of his life *Mostanser* committed the care and government of *Egypt* to his favourite minister, named *Bedr Al Gemmal*, an *Armenian*, who was his Vazir-general and *fac-totum*, whilst the Khalif had little more left than a nominal power; and, as he had a good taste for poetry, he seems to have employed his time in reading and composing some

^a Vol. i. p. 661. & seq.

^b De his, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 661, & seq.

^c AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 376, & seq.

^d Vol. i. p. 661, & seq.

(M) It will not be amiss here to remind our readers, that *Al Mostanser* was the Khalif who, we formerly took notice, is said, by *Al Makin*, to have sent an embassy to the *Abissinian* emperor, to intreat him, in the humblest terms, and by magnificent presents, to restore the river *Nile* to its ancient course and chanel, the obstruction of which had almost ruined his country (1). This passage hath been censured, as well as its authority, by some learned moderns, though without any foundation, as the reader may see by what we have said there.

It is, therefore, more likely that the grievous famine

above described was caused by some accidental suppression of that river's usual overflow; but which that Khalif and his counsellors supposed to be designedly done by the *Ethiopian* monarch. However, the *Egyptian* writers tell us, that that calamity had been preceded the year before, not only by the appearance of some strange comets, but other portentous phenomena in the air, which had spread an universal terror through these and his *Syrian* dominions, which, as we have already shewn, are in the main fictitious, and are not mentioned by any authentic *Arabian* historian (2).

(1) See before, vol. i. p. 679, & seq. note (N).

(2) Ibid. p. 661, & ant. ibi citat.

- a performances of that kind; one of which *Ebn Ahmed* hath preserved to us; namely, a letter to his Vazir, on the topic of some revolted subjects, the expediency of whose punishment and execution that minister had been urging to him, but whom he rather judged the proper objects of his clemency and pardon. He died in the 60th year of his reign, and of the *Hejra* 487; and was succeeded by his son *Abul Kasem*, whom he had, at the request of his Vazir, nominated to the succession a little before his death^c; and who, at his installation, took the surname of *Al Mosta'li*. He was *Al Mostanfer's* youngest son; but was raised to the Khalifat by the intrigues of the old Vazir, or, as others will have it, of the new one, surnamed *Afdal*, who had conceived a prejudice against the eldest, named *Nezar*, on account of some slight affront; of which we have given a detail in the volume last quoted^f: the consequence whereof was, that *Mosta'li* having, by the interest of the prime minister, been proclaimed, and acknowledged by all the grandees of the court and army, and by all the learned lawyers and judges, as lawful successor to the deceased, who were all his creatures, and had been advanced by him to their respective posts for that very end, *Nezar*, his eldest brother, fled, as soon as he could, to *Alexandria*, with all his friends, and there maintained his title against him. The Vazir, however, did not suffer him to contest it with him, but marched speedily thither at the head of a powerful army; and, having laid close siege to the place, soon obliged him to surrender it, and himself prisoner. It was at first expected, from the nature of his crime, and the grudge which he bore to that prince, that he would have sent him in irons to his brother, and have got him to be put to death; yet, whatever might be his motive for it, he freely gave him his life, and procured his pardon from the Khalif, in hopes that it might prove a means to reduce him, by kindness, to acknowledge his title and authority, as all his other brethren had done by that time. Instead of which, this clemency proved only a short reprieve, or rather the fore-runner of a much severer punishment; for *Nezar* was not long before he betrayed the same ambitious inclination to revolt; upon which he was clapped in irons, and condemned to be starved to death in a dungeon, or, as others stile it, between four walls, just wide enough to contain him^g.
- THE most remarkable transaction of this Khalif's reign was the re-taking the city of *Jerusalem* from the *Franks*, or *Crusaders*, in the year of the *Hejra* 492, and the immense plunder which *Afdal*, his general, brought from thence; but of this we have given an account formerly^h, and shall enlarge no longer upon it, nor upon several other less considerable events, which lie interspersed in the volume last quoted, and chiefly relate to his *Syrian* dominions.

- He died in the eighth year of his reign, or, to speak more properly, he reigned seven years and two months. His death happened in the 495th year of the *Hejra*, and of the Christian æra, 1101, his son and successor, named *Abu Ali Al Mansur*, being then but five years of age; who was, nevertheless, proclaimed and inaugurated immediately after his father's death, though too young to sit on that occasion. This probably encouraged his uncle, *Abu Mansur Berar*, to attempt to dethrone him; to which end he hastened to *Alexandria*, which was then commanded by a bought slave of the prime Vazir *Afdal*, named *Aftekin*, who, upon some specious promises, suffered him to be proclaimed Khalif in that city.
- c *Al Afdal*, who governed the kingdom during the young Khalif's minority (who had taken the surname of *Amer Beahcami'llah*), was no sooner apprised of that revolt, than he hastened to besiege the two traitors in the castle of that place, and quickly obliged them to surrender both it and themselves into his hands. How he disposed of them afterwards we are not told; but *Al Afdal* returned victorious to *Al Kayro*, and continued to act under the young prince as his Vazir, and with such moderation and patience, that he gained the affections and esteem of all the *Egyptians*; whilst the Khalif his master enjoyed, through his means, a quiet and happy reign of thirty years; but justly censured, by most historians of his time, for his cruelty, craftiness, pride, debauchery, excessive love of gaming, and more especially for his ingratitude to his prime minister the noble *Afdal*, and for his being, like his father and predecessor, too great a favourer of the *Shiites*, a sect amongst the *Moslems*; of which, and of their tenets, we have given an account in a former partⁱ: though, in other respects, he is represented as a prince of no inconsiderable parts and learning, and master of an elegant stile. He was, at length, murdered by a set of *Batanists*, or mercenary and resolute assassins, formerly described^k, and hired, as is justly supposed, for that end, by the malecontent grandees of his court or army, as he was returning from one of his usual walks. Thus fell that unhappy prince, unpitied and unregretted (the seventh Khalif of *Egypt* of the *Fatemite* race, and the tenth of the *African* Khalifs, who had revolted from the *Abbassides* of *Baghdad*), in the 35th year of his age, and 30th of his reign, and of the *Hejra* 524. He had no male issue, but was

^c AL MAKIN, ABU'LFED, ABU'LFARAJ. EBN AHMED, & al. sup. citat. vol. i. p. 678, & seq. p. 678, & seq. ^e AL MAKIN, ABU'LFED. & al. sup. citat. p. 277, & seq. ^h Before, vol. i. p. 698.

^f Ubi sup. ⁱ Vol. i.

^g See vol. i. p. 683, & ii. 177.

^k Assassins, 1126.

succeeded by his first cousin *Abu'l Maimun Abd'al Majid*, and grandson to *Al Mostanser*; a who, with the Khalifat, assumed the surname of *Hafedh Bedini'llah*; but was neither inaugurated, nor acknowledged by the *Egyptian* states, till they were assured whether the deceased's widow, who was left pregnant, would be delivered of a male or female; being determined, if it proved the former, to declare him the lawful successor to the throne, and to proscribe his uncle, in case he refused to acknowledge; but, in case he complied with their determination, he was to be appointed regent of the kingdom during his minority. Happily for him, the widow was brought to bed of a daughter; upon which he was proclaimed and acknowledged Khalif at *Al Kayro*, though not without some strenuous opposition from *Abu Hamed*, the then Vazir, and one of the late *Afdal's* sons; who had been privately making all the interest he could amongst his father's creatures to be himself raised to that dignity, as he was then the chief commander of all the *Egyptian* forces¹ b

Hafedh, 8th
Khalif of
Egypt,

obliged to de-
pose his Vazir.

HAFEDH was no sooner seated on the throne, than he deposed him, and raised the noble *Barham* to that dignity; a person of great wisdom and merit, of noble extraction, and highly esteemed for his virtues; but was quickly after obliged to remove him, and to substitute in his room, an ambitious fellow, named *Redwan Ebn Wabakshi*, or *Ebn Walabakshi*, upon the following occasion. *Barham's* administration was, in all respects, unexceptionable, excepting only that he favoured the Christians more, perhaps, than became a *Moslem* Khalif's prime minister, and this was thought a sufficient pretext for the ambitious *Redwan* to attempt to get him deposed, and himself chosen in his place, by main force, if other means failed. In pursuance of which treacherous project, he easily stirred up some of the rigid *Mohammedans* to raise up loud complaints against his ill treatment of them, and the contempt he shewed to them upon all occasions, whilst he promoted none but *Armenian* Christians into some of the most considerable places in the Dowan, or Diwan, and army, and other posts of state; insomuch that, as they pretended, many *Moslems* were induced by it to turn Christians to get into them. The discontent grew to such a height, as to cause a tumult in that metropolis, where a great body of them came armed with lances, which had copies of the *Koran* affixed to the very gates of the palace. c

Bahram re-
tires into
Egypt.

HERE *Babram*, who had the whole army at his command, might easily have crushed the revolt at once; but fearful lest the shedding of so much *Mohammedan* blood, in that capital, should increase the discontent, chose rather to remove the scene of war farther off, and retire with his choicest *Armenian* troops into *Upper Egypt*, or *Alsaid*, where his brother *Yasal* was at that time governor of the city and province of *Kuz*, and leave his rival to pursue his ambitious views, since he found himself incapable of opposing him any longer. But here the traitor had been before-hand with him, and by his artful stratagems had so far incensed the *Mohammedans* of that canton, that they had cut his brother in pieces, and, after many indignities done to his body, had buried it in a dunghill, and shut the gates against him; upon which the rest of *Yasal's* troops dispersed themselves. *Babram*, finding his affairs become in some measure desperate, retreated into a monastery, and soon after took the monkish habit; whilst *Redwan*, who by that time had forced himself into the Vazirat, was marching towards him, at the head of his army, with all speed, and soon after took him prisoner; e but, upon his finding him entered into the monastic life, released and spared him.

Redwan
forces himself
into the Vazi-
rat.

Cruel treat-
ment of the
Christians at
Mefr.

Supreme arro-
gance.

THIS did not, however, hinder him from wreaking his rancour upon the Christians, especially those of *Al Kayro*, against which he led his army, destroyed the best part of that city, and gave up the houses, churches, and monasteries, to be plundered by his troops. He treated the *Armenian* monastery of that city with greater inhumanity, which he ordered to be reduced into ashes; and all the monks of it, not excepting the venerable patriarch of it, to be all butchered without mercy. He extended his resentment still farther against them on his return from these expeditions, by which time he was grown too powerful to be controuled in any thing, and by his own arbitrary will excluded them from all considerable posts in the Diwan, army, and state, obliged them to wear a particular garb about them, as a mark of distinction or reproach, and loaded both them and the *Jews* with exorbitant taxes; which he divided into distinct classes, for the more effectual exacting and payment of the same. He, in a word, acted with such a despotic power, that the Khalif, his master, whether out of base adulation, or ironical reflection, bestowed on him the title of *Al Melek Mefr*, or *The King of Egypt*^o, a thing till then unheard of; but which he made no scruple to assume from thenceforward. f

Deposed and
confined to the
Khalif's pa-
lace.

1141.

ALL this while, the *Mohammedans* triumphed under his protection, and failed not to retaliate, with interest, the pretended injuries and affronts they had suffered from the Christians, under the Vazirat of *Babram*; nor did he fail to countenance and support them in it. By which means they grew up to such a degree of insolence, that the Christians, unable to bear it any longer, formed, by degrees, so powerful a party against him in *Egypt*,

¹ AL MAKIN, & al. sup. citat. vid. & AL MAKRIZI & D'HERBELOT Biblioth. Orient. p. 108. sub voc. Amer, & p. 634, sub voc. Mostarshaf. ^m ABU'LFAR. ABU'LFED. AL MAKIN, & al. ubi sup. ⁿ ABU'LFAR. AL MAKIN, & al. sup. citat. vid. & vol. i. p. 705. ^o EBN SHOHNAH, & al. ubi sup.

- a that he was forced to fly into *Syria*; where, having gathered up a good strong body of *Arabs* and other nations, he marched back with them, and, on the first engagement the had with his opposers, got the better of them; but, being totally defeated on the next, was constrained to shelter himself from their fury, by taking sanctuary in the Khalif's palace, who readily took him into his protection. But to avoid all future resentments from that quarter, on account of those churches he ordered to be destroyed, and the bishops and monks whom he caused to be massacred, that prince thought it highly convenient to strip the tyrannical minister of all his dignities and authority, and to confine him to his own palace for safety, but without suffering him to meddle any more with the affairs of government. He, moreover, restored to the *Coptic* church all its ancient liberties, revenues, and privileges (B). *The Coptic Christians restored to their churches, &c.*
- b Not long after, *Hafedh* was likely to have been over-reached by the *Rajashi*, or Emir of *Abissinia*; from whom he received a grand embassy, requesting him to order the *Alexandrian* patriarch to send him an additional number of bishops into his dominions, under pretence that it would be a means of promoting religion, and the interest of the patriarchal see of *Alexandria*; but, in reality, that he might shake off his dependance on it, and chuse one of his own, without being obliged to have them any longer from *Egypt*, as they had been hitherto obliged to do. The Khalif, who suspected nothing of the design, was easily persuaded to grant the request, and signified his desire to *Gabriel*, the then patriarch, that he would comply with it; but, being better informed by him of the great injury it would prove to the *Egyptian* patriarchate, he absolutely refused it ^p.
- c In the mean time, the seditious *Redwan*, being quite tired with his confinement and inactivity, though treated with singular kindness by the Khalif, was contriving the means of riding himself of it; and having broke a hole in the wall of his apartment, and conveyed himself to *Mesr*, where he was again joined by multitudes of his blacks and other revolvers, and had begun to resume his former ravages; when, some discord or discontent arising, some of them fell upon and assassinated him, which saved *Hafedh* the trouble of sending fresh forces thither to suppress him. From this time, the Khalif took the reins of government into his own hands, and, as we are told, without the assistance of a *Vazir* ^q. *Redwan breaks out of his confinement and flies to Mesr. Is murdered by his blacks. 1148.*
- d ONE of his first cares was to repeal the several edicts which *Redwan* had issued out against the Christians, and to restore those who had been turned out of their places in the Diwan, army, and state; and particularly *Ebn Yunez*, whose merit and interest soon drew in all the rest. Yet was that prince so easily imposed upon by the calumnies and accusations which some *Samaritans* raised against him, that he condemned both him and his brother to death in less than a year. He was, however, no less severe to their malicious accusers, when he came to be better informed, which happened before another year was expired, whom he caused to be put to a shameful death. He also confirmed the election which the *Alexandrian* church had made of *Michael* to succeed the deceased *Gabriel* in that patriarchate; and of *John*, the son of *Abulfatali*, about nine months afterwards, whom they had likewise chosen; the same *John*, who had been poisoned by his monks, and lingered with a gradual decay full six months before he died ^r. *1154 & seq.*
- e WE meet with nothing farther remarkable concerning this Khalif's reign, during the two last years of it, excepting that he died in the year of the *Hejra* 544, and of his age 77; of which he reigned twenty years and five months ^s. *His death. 1159.*
- f HE was succeeded by his son *Abu Mansur Ismael*; who, immediately upon his inauguration, took the surname of *Al Dhafer Beamri'llah*. One of the first considerable promotions he made, was that of one of his father's greatest favourites, named *Nojmo'ddin Ebn Mesal*, to the *Vazirat*; which proved so displeasing to the Emir or governor of *Alexandria*, named *Ali Ebn Selar*, that he drew, with all speed, a body of troops out of the western provinces, and marched directly at their head to *Al Kayro*; and, having driven *Nojmo'ddin* out of it, obliged the young Khalif, not then above 17 years old, to confirm him in the dignity of *Vazir* in his stead. *Nojmo'ddin*, on his side, having put himself at the head of a large body of blacks, with a design to wrest the *Vazirat* from him, a fight ensued; in which he was slain, and his head cut off, and carried on the point of a lance through the streets of that metropolis, leaving his rival in quiet possession of his dignity. He did one public act soon

^p See vol. i. p. 107. *RENAUD. Hist. Patriarch. p. 510, & seq.*

^q *IBID. p. 560, & seq.*

^r *RENAUD.*

(B) We are farther told by some *Arabic* writers, that *Hafedh* did condescend to send a pressing invitation to his late worthy *Vazir* to leave his monastery of *Zacheri*, and return to court, and resume his former post and government; and that he so far complied with it, as to abandon that convent, and spend the remainder of his days at court, where he could be ready at hand to assist him

with his counsels (which could not but be an 'acceptable thing to the Christians); but absolutely refused the *Vazirat*, and every other post that was offered to him. He lived accordingly in the palace, highly caressed by the court; and, at his death, was splendidly conveyed and interred by the Khalif in the metropolitan church of the *Armenians* (3).

(3) *De his, vid. Al Makrizi, & sup. vol. i. p. 706.*

The Vazir
murdered by
Nasr.

The Khalif's
shameful love
of Nasr.

Murdered by
him and his
father.

Abbas's cru-
elty to his two
brothers, &c.

The ladies sue
for his punish-
ment.

The general of
the army stir-
red up against
him.

Abbas flies
into Syria.

Is intercepted
and slain.

after his advancement in favour of the Christians, which, in all likelihood, procured him the a
surname of *Al Adel*, or the just; how justly the reader will see by the sequel; which was to
abolish all the marks of distinction and reproach, which they were obliged to wear by a former
decree against them, whilst his real view was to draw a considerable sum of money from
them, by way of acknowledgement for so signal a favour: but finding neither returns nor
promises, or probability of any, he was not ashamed to revive the old edict against them.
He had not enjoyed the Vazirat long, before he was deposed and murdered by *Nasr*, the son
of *Al Abbas*, the then governor of *Balbeis* and its precinct; but who, by his son's interest
with the Khalif, soon obtained the Vazirat. These seem to have been the only disturbances
that happened during his short reign, excepting that the *Crusaders* took the city of *Ascalon*,
in *Syria*, from him. *Abbas Ebn Temim*, or, as others call him, *Abbas Al Sanhaji*, who got b
the Vazirat from *Ali Ebn Selar*, as was lately hinted, proved a monster of ingratitude, and,
as is affirmed by most writers, assassinated the young Khalif, on account of some indecent
familiarities which he had observed him to take with his son *Nasr*; which he justly feared
would give an unhappy turn to the young gentleman's mind. Some of them say, that it
was *Nasr* himself that gave him the deadly blow, in revenge of his unnatural attempt upon
him. However that be, it was the common opinion, that the beautiful youth had so engrossed
the Khalif's affection, that he could not bear him one moment out of his sight; the scandal
of which his father took as such an indignity, that he resolved both to put a stop to it and the
Khalif's life; and it is not improbable, that he persuaded his son to perpetrate the deed, or,
at least, to join with him in it (C).

To effect their purpose with greater ease and secrecy, they invited the young Khalif, and
two of his intimate favourites, to an entertainment at their house; where, at a proper time,
they dispatched them all three and flung their bodies into a well. On the morrow, *Al Abbas*
went, as usual, to the palace, which he found in some confusion on account of the young
Khalif's being missing; and, after several pretended enquiries after him, condemned two of
his brothers, and a first cousin, to be put to death, as his murderers, and others of his friends
and favourites, as their accomplices. After this, he caused *Al Dhafer*'s son, not full five years
old, to be brought out of the seraglio of women, and to be proclaimed Khalif in his father's
stead, under the title of *Al Favez*, or, according to other manuscripts, *Al Kayen Benafri'llab*,
and obliged all the nobles and grandees to swear allegiance to him. This mock pageantry d
of loyalty, however, could not prevent the young prince, now on the throne, from being
struck with such horror and dread, at the sight of the bodies of his two uncles and other re-
lations, whom the Vazir had caused to be unjustly butchered, that he became, from that mo-
ment, a poor senseless idiot; beyond all possibility of being restored to the use of his reason
in any degree, notwithstanding all the various means and attempts for his recovery.

ALL this while, however, the Vazir governed with such an absolute sway, that he quickly
became odious to, and suspected by, the whole court and army, of being the murderer of
the late Khalif; the very ladies of the seraglio and court interesting themselves, with an un-
common zeal, to have him and his son brought to trial, and condign punishment (D).

THE clamour, at length, grew so loud and general, not only in that capital, but over the e
kingdom, that the *Armenian* general, who had the command of all the forces, was obliged, by
the universal solicitation of the grandees and officers of his army, to collect his forces towards
the capital, in order to apprehend them; but, before that could be done, they had taken
care to convey themselves, and all their wealth, into *Syria*, attended with a sufficient escorte.
We lately hinted, that the *Crusaders* had there taken the city of *Ascalon*: to these the late
Khalif's sister applied, by vast presents and promises, to cause those parricides to be appre-
hended; who immediately dispatched some strong detachments to intercept them in their way;
one of which had the good fortune to surprise them. A bloody engagement ensued, in which

* *Iid. ubi sup.*

(C) Some add, tho' perhaps to palliate the fact, that
the Khalif, to bind him the more closely to him, had
endeavoured to persuade him to make away with his
father, promising to raise him to the Vazirat in his
room; and that, upon his acquainting him with that hor-
rid circumstance, *Abbas Al Sanhaji* thought it high time
to take him off, as well for his own safety, as to prevent
the ruin of his son.

(D) We are told, that they even cut off locks of
their own hair, and sent them hanging upon spears, in
token of grief, to *Talay Ebn Zarik*, the head general of

the army, intreating him, in the most pathetic terms,
to see the death of the late Khalif revenged on his as-
sassins (4); which shews, that he must have been either
shamefully tardy in complying with the universal re-
quest, or afraid to engage two such powerful enemies,
who could resist such general and repeated solicitations:
and the event proved it beyond all doubt, seeing his
backwardness to act gave them time to reach as far as *Syria*
with all their valuables; and, for aught that appears to
the contrary, unpursued.

(4) See before, vol. i. p. 713.

the

a the two assassins and their guard made a most desperate defence, till the Vazir himself was slain, and his son taken prisoner: upon which their rich spoil fell into the hands of the *Franks*, His son made prisoner. and *Nafr* was conducted, under a strong guard, to *Al Kayro*, and delivered up to the *Khalif's* sister and the other ladies of the seraglio, to be punished at their discretion; that is, to be made to undergo the greatest torture that their rage and resentment could inspire. Dreadful execution.

ACCORDINGLY, we are told, that the princess caused his right hand to be crushed in the most terrible manner, whilst the other ladies tore the flesh off his bones with hot pincers, and, as some add, eat it before his face, till they had almost excarnified him. After which, they ordered him to be fixed to a high gibbet, and exposed in that condition till he was dead, and after that to be burned to ashes ^u.

b As soon as this execution was over, *Talay*, the *Armenian* general, above-mentioned, was raised to the Vazirat by the new *Khalif Al Fayer*; who made it one of his first cares to enquire after the body of the deceased *Khalif*; of which he easily gained a sufficient intelligence, Talay raised to the Vazir. by means of one of the late *Al Abbas's* servants and confederates, who directed them to the well into which it had been thrown, with those of his other two favourites. This discovery

was followed by the interment of that unhappy prince; which was performed with the utmost pomp and grandeur: after which, we are told, the new Vazir assumed the surname of *Al Malek Al Seleh*, that is, *the King and Lord* ^w. He did but too truly make good that

c title, by the exactions and other cruelties he committed under the young *Khalif*, and soon became odious, not only to the *Christians*, but much more to the *Mohammedans*, over whom he domineered, in a manner they could by no means brook from an *Armenian*. Although his being such did not hinder him from exercising the greatest severities against the *Christians* and *Jews*; whether it were to extort the greater sums from them, or to palliate his haughty treatment of the *Moslems*: for he not only revived all the old edicts against the two former, of wearing on their turbans, and upper garments, sundry marks of distinction and infamy, but caused them to be observed with greater severity, and had always his ears open to any accusation brought against them; for which, whether true or false, he seldom failed of punishing them, either by fines or corporal punishment. So that we meet with little else, during this interregnum, as it may well be stiled, seeing the young *Khalif* was not only a minor, but continued still bereaved of his reason to his death; which happened in the 555th year of *Al Sayez dies*.
d the *Hejra*, the 6th of his *Khalifat*, and 11th of his age.

He was succeeded by *Abd'allah, Ebn Yusef Ebn Hafedh*, who took upon him the title of *Al Aded Ledini'llah*; to which he added the prenomens of *Abu Mobammed* ^x. Al Aded Ledini'llah, 10th Khalif of Egypt.

AL ADED, the 10th and last *Khalif*, had not sat long on the throne, before the Vazir *Al Zaley Ebn Zari* was, for his many extortions and cruelties, assassinated at *Al Kayro*, as he was entering the *Khalif's* palace, by a set of ruffians, supposed to be hired by *Al Aded's* aunt. The Vazir assassinated. He did not, however, die upon the spot, but was conveyed, weakened by his wounds, to his own house; whence he dispatched a messenger to *Al Aded*, to upbraid him with being the author of his death. The *Khalif*, who, in all probability, was innocent of the fact, not only exculpated himself by the most solemn oaths and protestations, but ordered his aunt to be delivered up to him; who, by this time, had been discovered to be the contriver and directress of his assassination, and whom, in the height of his resentment, he immediately caused to be beheaded before him. After which, he lived but just long enough to obtain the reversion of the Vazirat for his son, and expired presently upon it ^y. He is, by the *Arabic* writers, His death revenged. allowed to have been a man extremely well versed, not only in the military art, but, by some of them, to have been likewise an excellent poet, and the author of several curious performances in that kind, some of which are still extant ^z. But his pride, avarice, and other cruel exactions, so tarnished his good qualities, that he was universally hated, and died unpitied and unregretted, in spite of the pompous title he had assumed, of *Malek Adel*, or just king ^a.

His son, named *Zarik*, or *Razic*, and, by *Ebn Shohnah Arzik*, upon his accession to the throne, assumed in imitation of his father, and with as little right to it as he, the title of *Al Malek Al Adel*, or just king; but presently after gave such an instance of his injustice and partiality, as was like to have caused great disturbance in the kingdom, but, in the end, proved only fatal to himself. An eunuch and officer of some consequence, named *Shawer*, who had been promoted by the late Vazir his father, having received some ill treatment from a son of his sister, named *Hazan*, met with no other redress than a repulse; upon which, *Hazan*, the more to mortify him, sent him a present of a fine new box, in which was inclosed one of those leathern scourges with which the slaves are usually punished; giving him to understand, that his persisting in his complaint would only draw greater injuries upon him. *Shawer*, finding he had every thing to fear from a rash and haughty youth, upheld by such a Vazir, soon

^u AL MAKIN, ABU'LFED. ABU'LFAR. RENAUD. & al. sup. citat.

^x AL MAKIN, ABU'LFED. ABU'LFAR, & al. sup. citat.

SHOHNAH, ubi sup.

^a Ibid. Ibid.

^w EBN SHOHNAH. sub an. 549.

^y AL MAKIN, & al. sup. citat.

^z EBN

Severe re-
venge.

withdrew from *Al Kayro*, highly dissatisfied, and retired with his friends and adherents to the a
deserts of *Lovakal* and *Alcoab*, and from thence to the lake or pool of *Alexandria*; by which
time he had gathered up such a number of forces, as to be able to bid defiance to the Vazir;
and accordingly maintained his post and station in spite of those which that minister sent
against him. As he advanced farther to *Belkinah*, *Mahalet*, and other neighbouring villages,
he was joined by vast numbers of *Arabs* and soldiers, who flocked to him from all the western
parts of *Egypt*, and especially from the several deserts adjacent; insomuch that he quickly saw
himself at the head of a powerful army of 10,000 horse, all expert plunderers. With these
he marched directly into the lands and territories of the Vazir, where he committed the most
dreadful ravages, without opposition; and, advancing still farther towards *Al Kayro*, threatened
that city and court with fire and sword.

Vazir's shame-
ful flight,
1162.

Shawer raised
to the Vazirat.

Arzik robbed,
and sent pri-
soner to Al
Kayro.

ALL this while the alarmed Vazir had been so far from taking any proper measures for sup-
pressing him, that he thought on nothing but of saving himself and family, and how to con-
vey all his vast wealth safely into some place of security. The new Khalif and his court, no
less alarmed at the progress and fatal success of the one, than at the cowardly flight of the
other (E), were in the utmost consternation; and, to prevent any farther consequences from
the discontented *Shawer*, had recourse to a happy expedient, which effectually pacified him, by
raising him to the Vazirat in the room of the fugitive *Arzik*, who, by this time, was unluckily
fallen into the hands of one of *Shawer's* flying detachments of *Arabs*, who stripped him of all
his immense treasure, and sent him naked and in irons to the new Vazir; or, as others relate
it, left him naked in a desert, where he must unavoidably have perished with hunger and cold, c
had he not been timely discovered by one of the *Arabian* Cheyks, who ordered him to be con-
veyed under a strong guard to *Al Kayro* †.

Friendly treat-
ed by the new
Vazir.

His ingrati-
tude and
death.

HERE, to his great surprise, as well as confusion, he found a friendly asylum where he had
least reason to expect it, even from the much injured *Shawer*, who received him with all the
marks of generous pity and concern, and appointed him an apartment in his palace, where
he ordered him to be treated in the kindest manner. Yet did not all this undeserved kind-
ness and generosity prevent that ungrateful guest from plotting daily the blackest treason
against his benefactor, and privately attempting to excite the *Egyptian* Emirs to some new
revolt; whilst his noble host, unsuspecting of such black treason, treated him more like an
intimate friend than a guilty prisoner; often invited him to his table, and scrupled not to d
consult him about the most important matters of state. An attempt, at length, which that
ingrate made to escape, of which *Tay*, the Vazir's son, was quickly apprized, gave the first
rise to his jealousy; who, upon farther enquiry, unravelled such a black series of treasonable
practices, that, in the height of his fury and resentment, he went directly to his apartment,
unknown to his father, and struck off his head at one blow with his scymitar, and then laid
open all his guilt and ingratitude to the whole court. His father expressed a singular regret
at his death, and dissatisfaction at his son's perpetrating such a deed without his knowledge;
but whether real or not, we will not pretend to dive into. This is the light in which most of
our authors set that remarkable revolution ^b.

Dargan op-
poses the
Vazir.

Defeats and
drives him
away.

Seizes on the
Vazirat.

THE Vazir had not been long rid of that private enemy, before a fresh and open one started e
up against him, who, in the end, proved a fatal one, not only to him, but to the whole king-
dom, and *Fatemitic* dynasty. This was one of the chief officers of the army, named *Al*
Dargan, who, in order to wrest the Vazirat from him, raised an army against him; and,
after a bloody engagement, in which he gave him a total defeat, and slew his son *Tay*, forced
him to leave *Al Kayro*, and refuge himself in *Syria*, under the protection of *Nuro'ddin*, the
Atabek Emir of *Damascus*; promising him the third part of the annual revenue of *Egypt*, if
he would assist him with his whole force to recover the Vazirat from his competitor; who, by
that time, had seized upon it by main force. *Nuro'ddin*, who was a sworn enemy to the
Christians, easily listened to his proposals, and granted him all the assistance he could spare;
but *Dargan* was by that time become too powerful to be easily dispossessed of his dignity. f
He had, moreover, raised his two brothers to the most considerable posts under him, and

† ABU'LFED. ABU'LFAR. RENAUD. & al. ubi sup.
EBN SHOHNAH, RENAUD. Hist. Patriar. p. 522, & seq.

^b AL MAKIN, ABU'LFED. ABU'LFAR. AL MAKRISI,
vid. & vol. i. p. 720, & seq. & auct. ibi citat.

(E) His flight, we are told, was no less private than
shameful; for, having converted all his treasure and valu-
ables into jewels, he put them into two purses or small
bags, and threw them across his horse, under his saddle,
and rode away with them in an ordinary disguise, and
with the utmost precipitation, into the desert, without

daring to trust a single person to attend him, or to make
any one privy to his flight (4).

We are moreover told, that the wealth, which he thus
carried off, amounted to an equivalent to the annual re-
venue of *Egypt*; of which we have elsewhere given a
near estimate (5).

(4) *Al Makin, Abu'lfed. Abu'lfar. Makrisi, & al. sup. citat. vid. & sup. vol. i. p. 720, & seq.* (5) *See before.*

a given to the one the title of *Al Molhem Al Adel*, and to the other that of *Al Nafr Mostemim*, whilst he himself assumed that of *Al Malek Al Afdal*. Many others of his own friends and creatures he likewise promoted to high posts, to strengthen his interest; whilst to lessen, or rather ruin, that of his competitor, he had caused a very great number of brave officers in his interest, to which *Ebn Shobnah* adds many other considerable *Egyptian* Emirs, to be put to death. All which did so weaken that kingdom, and the strength of that government, that it occasioned his loss of it, as well as the decline of the *Fatemite* power in it, by the encouragement it gave the Christians to attempt the conquest of that opulent country.

THESE last had actually by this time, that is, by the beginning of the year 559 of the *Hejra*, made some considerable progress in it^c; which proved a most powerful motive to *Nuro'ddin* to assist his refuged Vazir in good earnest, whom he had hitherto only amused with fair promises, in the recovery of the Vazirat; and accordingly furnished him with a powerful body of his troops, under the command of *Asado'ddin*, surnamed *Shairacub*^d, to drive them and his competitor *Dargan* out of that kingdom. With this reinforcement *Shawer* quickly reached the *Egyptian* frontiers, and penetrated into that country, without opposition from any but *Dargan*, whom he engaged and defeated near the sepulchre of St. *Niphisa*; by which he got once more into the possession of his Vazirat. He was, however, so far from performing his engagements to *Nuro'ddin*, and reimbursing him all the expences he had been at in this expedition, that, after sundry illusory delays, he positively refused to pay any thing towards them. A behaviour no less impolitic than ungrateful and unjust, as the sequel proved it; and which the now elated *Asado'ddin* so highly resented, that he immediately turned his arms against him, and seized on *Sharkiah*, *Pelusium*, and other districts, by way of reprisal. *Shawer*, who, on the other hand, was in no condition to obstruct his progress, whilst the *Franks* were all the while making new conquests in other parts of *Egypt*, fell upon the most effectual expedient to ruin his own affairs and that kingdom; which was by entering into a treaty with the latter, upon some conditions, by which they furnished him with a reinforcement sufficient to inclose *Asado'ddin* on every side; so that he must of course have been obliged to surrender, or to perish with his whole army, through famine, had not *Nuro'ddin* timely relieved him.

THIS prince, who had lately gained some great advantages over the *Franks* in *Syria*, as well as over the revolted *Dargan* and his brother, whom he had defeated and put to the sword, of which we have elsewhere spoken^e, was no sooner apprised of his general's distress, and of *Shawer*'s treachery and ingratitude, than he entered into a treaty with them; by which he obliged them to withdraw the forces they had lent him, whereby *Asado'ddin* gained a free egress out of that province, in which he had been kept confined near three months, and retired into *Syria* without opposition^f.

SHAWER had still one competitor to drive from the Vazirat, who was then in possession of it; namely, *Al Malek Al Adel*, the son of *Saleb Al Talay Ebn Zaric*. This last, who had likewise seized on that dignity during these contests^g, had conceived such high notions of *Shawer*, and placed such confidence in him, that he had intrusted him with the government of *Al Said*, or *Upper Egypt*, a post of the highest power and interest next to that of the Vazir; and had, moreover, at his death, strictly charged his son *Al Malek Al Adel* never to remove him from that post, as the surest means to preserve his own unmolested by him. Notwithstanding which, the rash youth, disregarding his father's counsel and injunction, was no sooner in possession of the Vazirat, than he sent him express orders to retire out of *Al Said*; which was, in plain terms, declaring him deposed from his government. *Shawer* was forced to comply, and accordingly retired, but with a full resolution to wrest the Vazirat out of his hands; and to that end assembled all the forces he had in that government, and marched directly to *Al Kayro*, whence he soon drove his competitor, and got possession of his dignity, immense treasure, and not long after of his person, and put him to death, as hath been more fully related in the volume above quoted; where the reader will likewise find a detail of the sad disasters which ensued his entering into that metropolis^h.

By this time *Shawer* was so well rid of all his competitors, and become so rich and powerful by the spoil of the house of *Talay Ebn Zaric*, that he enjoyed the Vazirat without opposition or controul from within (F). He had, however, just cause to dread the resentment of the

^b Ibid. ibid. al. sup. citat.

^d De hoc, vid. vol. i. p. 721, (B).
^g De his, vid. vol. i. p. 722.

^e Vol. i. p. 722, & seq. & al. pass.
^h P. 721, & seq. note (C).

^f ABU'LFED. &

(F) All this while we read nothing of the Khalif *Al Aded*, who, under all the wars and contests which we have mentioned since the beginning of his reign, appears to have stood neuter, and altogether inactive; from

which we may conclude, that *Egyptian* Vazirs were by this time become so powerful and despotic, that they had, in a great measure, stripped the Khalifs of their civil power, and left them only the shadow of a spiritual dignity,

the great and powerful *Nuro'ddin*, who, by this time, had subdued the greatest part of *Syria* ^a and *Mesopotamia*, and who being, moreover, a prince endowed with all the virtues that can fall to a *Mohammedan's* share, could not but be highly exasperated at his ingratitude and perfidy, in refusing to perform his engagements to him, as well as for the indignity he had offered his general *Afado'ddin*, and joining forces with the *Franks* against him. Accordingly we are told, that he had dispatched him back into *Egypt*, at the head of a sufficient force, to oblige him to pay him the arrears of the annual revenue, and the expences of his late expedition; which he effectually did soon after: for *Shawer* being apprised of his approach, had taken care to prevent his committing any hostilities there, by timely complying with his demands; and so sent him back into *Syria* fully satisfied ¹.

Allies with
the Franks.

Egypt in-
vaded by Nu-
ro'ddin, 1166.

Shawer is to-
tally defeated.

Concludes a
treaty with
Afado'ddin,
who returns to
Syria.

HE had not left *Egypt* long, before *Shawer* gave *Nuro'ddin* fresh occasion to send him back ^b thither against him. That martial prince had driven the *Franks* out of all his *Syrian* conquests, and had left now but few places of any strength in that kingdom; however, that did not prevent his being extremely anxious at their progress in *Egypt*, and much more so when he was informed of the treaty which that Vazir had lately concluded with them, and which, as he rightly apprehended, might pave the way to their conquering that whole kingdom; as it soon after did, to the ruin of the Vazir's affairs in *Egypt*, and of his allies, as the sequel will soon shew. This unlucky treaty, which was made between them in the 562d year of the *Hejra*, seems to have been contrived by that ambitious Vazir, for no other end than to enable him to disengage himself from paying to *Nuro'ddin* the thirds of the yearly *Egyptian* revenue, which he had bound himself to pay to him, by the former contract we lately mentioned, and ^c was of course another motive, equally cogent, to punish his complicated treachery by a fresh invasion. Accordingly, *Afado'ddin*, or, as he is commonly called, *Shairacub* ^k, and, by *Renaudot*, *Chiracoua*, was speedily dispatched thither, at the head of a sufficient force (though our authors mention only, the one 1000, and the other 2000 horse, without taking notice of any foot ^l), accompanied by his nephew *Salaba'ddin Ebn Ayub*, though against his will, and entered *Egypt* without opposition; and soon made himself master of the canton of *Al Yizza*, with little or no loss; which plainly shews, that his army must have exceeded the account of these authors; and what still more demonstrates it is, that *Shawer*, who cannot be supposed to have been wholly unprepared at such a juncture, was immediately obliged to have recourse to the *Franks* for a fresh reinforcement; and, upon receipt of it, engaged the enemy with the ^d greatest fury and bravery, and was totally defeated with his confederates.

THIS proved a deadly blow to the Vazir and his allies, as it opened a way to the reduction of the important port of *Alexandria*, which he went and laid close siege to presently after; and, without great difficulty or loss, made himself master of it ⁿ. From thence he led his forces towards *Upper Egypt*, leaving the command of the place to his nephew *Salaba'ddin*, with a strong garrison; but was soon forced back again to its relief, the *Franks* having invested it again after his departure, and keeping *Salaba'ddin* closely besieged during the space of three months. The news of it made him come back with all possible diligence, in order to oblige the confederates to raise the siege; but instead of that he was prevailed upon, by what pretended motive we are not told, to accept of a treaty with them, by which he again resigned all his conquests to them, and to with- ^e draw his forces out of *Egypt*, in consideration of a stipulated sum, over and above the defraying the

¹ RENAUD. ubi sup. & al. sup. citat. sub. ann. KONDEMIR, & al.

^k See vol. i. p. 721 (B).

^l Conf. EBN SHOHNAH & ABU'LFED.

ⁿ ABU'LFED. & al. sup. citat. EBN SHED. in vit. Salad. vid. & vol. i. p. 724.

nity, as the Omrahs had long before done those of *Baghdad* (6).

A pregnant instance of which we meet with in this very reign, if not in this very year, if Mr. *Renaudot's* chronology may be depended upon, and which was on the following occasion.

An embassy arrived at *Al Kayro* from the emperor of *Abissinia*, sent chiefly to engage the Khalif and his Vazir to oblige the *Alexandrian* patriarch *Mark* to send him a new Abuna instead of the old one, whom he deemed unworthy to continue longer in that dignity; and which that patriarch had refused to comply with. This subject occasioned a warm dispute between the Khalif and his minister; the former insisting that it was unjust to force a metropolitan to act against the canons of his church; and the Vazir alleging, that such trifling niceties ought to be overlooked, where the obliging of so great a monarch was concerned, and that the patriarch ought to be

obliged to comply with his request; and gave him orders accordingly to obey. But *Mark* still persisted in his refusal; alleging, that it was contrary to the canons of his church to ordain a new Abuna whilst the old one was still alive; especially as he was so far from deserving to be deposed, that his merit and truly laudable zeal were the only crimes that rendered him obnoxious to the emperor (*Zaga*); who, being an usurper, could not brook the opposition and remonstrances of that legal prelate. The conclusion of the contest plainly shews how little authority the Khalifs then had left, even in *spiritualibus*; for this was of that nature, that neither his interposition, nor the motives above alleged, could screen that prelate from the Vazir's resentment; who, upon his refusal, ordered him immediately to be imprisoned in his own palace, where he made him undergo a close and cruel confinement; from which he was not freed till after that minister's death (7).

(6) See Advertisement to the Reader, vol. ii. p. 113.

(7) Renaud. ubi sup. p. 525, & seq.

a expences of the expedition : to which *Shawer* readily yielded ; and *Shairacub* evacuated the place, and returned with his rich booty into *Syria* ; but with his army so weakened by fatigues and sickness, that we may probably conjecture that to be the chief reason which induced him to return so soon to *Damascus*.

THE *Syrians* were no sooner retired out of *Egypt*, than the treacherous *Vazir* entered into a fresh treaty with the *Franks* against *Nuro'ddin*, which was to invade him in his own dominions, as he was at that time engaged in quelling some revolters, which would effectually prevent his sending any more forces into *Egypt*. This treaty, which was signed in the year of the *Hejra* 563, and the success of it, we have spoken of in the volume last quoted^o ; and shall only add, that it so alarmed and exasperated the *Syrian* Emir, that it made him resolve to suspend for a time his conquests, and to bend his whole might and strength in the reduction of that kingdom, and the punishment of its *Vazir* ; and accordingly, by the very next year, he sent a very powerful army thither, under the command of *Fakbro'ddin Mas'ud*, to lay siege to the famed castle of *Ya'bar* ; a fortress of such strength, that he spent a considerable time against it without making any great progress, though he had since received a large reinforcement from *Syria* ; so that he was at length forced to exchange it with *Shahabo'ddin Malek* for the city of *Saraf* and its dependencies, and some other places, together with a round sum of 20,000 dinars^p. Shawer's new alliance with the Franks, 1167.

b NURO'DDIN having got that important place into his hands, bent his whole force against the *Franks*, who had by that time reduced that of *Balbeis*, or *Pelusium*, and made a considerable progress both in that kingdom and elsewhere, through the divisions which then reigned among the *Mohammedan* princes^q ; so that not only at *Pelusium*, but every other place they became masters of, they put almost all to the sword, citizens as well as soldiers, Christians as well as *Mohammedans* ; selling for slaves such as they made prisoners, and giving up every place they took to be plundered by their soldiery. Success of the Franks in Egypt. Ravages and cruelties.

FROM *Balbeis* they had taken their march directly to *Al Kayro*, which was then in no condition of defence, and in the utmost confusion, through the disturbances and divisions that raged in it ; wherefore *Shawer*, as soon as he heard of their approach, caused the ancient city of *Mesr* to be set on fire, and the inhabitants of it to retire to *Al Kayro*, to prevent the enemy seizing on that ancient quarter. He had, moreover, prevailed on the *Khalif* to apply to *Nuro'ddin*, in the most pressing terms, and to let him know the imminent danger he and his kingdom were in of falling into the hands of the Christians, if not timely assisted by a powerful reinforcement of his *Syrian* troops. This was, it may be supposed, a most pleasing as well as seasonable request to that prince, as it gave him the fairest opportunity he could wish of completing his twofold design, the conquest of *Egypt*, and the driving the *Franks* out of it ; and for which he had already raised an army of 60,000 horse, under the command of his general *Asado'ddin*.

He therefore gladly sent him orders to move, with all possible speed, towards that kingdom, and to attack the *Franks* where-ever he found them. These had, by this time, reached the metropolis of *Al Kayro*, and had so closely besieged it, that it doth not appear that either the *Khalif* or his *Vazir* knew any thing of the *Moslem* army being hastening to the relief of the place : so that the *Vazir*, finding it impossible to hold out long against the besiegers, had recourse to his old subterfuge of treaties and high promises ; and, by means of 100,000 dinars, which he sent to them, and an engagement of 900,000 more as soon as they had raised the siege, which was impossible for him to raise till then, easily gained his end, and prevailed upon them to retire : though it is much more probable, as *Kbondemir* assures us, that the approach of *Asado'ddin*, and not the money or promises^r, was the true motive which made them so readily abandon the place, and retire with such speed homewards with their booty, without staying for the performance of the other part of the engagement^s.

HOWEVER that be, *Asado'ddin*, at the head of his *Moslem* army, advanced by large strides towards that capital, and was received every-where by the *Mohammedans* as a saviour and deliverer ; and, at his arrival before that city, was invited by the *Khalif Al Adel* to the royal palace, with the greatest marks of honour and gratitude ; who, upon their first conference, amongst other rich acknowledgements for his timely relief, presented that general with a sumptuous royal kaftan, or vest. He was no less munificent to his nephew *Salaba'ddin*, who had also accompanied him in this expedition, and to all the other chief officers of his army. The faithless *Vazir* likewise, conscious of his breach of all his former engagements, was no less diligent in his daily attendance on him ; and in endeavouring to excuse his non-performance, failed not to express the highest regard and esteem not only for him and his nephew, but likewise for all the other commanders ; telling him how highly he should think himself honoured, could

^o Vol. i. p. 724, & seq.
auct. ib. citat.

^p Ibid. p. 725.

^r ABU'LFED. sub ann.

^s Vid. & al. sup. citat.

^q De his, vid. RENAUDOT, ubi sup. p. 532, & seq. &

he be but permitted to invite him and them to an entertainment he had taken the liberty to a prepare for him and them at his own palace, and gratify him likewise with some marks of his high esteem for them. All this while the traitor had formed an hellish design against them, and intended them no better entertainment than that of seizing upon their persons, as soon as he had them in his power. His plot, however, was not conducted with such secrecy, but that the Syrian general had some hint given him of it: upon which, he ordered his nephew *Salaha'ddin*, and another of his chief officers, to seize upon him; which they accordingly did, under pretence of conducting him to his uncle, then upon a visit to the tomb of some *Moslem* saint out of the city: at the sight of which, *Shawer's* retinue betook themselves to flight, and left him to be conducted to *Shairacub*, who ordered him to be closely confined under a proper guard. No sooner was the Khalif informed of his Vazir's confinement and treachery, than he dispatched one of his ministers to the Syrian general, not only to disculpate himself from the suspicion of being privy to his treasons, but to demand of him the traitor's head; which was immediately cut off, and sent to him on the point of a lance, through the streets of the city, attended by a suitable escort; in return for which the general was forthwith invested by that pontif with the robe of honour, and other insignia of the Vazirat, and saluted with the title of *Al Malec Al Mansur*, or, *The King and Conqueror*. He moreover ordered an instrument to be drawn up in form, whereby he constituted him his Vazir, and dictated himself the contents of it, which are still extant, as preserved by *Abu'Iseda*, and by which he was put in possession of the late *Shawer's* palace. b

WITH this investiture and insignia the new Vazir *Shairacub* made his grand entry into that metropolis, with a suitable retinue and guard; but neither these, nor the insignia of his dignity, could prevent him from being attacked with great vehemence and fury, both by the soldiery and populace, as he rode through the streets of the city, in his way to the late Vazir's palace; insomuch, that he found no better way to prevent their insults, than by crying out to them, *The Khalif hath granted to you all the immense wealth and treasure which Shawer had been hoarding up during his Vazirat*. Upon which they all left him, and ran with all possible haste to the palace, and quickly stripped it of every thing they found in it. After this stratagem he found no farther obstruction; but, on the contrary, the greatest acclamations of joy, at his being so justly advanced to that important post, which were soon followed by congratulations in prose and verse; in which some of the brightest geniuses, especially those of the poetic kind, strove who should bestow the noblest encomiums upon him. His government proved, however, but short; he dying, as some say, of a debauch, two months and five days after his installation, towards the close of the year we are upon. c

*Salaha'ddin's
extract and
character.*

WE have already given an account of this *Moslem* hero, his extract, and conquests in *Egypt*, and other parts of his character, to which we refer our readers; as foreign to the affairs of this kingdom. There they will find the same full account of his nephew *Salaha'ddin*, who succeeded him in the Vazirat, and soon after ascended the *Egyptian* throne; on which he so signalized himself by his virtues, victories, and conquests, as became the founder of a new dynasty, and the abolisher of the *Fatemite* Khalifat, that he is justly celebrated as one of the greatest heroes of that age, as we have had occasion to shew in former part of this work, relating to his wars and successful victories against the famed Christian crusade, and which, for that reason, we shall no further recapitulate here than is necessary to connect all the parts of his glorious reign, which are intermixed with other transactions; referring our readers, upon every such occasion, to those places where these facts are fully related; and where, if they chance to find any material difference, between the account we have given of that holy war in the ancient part of this work, and that which we have now given in this modern one, we beg it may be considered, that the former were chiefly compiled out of the Christian authors, both *Greek* and *Latin*, of that and the subsequent century; whereas in the latter a suitable regard hath likewise been had to the *Arabic* and *Mohammedan* historians; whose sentiments and prejudices, arising from difference of religion and interests from the former, must of necessity have occasioned a difference in their respective relations of both, which are very difficult to reconcile to each other; though, where that could be done, we have not been wanting in it; yet, we thought, could not, without incurring the censure of partiality, be omitted in an Oriental history, in which we have drawn most of our materials from Oriental writers. Thus much we thought proper to premise here, with respect to what hath been related in the places above-mentioned, and what we shall have occasion further to subjoin, with respect to that war in general, or to the particular transactions of that new *Moslem* warrior's Vazirat and reign. f

* Mod. Hist. vol. i. p. 727, & seq.
seq. vol. ii. p. 177, & seq.

* Anc. Hist. vol. vi. p. 613, & seq. Mod. Hist. vol. i. p. 727, &

- a SALAHA'DDIN, commonly called by the Greek and Latin writers *Saladin*, and originally *Yusef Ebn Ayub*, or, *The son of Ayub*, the brother of the late *Asado'ddin*, or *Shairacub*^w, was the youngest of all the Emirs, or grandees, who aspired to the Vazirat, but who had already given some signal proofs of his valour and conduct, at the siege of *Alexandria*, which he sustained, during three months, against the united forces of the *Franks*, as hath been lately hinted. What determined the Khalif to give him the preference to all his other competitors, whether a regard to his merit and bravery, or the fear of his resentment, or whatever his motives were, it is certain that some of them were highly dissatisfied with his nomination, and made no scruple to declare publicly, that they would neither receive nor obey his orders. However, as these were but few in number, in comparison of those whom his address and generosity had already gained, by the timely distribution of a great part of his uncle's vast treasures in presents amongst them, those malecontents soon found cause to be ashamed of their opposition, whilst he became daily more the darling of the court and army; and the Khalif himself honoured him with the title of *Al Malec Al Naser*, or, *The King and Defender*^x.
- b His address and generosity.

- ALL this while the young Vazir governed the realm without controul; and had, soon after his installation, given a total defeat to the negroes who guarded the royal palace, and cut off the greatest part of them, together with their leader, who had opposed his election, as hath been formerly hinted; by which means, and a strong garrison he had placed in the castle of *Al Kayro*, he was arrived to the summit of power; yet, as he had left *Nosomo'ddin Ayub*, his father, and the rest of his family, at *Damascus*, he was no less careful to avoid giving *Nuro'ddin* the least grounds of jealousy; and in every thing behaved as his general rather than as Vazir of *Egypt*, till he had obtained his permission to have them brought to *Al Kayro*, where they might be nearer to him, and partake of his grandeur and happiness. His request was easily foreseen the dangerous effects of a denial, and consequently made no difficulty to consent to their departure, though upon condition that they should submit no farther to *Salaha'ddin* than as to the general of his forces in *Egypt*. And the same precaution did that wise prince take in all dispatches to him, which usually ran in the plural number, and in terms to this effect: *Nuro'ddin, &c. to the Emirs Al Esfahselar, Salaha'ddin, and other Emirs in Egypt, our will and command to you is, &c.* Thus far was the harmony between those two great persons preserved. *Salaha'ddin* received his father and all the *Ayuban* family with great joy, and with all the magnificence of an *Egyptian* Vazir, and promoted them to some of the highest posts^y.
- c His prudent conduct towards Nuro'ddin. Sends for his father and family.

- THE same good understanding reigned on the next year, which was the 365th of the *Hejra*, between the two cours of *Damascus* and *Al Kayro*, when the *Franks* made a fresh attempt on the sea-port of *Damietta*^z, and kept it closely besieged during the space of fifty-two days; of which *Nuro'ddin* was no sooner informed, than he caused a powerful diversion to be made in their *Syrian* territories, and obliged them, without any farther trouble, to raise the siege, and go to the relief of their own conquests. There this mutual harmony did not a little contribute to increase *Salaha'ddin's* credit and authority in *Egypt*, whilst that of the Khalif gradually lessened in that kingdom. There happened, however, nothing considerable in it, either to the one or the other, except some slight advantages which the former gained over the *Franks*, in an irruption he made against them into *Syria*; whence being returned, at the end of the campaign, he caused two public edifices to be converted into schools at *Al Kayro*, for the encouragement and promulgation of the *Sonnite* doctrine, in opposition to that of the *Schiites*; of both which sects we have formerly given an account^a: and appointed a set number of doctors for that end. It is not improbable that this was done in compliment, if not in obedience to *Nuro'ddin*, who was a zealous *Abbaside*, and looked on the *Schiites* as heretics, and as such bore a mortal hatred to the *Fatemites*; inasmuch that he sent, not long after, an express prohibition to the Vazir to suffer *Al Aded* to be any longer prayed for in any of the *Egyptian* mosks, and to substitute in his room that of the Khalifs of *Baghdad*. A dangerous attempt this was! and such, as *Salaha'ddin* had strongly remonstrated to him, as could hardly fail of causing a general revolt among the *Fatemite Moslems*, in case any of their *Mollabs* could be found that would venture to comply with it, or even be forced to do so by any motive: notwithstanding all which powerful pleas, he received such express orders from that prince, on the next year, as he dared not, or cared not, to disobey; and the Khalifs of *Baghdad* were accordingly prayed for in the mosks of *Al Kayro*, for the first time, on the second Friday of the moon *Al Mobarran*, as we have shewn in a former volume^b.
- d 1169.

^w De hoc, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 727.^x ABU'LFED. ABU'LFARAJ, AL MAKIN, EBN SHOHN. & al. sup. citat.^y ABU'LFED. ABU'LFAR. & al. ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 534, & seq. vol. i. p. 727, & seq.^z De hoc, vid. sup. p. 17.^a Before, vol. i. p. 37. 250, & 277, & seq.^b Vol. i. p. 731.

Al Aded, the
last Fatemite
Khalif, dies.

His vast riches
seized on by
Salaha'ddin.

End of the
Fatemite dy-
nasty.

THIS year, which was the 366th of the *Hejra*, proved pregnant of several considerable events; particularly those of the deaths of *Al Mostanjed*, Khalif of *Baghdad*, and the Khalif of *Egypt*, which last was followed by the total extinction of the *Fatemite* Khalifat, or dynasty of those new pontifs in *Africa*. *Al Aded* was then sick, and on his death-bed, when *Nuro'ddin's* orders were put in force, and the new Khalif of *Baghdad* was substituted for his own in the usual prayers; but whether he knew any thing of that change, we are not told, but only that he expired some few days after; neither can we conclude, with any tolerable certainty, concerning the cause and circumstances of his death, from the various relations given us of it by the *Moslem* and *Arabic* writers, some affirming that he was dispatched by a dose of quick poison given him by *Salaha'ddin*; others affirming, that he died a natural death, but differ about the distemper and manner of it; for the further detail of which, we must refer our reader to the volume last quoted, where he will likewise find an inventory of his vast treasure, sumptuous furniture, variety of jewels, of the largest size and highest value, his noble library, and other particulars, which need not be here repeated^c. It will suffice for our present history, to acquaint him, that the Vazir, whether present at his death, as some affirm, or otherwise, was no sooner assured of it, than he took possession of the whole palace, and all the immense riches that he found in it; and, having seized on the deceased Khalif's whole family, ordered them to be conducted to the most private and retired part of the palace, and to be kept under a strong guard: all his slaves, likewise, he disposed of; some for his own use, others he either gave away, manumitted, or sold. Thus ended the *Fatemite* dynasty in *Egypt*, after it had continued in *Africa* 271 years; that is, 70 in *Kairwand*, and 200 or 201 in *Kabirab*. We have elsewhere taken notice, that their founders pretended to be descended from *Ali*, by *Fatima*, the daughter of *Mohammed*; but were all the while disclaimed as such by the *Abbasside* Khalifs, and by them excommunicated as transitors, usurpers, tyrants, and impostors, together with all their adherents, as heretics, and rebels to their lawful sovereign.

SALAHA'DDIN, though now arrived at the zenith of wealth, power, and grandeur, was, however, obliged to act with great caution, both with respect to the jealous *Nuro'ddin*, and to the *Egyptian Moslems*; who, as *Fatemites*, being mostly of the *Shiite* sect, and irreconcilable enemies to the *Sonnites*, could not be supposed to come easily to so sudden a change of submission; and though they had not yet made any opposition, for want of opportunity, might in time, if they were not then deliberating about some revolt against him. And as for *Nuro'ddin*, who was, by this time, become exceeding powerful, and still treated him as his subject and slave, and would not suffer him to delay, much less to dispute, the least of his commands, he had all possible reason to apprehend the most strenuous opposition and marks of his resentment, if he did not take the utmost precaution to conceal his ambitious designs from him, especially as he had just cause to fear, lest the far greater part of the haughty Emirs and grandees of *Egypt* would immediately go over to his standard, as soon as they perceived the least likelihood of a rupture between them.

Salaha'ddin's
supports.

SALAHA'DDIN had, however, two very considerable supports; namely, the chief officers of the army, whom he had taken care to secure to his own interest, by distributing amongst them a large portion of the riches of the late Khalif, and the other a faithful and excellent private council, consisting chiefly of his own family and friends, whom he had invited out of *Syria* into *Al Kayro*, with his own father the old Emir *Ayub*, a consummate politician, at their head; by whose advice he steered in every thing he did. Pursuant to which, and in order to take off the attention of so many eyes, and to stop the mouths of the *Shiite* preachers, one of the first steps he took was to publish a *Gazie*, or religious war, against the *Franks*, and to declare his design of driving them out of *Egypt*, and of assisting *Nuro'ddin* to do the same in *Syria*; in all which he still proceeded with the deepest seeming regard to that prince, and with the greatest expressions of submission and loyalty. Yet could not all his extreme precaution prevent the very first expedition he took against the *Franks*, then gar- risoned in the fortrefs of *Al Shawbeck*, on the frontiers of *Syria*, from alarming that jealous prince to the highest degree, and assuming all such menacing airs of absolute sovereignty over him, as made him fear, in his turn, the effects of his resentment.

How they both behaved upon this occasion, we have shewn elsewhere^d, and *Ayub* was too experienced a warrior and statesman to be easily diverted from the promising and delightful prospect of seeing his son in possession of the *Egyptian* throne, or to be deterred from it by the menaces of the one against the power and interest of the other. He therefore encouraged his son to pursue his resolutions at all adventures; and, whilst he amused *Nuro'ddin* with the most feigned submission and acts of generosity, to take all proper means and measures to secure so valuable a crown to himself and his descendants. To all these wise precautions

^c Vol. i. p. 731, & seq. Vid. & *RENAUDOT*, ubi sup. p. 536, & seq. & auct. sup. citat.
vol. i. p. 733, & seq.

^d See before,

- a and preparations, the elated *Salaha'ddin* took care to add one more; namely, to gain the *Egyptians* to his interest and administration, by all the popular acts of generosity and mildness; in which he succeeded so well, that he was become their darling and idol, and, thinking that he had as effectually guarded against the effects of *Nuro'ddin's* jealousy, ventured a second attempt on the fortress of *Sbawbeck*, and on that of *Cairac*; but received such a threatening message from him, as quickly obliged him to raise the siege of both, and to endeavour to pacify him by apologies and fresh expressions of submission, and especially by some magnificent presents. *Nuro'ddin*, who was no less a master of the art of dissimulation, appeared outwardly satisfied with his proceedings, but was all that while raising a powerful armament, with full resolution to invade *Egypt* by the next year; however, happily for *Salaha'ddin*, who was in the utmost consternation and fear at these preparations, news was brought to him, that that prince died of a squinancy at the castle of *Damascus*, just as he was going to enter upon that expedition, in the year of the *Hejra* 569^c, to the great joy, not only of *Salaha'ddin* and his whole family, but of the *Egyptians*, who dreaded his approach no less than they admired the magnificence and lenity of his generals. 1172. prepares to invade him.
- b *Salaha'ddin*, though now freed from the apprehensions of so powerful an enemy, dared not venture to take off the mask, and assume the sovereign power and title, while he saw his successor at the head of a powerful army, and no less desirous than able to dispossess him. For which reason, his first care was to secure to himself a sure asylum, in case he should be obliged by a superior force to abandon *Egypt*. He quickly set his eye on the kingdom of *Nubia*, as the most conveniently situated for such a retreat, and resolved upon the reduction of it. He accordingly dispatched his brother *Malek Turanshah* thither, at the head of a sufficient force; but who, being astonished at the sterility and inhospitality of the country, returned quickly after, without effecting any thing, and easily dissuaded him from that enterprise. His next was upon the country of *Al Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*, described in a former part of this work^f; the reduction of which he easily completed, by the total defeat of the Emir *Abd'alnabi*, who had made himself master of it, and whom he brought prisoner with him in chains. We shall refer our readers, for the further particulars of that expedition, to the account that hath been formerly given of it^g, together with other successful exploits of that general; who, according to some authors, was accompanied in it by *Al Ayub Shah*, and brought thence spoil of immense value; an account of all which they will find in the place last quoted^h. We shall only observe, upon the whole, that, after this great accession of wealth and dominion, *Salaha'ddin* made no longer demur to assume the title of Soltan, or sovereign of *Egypt*, and was acknowledged such by the far greater part of the states of that kingdom, by the end of that year, without opposition. We say the far greater; for though the rest did not dare to oppose him openly, yet many lords of very considerable rank, especially among the *Shiites*, were still very numerous, and retained an irreconcilable hatred against the *Abbaside* Khalif, and had engaged in a conspiracy against him, in favour of the *Fatemite* family, and with a design of restoring the Khalifat. This plot, though deeply laid, could not, however, go long undiscovered, considering the many spies that were set over them, not only by the jealous Soltan, for so we must stile him henceforth, but likewise by the *Abasside* Khalifs, and elated *Sonnites* that were intermixed amongst them (G). It was accordingly brought to light this year, which was the 569th of the *Hejra*, and followed by the most severe executions of the chief persons concerned in it; many of whom were crucified, others burned aliveⁱ. These did not so far extinguish the *Egyptians* zeal for the *Fatemite* descendants, but a new revolt broke out the next year against the new Soltan, which was headed by *Al Kanz*, al. *Al Kanazo'ddoula*, then governor of *Asswan*, or *Assavan*, in *Upper Egypt*; where he had assembled a vast number of blacks, or rather swarthy natives, and marched directly into the *Lower*, and was there met by vast shoals of *Egyptians*, who flocked to him from all parts. Against them *Salaha'ddin* dispatched his brother *Al Malek Al Turan*, with a suitable number of forces, who quickly engaged him with his usual fierceness; and, after a

Conspiracy formed in favour of the *Fatemite* Khalif.

Dreadfully defeated and punished.

^c ABU'LFED. ABU'LFAR. & al. sup. citat. RENAUDOT, ubi sup. p. 517, & seq. Vid. & vol. i. p. 735, & seq.
^f See Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 164, & vol. vii. p. 232, & seq. ^g See vol. i. p. 737, & seq. ^h De his, vid. note (M). ⁱ De his, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 73, & seq. & auct. ib. citat.

(G) We are told, that when the express order of *Nuro'ddin* was first published at *Al Kayro*, for praying for the Khalifs of *Baghdad*, instead of those of the *Fatemite* line, by name, there were the greatest rejoicings made in both these capitals by the *Sonnite* sect; but especially those of *Egypt*, who had been till then so long kept under the severest subjection by the *Cheyks*, that many of them had been, for the sake of peace, constrained to retract

and dissemble: so that it was no wonder that they should now, in revenge, become the most diligent spies upon, and the most inveterate witnesses against them, on this occasion; insomuch that it was deemed a crime with them, to have written, either in prose or verse, in defence of the *Fatemite* faction, as they then exultingly termed it (8).

Signal defeat
before Alex-
andria.

desperate engagement, in which he cut in pieces vast numbers of his forces, and amongst a them their general and chief of their revolt, he easily defeated and dispersed the rest, and returned victorious to *Al Kayro*^k. About the same time, *Salaha'ddin* gained also a most considerable advantage over the *Franks*, then closely besieging the city of *Alexandria* with a numerous fleet and army, under the command of *William II.* king of *Sicily*; against whom he marched at the head of a powerful force, and with such surprising speed, that his unexpected approach injected an universal panic through his whole camp, and obliged him to abandon it with the utmost precipitation and confusion, leaving all his military engines, stores, and baggage, behind; and, as some add, with the loss of a great number of his forces; and some of his ships^l.

Salaha'ddin
returns into
Egypt.

Mesr and Al
Kayro sur-
rounded by a
wall.

THIS success was followed, on the next year, by a much greater, in *Syria*; where he reduced the strong capital of *Damascus*, and made himself master of several other considerable fortresses and towns in that country; which, being out of our *Egyptian* boundaries, we shall refer our reader for a full account of that expedition, which took him up near two years, to the volume above-quoted^m. We come down to the 572d year of the *Hejra*, which was that of his return into *Egypt*, after he had regulated his affairs (H), and made his brother *Al Malek Al Tûran* governor of *Damascus*, and his other *Syrian* conquests, and made his triumphal entry into his capital. Here, having rested himself and his troops for a while, he began, towards the close of it, to build that famous wall, which was to inclose the cities of *Mesr* and *Al Kayro*, and was, we are told, to have extended itself 29,000, or 29,300 cubits in compassⁿ; but which he did not live to see finished; tho' he did some other public structures, which he caused to be erected; particularly the college, or public school, in the city of *Mesr* and the hospital at *Al Kayro*, with others of less note, which were begun in the same year. About the same time, we are likewise told, broke out a kind of new revolt in *Upper Egypt*, consisting of a number of rebellious black natives of that country, under the command of one *Abd'astkuab*, who gave himself out to be *Dawd*, or *David*, the son of the late *Fatemite* Khalif *Al Aded*, and had his rendezvous near the ancient city of *Cast*, or *Koptos*, in that province^o; where, being timely surprised by the Soltan's forces, before they had time to do any great damage, they were easily routed, and either destroyed or taken prisoners. Amongst the former of whom was their general, who fell one of the first; and, by his death, threw the rest into an universal panic and confusion: among the latter above 3000 were publicly hanged; insomuch that of 100,000, of which their corps is said to have consisted, no less than 80,000 are reckoned to have perished in that fatal revolt.

Salaha'ddin
put to flight
by the Franks.

1177.

Wholly defeat-
ed in Palestine.

THE year following, which was the 573d of the *Hejra*, proved more unfortunate to him; when, having led a very numerous army again into *Palestine* against the *Franks*, and sending his detachments about to ravage their territories, he met with such a terrible repulse from them, that he was forced to abandon his camp, and to betake himself to a precipitate flight; whilst his *Moslems*, having no fortrefs to retire to between that and *Egypt*, were forced to traverse all the vast deserts between that and *Palestine*, and never stopped till they arrived at *Al Kayro*; where his entrance into his capital proved as disgraceful as the last had been glorious, having lost the greatest part of his army, and beasts of burthen, which perished in these deserts for want of water. As for those of his troops which were left in *Palestine*, and which he so injudiciously detached to ravage the country, by which he had so greatly weakened his army, and gave the *Franks* that signal advantage over him, they were all either cut in pieces or taken prisoners; and he himself owns to his brother *Al Tûran*, in the doleful account he gives him of this fatal overthrow, that he had narrowly escaped more than once or twice the same fate; and acknowledges, that nothing but a Divine Providence, which had reserved him for some grand design, could have brought him safe into *Egypt*^p. He seems, indeed, to have been designed as a scourge to the Christians, during the remainder of his reign; but as the chief of his exploits against them, performed in *Palestine*, *Syria*, and other parts out of his *Egyptian* dominions, our readers will find a full account of them, in chronological order, in the volume above-quoted^q, whilst we confine ourselves to those few particulars of it, which more properly relate to the *Egyptian* history.

^k ABU'LFED. ABU'LFAR. AL MAKIN, POHADDOWLA, & al. sup. citat. RENAUDOT, ubi sup. p. 541. ^l De hoc, vid. plur. in vol. i. p. 738. ^m Ibid. & seq. ⁿ EBN SHOHNAH, ad an. ^o De hoc, vid. Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 171. ^p De his, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 742. & auct. ib. citat. ^q P. 742, & seq. vid. & vol. ii. p. 177, & seq.

(H) We are told, that, among some public acts which he did before he left *Syria*, he suppressed the caphar exacted from the pilgrims going to *Mecca*, by the Emir of that metropolis, and assigned him, in lieu of it, a yearly

pension of 2000 dinars out of his own treasury, besides a large quantity of corn which was sent to him yearly out of *Egypt* (9).

(9) Abu'lfed. Ebn Shohnah, Al Makrizi, & al. sup. cit. Vid. & Renaudot, ubi sup. p. 542.

a AND here we meet with nothing considerable till the year of the *Hejra* 476, in which *Naser* Receives anew title and honour from the Khalif of Baghdad. *Ledin'illah*, having been raised to the Khalifat of *Baghdad*, honoured him with the patent of his investiture as Soltan of *Egypt*, together with the Kaftan, and other insignia of royalty, and several magnificent presents; to which he added the title of *Emir Al Omra*, in consideration of his great services both to the Khalifat, and to the *Mohammedan* religion. In return to which, as well as to gratify his own martial inclination, and zeal against the Christians, he set about raising a most powerful army, in order to make a fresh, and, as he hoped, a more successful expedition into *Syria*; for by this time that small remains, which he brought from *Palestine*, had been so reduced, both by their traversing such dry and barren deserts, and by a dreadful pestilence which had raged amongst them after their return, that it was not till the

b 578th year of the *Hejra* that he set out for it from his metropolis. HE set out accordingly at the head of a formidable force, attended by a most splendid retinue of his chief officers, and amidst the acclamations and good wishes of this court and city, though not without some presentment of ill success, occasioned by a bard, who squeezing himself through the croud of other poetic congratulators, presented him with a sprig of camomile and a distich; which that prince took for an ill omen, and threw a visible damp upon all his joy. However, he marched on at the head of his army; but was repulsed with disgrace before *Aleppo* and *Al Mawfel*, after having spent much time and labour in besieging these two important places, and sustaining some mortifying affronts from the besieged at the latter.

c WHILEST he sped thus ill in *Syria*, his *Egyptian* dominions were not a little alarmed at the appearance of a most powerful fleet and armada of the *Franks* on the *Red Sea*, and which seemed to threaten the cities of *Mecca* and *Medina*, such as had never before appeared on that coast. The news of which no sooner reached *Al Kayro*, than *Al Malek Abu Becr*, *Salaha'ddin's* brother, who was left viceroy of *Egypt* during his absence, caused another to be equipped with all speed, the command of which he gave to his governor of the marine, named *Lilâ*, a brave experienced officer, who lost no time to go in quest of and engage them; and quickly came up with them on the coast of *Al Kayro*; upon which a most dreadful fight ensued, wherein both sides behaved with the utmost obstinacy and bravery, but concluded, at length, in favour of the *Moslems*, who made a most horrid slaughter of the Christians, took and sunk a great many of their ships, slaughtered an incredible number of their men, and took most of the rest prisoners, who were all likewise butchered to a man. This proved so fatal a blow to the *Franks*, that they never more ventured the like attempt; and both the *Egyptian* viceroy and admiral gained immortal praise amongst all the *Moslems*, not only for that timely expedition, but even for their inhuman treatment of the Christian prisoners, whom their writers accuse of having slaughtered a great number of pilgrims going to *Mecca* before that defeat, and to have, moreover, threatened the destruction of that city and temple; as for other outrages charged upon them, and their loss of ships, men, &c. they differ so much in their accounts, that we can say nothing certain about them.

d SALAHA'DDIN still pursued the war in *Syria*, and had the pleasure to find the next campaign more successful than the former, as the reader may see in the account we have elsewhere given of it. This obliged him to send frequently to his brother, the viceroy of *Egypt*, for fresh reinforcements, and, at length, to order him to resign the government of *Egypt* to his nephew *Takio'ddin Al Modhaffer*, and to come to him into *Syria* with a fresh supply of forces; and, upon his arrival there, promoted him to the government of *Halep*, or *Aleppo*, in the room of another brother of his, lately dead of the wounds which he received at one of the sieges; whose loss so deeply affected that conqueror, that he was forced to send for *Al Malek Al Adel* out of *Egypt*, to be near and assist him in his councils. With his assistance he went on with furious progress and success against the *Franks*, during the next and following years, spreading dread, horror, and desolation, where-ever he came, putting all to fire and sword where-ever he conquered, and every-where displaying the most invincible hatred against the *Franks* and Christians; of all which, and his various sieges and conquests in *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Mesopotamia*, and other eastern parts, so full and ample an account hath been given in the volume above-quoted, that we have nothing left to add to it here: but, upon the whole, must conclude that great and successful conqueror to have been (in spite of all that his panegyrists have said to the contrary) a prince no less cruel and vindictive than ambitious. Instances of which, even to his near relations, abound through this latter part, if not through his whole reign; notwithstanding the many instances of munificence he is so much cried up for towards the cities he conquered, after the fury and heat of his anger and martial resentment were subsided; such as the building and endowing stately mosques, schools, hospitals, caravanseras, and other such public structures, and repairing the walls of towns, castles, and other fortresses, which he had destroyed; all which, though plain instances of his generosity, prudence, and policy, will go but little way towards

^r De hoc, vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 177.

^t ABU'LFED, & al. sup. citat.

^s See vol. ii. p. 3. & seq.

^u Vol. ii. p. 6, & seq.

^v ABU'LFED. & al. sup. citat.

^w Ibid. p. 9, & seq. ad 48.

clearing his character from the just imputation of cruelty, ingratitude, and unmeasurable ambition^x.

DURING his long absence out of *Egypt*, which was from the year of the *Hejra* 578 to that of his death in 589, the heads and pens of the writers of his reign seem to have been so wholly engrossed by his vast conquests, that they have not taken notice of any thing memorable in that kingdom, excepting therecalling his nephew *Takio'ddin*, whom he had appointed viceroy of it, from that government, upon some suspicion, whether well or ill grounded, of his designing to secure that crown for himself, in case any disaster happened to him whilst he was pursuing his war against the *Franks*; where, we are told, that *Takio'ddin*, being afraid of obeying his orders, and returning to *Damascus*, went and refuged himself with *Kurkush*, one of his *Mamluks*, who had made himself master of *Barka*, and some of the neighbouring provinces, and was become very powerful in those parts, to the no small resentment of *Salaha'ddin*; who at that time, however, reduced his nephew to his duty and interest by fair means; and, advancing him to the government of some other provinces, restored his own brother *Al Malek Al Adel* to his former government in that kingdom.

The Franks
plunder the
Egyptian ca-
ravan.

1186.

THE other, and indeed more material occurrence which happened in it, is that of the plundering of the *Egyptian* caravan in its way to *Mecca*, putting a vast number of the holy pilgrims belonging to it to the sword, and threatening death to the *Moslems*, and destruction to their two holy cities of *Mecca* and *Medina*. What greatly aggravated this piece of hostility was, that *Arnold*, count of *Castilia*, who was also *Saleh*, or lord, of *Al Carak*, was their commander, and had but lately concluded a treaty with *Salaha'ddin*, who so resented his treachery, that he swore he would strike off his perfidious head, if ever he got him into his hands; as he accordingly soon after did, upon his taking him prisoner, and offering him his life in vain to turn *Mohammedan*^y.

Salaha'ddin's
death,

1193.

and character.

WE come now to the year of the *Hejra* 589 (or, according to *Renaudot*, 588), in which that great *Moslem* conqueror died at *Damascus*, in the 57th lunar year of his age, and 24th of his reign in the kingdom of *Egypt*, to the inexpressible grief of all the *Mohammedans*, who every-where expressed it by the deepest and most universal mourning, and the no less real joy of all the Christians, to whom he had ever been a most irreconcilable enemy, and dreadful scourge. But we shall have the less need to dwell upon that subject, having already given elsewhere so full and ample an account of his last sickness, death, and other particulars relating to the manner and circumstances of them, as well as his funeral obsequies, issue, the partition of his conquests and dominions between his sons and brothers, his character, and instances of his generosity and singular contempt of riches; which last had so far exhausted his treasury, that, if we may believe the author of the *Lebtarikh*, who was an eye-witness of it, as he himself assures us, there were found in it, at his death, but one single *Syrian* dinar, and forty-seven dirhems, or drachms^z.

Exhausted
treasury.

Succeeded by
Al Malek Al
Adel.

No sooner was *Al Malek Al Adel*, *Salaha'ddin*'s eldest son, proclaimed his successor, and received the homage of his brethren, uncles, and other grandees, than he notified it, by an express, to his brother *Al Aziz Othman*, then viceroy of *Egypt*, and to all his other brethren, in their respective principalities and governments, with the usual injunctions that they should all take the oaths of allegiance to him. The misfortune was, that this new Soltan, a prince of the most opposite character to his father, had not one single virtue which could inspire them either with love or fear; and, to complete his misfortunes, made choice of a new Vazir, who easily persuaded him to exchange all his father's old faithful ministers for a set of new ones, who, by encouraging him in his lewdness and other vices, rendered him still more contemptible, and quickly occasioned that general defection, which, as we have elsewhere hinted, broke out at the very beginning of his reign^a, in so many parts of his dominions, and particularly in this kingdom of *Egypt*; where the ambitious *Al Aziz*, a prince no less debauched and vicious, was no sooner returned from assisting at his father's funeral, than he was surrounded by the chiefs of his court; who, being no strangers to his towering views, exhorted him, with one voice, to assert his right to the crown by open force, and cast off all farther allegiance to that of *Syria*, and even to invade that kingdom, and other of his brother's dominions, upon the first favourable opportunity that offered itself to him; to whose advice, if he was not really the first mover of that address, he readily agreed. The necessary preparations for this expedition, took him up near two years; during which he entered into a firm alliance with his uncle *Al Melek Al Adel Abu Bekr*, then *Saleh*, or prince, of *Al Carac*, to join their forces, to drive him out of his *Syrian* dominions; whilst infatuated *Al Malek Al Adel*, unmindful of every thing but his own pleasures, indulged himself in all kinds of lewdness, gaming, drinking, and other debaucheries, gave them all the time and oppor-

His brother
Al Aziz re-
volts against
him in Egypt.

^x De his, vid. vol. ii. p. 46, & note (D).
ii. p. 45, & seq. & auct. ib. citat.

^y Vol. ii. p. 15, & seq.
^a Ibid. p. 48, & seq.

^z De his, vid. sup. vol.

a tunity they could wish for to invade his dominions, and surprize him in his capital of *Damascus*, altogether unprepared.

THEY accordingly entered *Syria* with their joint forces, in the year of the *Hejra* 592, and, *Inva-des Syria*, without any considerable opposition, besieged that city; and whether it surrendered to them, *1195*, or was reduced by force (about which our authors are not agreed), they made themselves masters of it, and obliged *Al Adel* to yield to them, as we have elsewhere shewn ^b.

AL AZIZ by this time was become so powerful in this new conquered kingdom, that he governed it without controul, was prayed for by name in all the mosks, coined money, and, in all other respects, exercised a supreme authority, leaving only to his brother *Al Adel* the bare shew and shadow of royalty. However, he soon rendered himself contemptible, by his debaucheries, to the Emirs or grandees of both kingdoms, even in a greater degree than his brother; for *Al Adel*, in spite of his vicious nature, had gained the affections of many of them by his generosity, while *Aziz* lost them by his want of it. *Al Aziz* reigned, however, *Al Aziz dies*, till the 595th year of the *Hejra*, when he was suddenly carried off by death; leaving, as most *1198*, authors agree, a son behind him, named *Al Mansur*, not then above nine years of age; to whom, however, the Emirs, both *Salabian* and *Asadian* ^c, took the oaths of allegiance; *Al Mansur*, but insisted that his uncle *Al Afdal* should be invited to take the reins of government during his minority. *Al Afdal* was then in *Syria*, when the news of his brother's death, and of his *Al Afdal* being invited to the regency of *Egypt*, were brought to him; who accordingly set out with *chosen regent*, all speed for *Al Kayro*, and at his arrival was received and acknowledged regent by them all, and with the acclamations of the people ^d.

THE first thing which he did, after his installation, was to revive the war and invasion of *Syria*; and this, in all probability, in complaisance to the *Egyptian* Emirs, who had invited him to the regency, and had been the first promoters of it in the last reign. And to this end he entered into an alliance with another of his brothers, named *Dbaber*, who was Saleh, or Soltan, of *Aleppo*, and at that time very powerful. They began, with their joint forces, with the siege of *Damascus*, which *Al Adel* had recovered since the death of *Al Aziz*, and was then laying siege to another fortress, but abandoned it to come to the defence of this. *Damascus* was accordingly besieged by those two princes with great vigour, and as bravely defended by the *Syrian* Emirs, whom *Al Adel* had gained to his interest by new marks of munificence; when, in the heat of the siege, a sudden quarrel happened between the two brothers *Al Dbaber* and *Al Afdal*, upon a beastly occasion, scarcely fit to be mentioned here again ^e, which terminated in a total rupture; and the former having expressed his resentment against the latter in the most violent and reproachful terms, withdrew his forces from the siege, and retired to *Antioch*, leaving him to carry on or abandon the siege, as he should think fit. Upon which *Al Afdal*, having neither interest enough within, nor force enough before the place, to hope to reduce it, made the same speed to retire from the place, and led his army back into *Egypt*. And thus ended this fruitless expedition, just at the time when the place was ready to surrender; and *Al Afdal*, being returned to *Al Kayro*, resumed the reins of government, as regent, during his nephew's minority; though not without a view of depriving him of his crown. *Forced to retire into Egypt*.

WHILST he was projecting this unnatural treason against that young prince, a more dangerous one was hatching in *Syria*, from another quarter, which neither he nor the regent had the least suspicion of; namely, by his great-uncle *Al Malek Al Adel Abu Becr*, the late *Salaba'ddin*'s brother, to whom that Soltan had bequeathed a good number of provinces and governments, in *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, and elsewhere, which had rendered him very considerable and powerful in those parts ^f. This ambitious and ungrateful prince had beheld, with no small inward pleasure, his two contending nephews, *Al Adel* and *Al Aziz*, weakening and debilitating each other by their mutual wars; and though, under the specious pretence of tenderness and affection for them, and a desire of reconciling them to a mutual peace and amity, he assisted each of them in their wars and invasions of each other's dominions, yet it was with a sole view of finding a proper time for seizing and securing them to himself and children. He had accordingly done so in *Syria*, and got possession of *Damascus*, as we have elsewhere shewn; and was now making all proper preparation for invading of *Egypt*, with no less speed than probability of success; whilst the infatuated *Al Afdal*, wholly taken up with his own designs, and no less ignorant of, than unprepared to oppose, those of his uncle, gave him all the time and opportunity he could wish, to come and surprize him in his very capital. With this fair prospect before him, he led his army into *Egypt*, without opposition, *Reduces Al* in the year of the *Hejra* 596, and appeared before the walls of *Al Kayro*, with the same ease *Kayro, 1195*, and speed, and found it so defenceless and unprepared against a siege, that he forced it to sur-

^b Vol. ii. p. 52. & seq. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 556, & seq. & al. sup. citat. ^c De hoc, vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 54. ubi sup. p. 559, & seq. & sup. vol. ii. p. 55, & seq.

^e De his, vid. vol. ii. p. 54 (P). ^d ABU'LFAR. ^f ABU'LFAR. & al. sup. citat. vid. & RENAUDOT,

render in less than eight days after his encamping before it. The next thing he did was to a oblige the regent to sign a treaty, in young *Al Mansur*'s name, by which he ceded to him the kingdom of *Egypt*, and obliged himself to retire out of it, into some other provinces granted unto him in consideration of the treaty, and in exchange for his regency ⁵.

Takes the sovereign power and title. AL ADEL, being now in full possession of the kingdom, thought proper for a while to govern it in the name of young *Al Mansur*, and as regent in his minority, to prevent any insurrection or opposition from the *Egyptian* Emirs, who had taken the oaths of allegiance to him immediately after his father's death. But his generosity, and their gratitude, soon rid him of such fears, from that quarter at least, and gave him a moral certainty that he might safely assume the sovereignty, and reign in his own right. However, to give such a step a b shew of lawfulness, as well as expediency, and such as might carry the appearance of religious right in the eyes of the people, it was thought proper that he should convene some of the chief *Moslem* doctors, who, by artful questions on the subject, as well as by private gifts, might be induced to give a public sanction to his title of Soltan of *Egypt*; after which he made no difficulty to assume that title, nor the Emirs to acknowledge him as such. He accordingly reigned, without opposition, in his new conquered kingdom, from this time to the year of the *Hejra* 515; and was possessed of the most considerable dominions, both in *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Mesopotamia*, which his brother had, with so much labour and bloodshed, subdued ^h.

Receives an embassy from the Abissinians. IN his reign, though we cannot fix which year of it, came ambassadors from the emperor and clergy of *Abissinia* to *Alexandria*, to desire the patriarch to favour them with a new metropolitan, in the room of the old one deceased; upon which *John*, who sign'd at that time, appointed a proper person to go through all the monasteries in that city and neighbourhood, to enquire for a person fit to be ordained to that dignity; who spent three months in search, without being able to find out one to that prelate's mind. The ambassadors, tired at his delay, were directed at length to have recourse to the Soltan, and to beg of him to interpose his authority in their behalf; who, upon receiving the *Ethiopian* monarch's letters and presents, together with the information, that none of the *Egyptian* monasteries afforded a person fit for that high office and dignity, immediately made choice of one *Kylos*, then bishop of *Fuab*, to be consecrated for that end; and he was accordingly constituted and consecrated to it in form by the patriarch, though contrary to the canons and rubric of the *Coptic* church, this d being only a translation or promotion from one see to a higher, or from a bishopric to a metropolitan dignity; which promotions, though frequent among the *Syrian Jacobites*, *Nestorians*, and even *Melchites*, or orthodox, all of whom had particular forms of prayers and ceremonies suited to such purposes, in their respective rituals, were yet utterly unknown among the more rigid *Copts*, where such a translation from a lower to a higher, or from a bishop's to a metropolitan see, had never been heard of; it is not improbable that the good patriarch might, by mistake, suppose such a new consecration necessary in this singular and unusual case.

Kylos's reception in that empire. HOWEVER that be, he was accordingly consecrated, and received in *Ethiopia*, both by the king and court, as well as all the people, with the greatest marks of respect and submission, and exercised his function to the much greater satisfaction of that church and clergy, e than many of his remote predecessors had done (I); yet, in less than five years, the patriarch had the mortification to see him come back from *Ethiopia*, and, at his arrival at *Al Kayro*, to give this melancholy excuse to him, for having abandoned the church and flock committed to his care; viz. "That having been in a great measure forced, by the continual importunities and solicitations of the empress, to ordain and consecrate her brother bishop of *Axuma*, the metropolis of *Abissinia*, ever since that time this young prelate had assumed all the authority of a metropolitan, and treated him with the utmost contempt, as did also all the rest of the clergy; and had, moreover, carried his resentment, for daring to oppose his measures, so far as to send some of his servants to assassinate him, in the dead of the

Outwitted by the empress.

⁵ ABU'LFAR. & al. vid. & vol. ii. p. 55, & seq.

^h Ibid. p. 55, & seq.

(I) We are farther told, that this excellent prelate, whom the Soltan seems to have made choice of on account of his singular piety, upon his arrival in that kingdom, found it labouring under an excessive drought of two or three years continuance, and which seemed to threaten it with a general famine: and that by his prayers he obtained abundance of rain, which was attended with a plentiful harvest; on which account, both emperor and court, and indeed the whole *Abissinian* nation, held him in the greatest esteem; especially that monarch, who not only went with a grand retinue to meet him, some days journey from his metropolis, but conti-

nued his frequent visits to and veneration for him. If therefore, any other motive, besides that of shaking off their dependence on *Egypt*, could induce the court and clergy to alter their behaviour to him to such a degree, and in so short a time, as the sequel shews, what can we suppose it to have been, but the zeal which he displayed against the general depravity and corruption which were crept into both, and rendered him odious to them; of which our readers will find many other signal instances in the *Abissinian* history, which we shall give in this volume.

- a "night, in his own house; so that it was with the greatest difficulty and danger that he had made his escape out of that kingdom, and got safe into Egypt ¹." This politic step of the *Abissinian* court had been often attempted, as we have seen in the course of this chapter, in order to free themselves from the necessity of receiving their abuna, or metropolitan, from the patriarchs of *Alexandria*; but had been as often frustrated by the strenuous opposition of those prelates, especially in the reigns of the *Fatemite* Khalifs, who made it a matter of conscience, as well as policy, not to intermeddle with matters of that nature ^k, or oblige them to act contrary to the canons and constitutions of their church: whereas the new Soltan of *Egypt*, less scrupulous, as well as less acquainted with the danger of interposing his authority, gave occasion, by that one irregular step, to the great feuds and dissensions which ensued, not only in *Egypt* but in *Abissinia*; of which we shall not here enter into a detail, as we are not writing an ecclesiastical history, but shall refer our readers to the author last quoted; and have only touched here as an interesting event, which had its foundation in the above-mentioned impolitic step of that prince, and of which he became so sensible, that he took all proper means, for the future, to remedy, by a contrary behaviour, as we shall see in the sequel, by the part he took in those religious feuds.

- AL ADEL's dominions were, by the additional conquest of *Egypt*, become so extensive, that he found much more difficulty in preserving than he had done in conquering them. He had, on the one hand, the *Franks* in *Syria* and *Palestine*, who did not let a year elapse without making some conquest or irruption either there or in *Egypt*; and on the other, some new revolt to quell among his more distant provinces; so that he could not be long absent from the one, but he heard of some fresh attempt made upon it by those irreconcilable enemies to him and his religion. It was upon such an occasion as this that they took the advantage of his being taken up with suppressing an insurrection in *Mesopotamia*, and made a dreadful irruption upon the coasts of *Dimiyat*, or *Damieta* ^m, which seemed to threaten the whole kingdom. We are not told who was the chief commander in this expedition; but only that, on their arrival thither, they found the country so destitute of forces, and in such a defenceless state, that they immediately laid siege to that rich sea-port, both by land and sea, whilst another corps of theirs penetrated into the country, without opposition, almost as far as *Al Kayro*, putting all to fire and sword, committing the most dreadful outrages, and carrying off the richest plunder; whilst *Al Kamel*, one of the Soltan's sons, who was left governor of the kingdom, during his father's absence, was forced to retire, and fortify himself in that capital, and leave *Damieta* to make the best defence it could against the besiegers. The *Franks*, however, finding *Al Kayro* so well fortified and guarded, thought fit to retire from it, without doing any farther damage than the plundering a monastery belonging to the *Melchites*, in the neighbourhood of that capital, and rejoin their other forces at *Damieta*; where, after some fresh attempts on the place, they were forced to abandon it; and, having put all their rich plunder on board, set sail again for *Palestine* ⁿ.

- Soon after this, and whilst the Soltan continued in his *Mesopotamian* expedition, arrived a fresh ambassy at *Al Kayro*, from the emperor of *Abissinia*, to him, and to the *Alexandrian* patriarch, requesting them, in the strongest and most pressing terms, to send thither a new metropolitan, in lieu of the late *Kylos*; and alleging, moreover, that their country had hardly been free from an excessive drought and famine, and attributing that grievous judgment to the want of an abuna; though, from what we have observed a little higher, they might more justly have ascribed it to their ill treatment of the late worthy one. However, the more effectually to palliate that unfavourable circumstance, they thought fit to impute his hasty flight from them to an inhuman act of severity which he had been guilty of, in causing a reverend monk, and chief of a convent, to be whipped to death, on suspicion of his having stolen or made away with a golden verge or rod belonging to the metropolitan church; for which the relations of the deceased prosecuted him with such resentment, as forced him to abandon the country with the utmost privacy and speed. To give the greater weight to this charge, and their request, *Moses*, who was at the head of the embassy, was ordered to back it with rich presents, both to the Soltan and to the patriarch; and amongst those designed for the latter, was a crown of gold, of such value and beauty, that *Al Kamel*, who presided during his father's absence, could not forbear admiring it, as well as the richness of the other presents ^o. Upon which *Moses* failed not of taking that opportunity to extol the magnificence, power, and vast dominions, of his master; and, amongst other things, to tell the young prince, that the emperor would have enriched that crown with jewels, to the amount of the yearly revenue of *Egypt*, had he not foreseen that the patriarch's extreme modesty would have prevented his wearing of it. However, upon the whole, the presents had

Forced to return to Egypt.

The Franks irruption into Egypt, 1209.

Dreadful ravages.

Repulsed before Damieta.

¹ RENAUDOT, ubi sup. p. 560, & seq. hoc, vid. sup. p. 17.^k See before, p. 55.^l Vol. ii. p. 60, & seq.^m Deⁿ ABU'LFAR. & al. sup. citat. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 564. Vol. ii. p. 61.^o De

their due weight, both with *Al Kamel* and the patriarch *John*, whatever his pompous words might want of it, and procured a ready compliance. A new metropolitan was consecrated accordingly; a monk, named *Isaac*, and dispatched, with all possible speed, into *Abissinia*; where he could not well fail of a kind reception, whatever his character might be in other respects, if what the ambassador alleged was true, that the heavens had been shut up so long against their country, and were not likely to be opened again till the arrival of the new abuna. As for *Kylos*, the late one there, he not only lost his dignity of metropolitan, but his old bishopric, though we do not find any farther enquiry or complaint against him, on account of his pretended unchristian severity. Shortly after which a fresh reinforcement, sent to him by his father, made the severe military execution which we have elsewhere related.

Al Kamel's justice and equity to the Christians, 1211.

WE meet with nothing remarkable in this kingdom, during some of the following years, except some malicious calumnies invented by some wretched apostate Christians; who, to curry favour with the *Mohammedans*, had accused the *Alexandrian* patriarch of heaping vast sums of money out of his ecclesiastical revenues, as likewise against some monasteries, for concealing vast quantities of rich plate belonging to the church; but none of these accusations are worth mentioning, except it be in justice to the Soltan, and his son *Al Kamel*; the latter of whom, especially, behaved with surprizing candour and equity towards the accused, and took all proper means not only to discountenance, but to suppress, such vile practices^p: on which account we could not forbear saying thus much, in commendation of that young *Mohammedan* prince, though, in other respects, the facts are scarce worth notice.

Al Adel marries his daughter to Al Dhaher.

ON the next or subsequent year was celebrated with great magnificence, accompanied with a dowry of 300,000 dinars, the marriage of Soltan *Al Adel's* daughter with his nephew *Al Dhaher*, the late *Salaba'ddin's* son, now *Saleh*, or king, of *Aleppo*; to which she was conducted with a suitable retinue, and there received by him and his court with great splendor.

Great tumults among the Christians about the choice of a patriarch, 1216.

THE rest of *Al Adel's* reign seems to have been very peaceable and happy, excepting that, in the year of the *Hejra* 613, there were very grievous disturbances and shameful hostilities between the Christians, about the choice of a new patriarch, instead of *John*, who died in this year. The zeal and fury of the contending parties ran to such an excess, that neither their churches, nor times and places of the most solemn worship were free from such outrageous tumults as were a scandal and disgrace to Christianity. In all which the Soltan, and his worthy son *Al Kamel*, bore no other part than in suppressing the most seditious and lawless, without interposing any other way that might interfere with their free choice; which was, on that account, protracted to an unusual length: but, as this is a subject foreign to our purpose, we shall refer our readers, for a further account, to the author quoted in the margin^q.

Soltan Al Adel's death, 1218.

WE are now come to the year of the Soltan's death, which happened in that of the *Hejra* 615, and of his age 73, or, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, 74, and of his reign in *Egypt* 19, after having reigned 23 years in *Damascus*, as we have formerly shewn^r. He had been very successful in his conquests, as well as in suppressing the frequent revolts which happened in his extensive dominions; and had added to them, but two years before, the kingdom of *Al Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*; which his grandson *Al Malek Al Mafud Yusuf*, the son of *Al Kamel*, had reduced, and took the king of it, named *Soliman Ebn Shabishah*, prisoner, and sent him in irons to *Al Kayro*^s. *Al Adel* was then preparing for some other expedition, when a new and formidable armada of the *Franks* appeared again on the coasts of *Dimiyat*, or *Damieta*, and besieged it both by land and sea, and spread an universal terror through the kingdom; the news of which so affected the good old king, who was then at *Damascus*, and by that time so nearly worn out with fatigue and the infirmities of age, as well as the mortification to see his *Egyptian* dominions exposed to the furious ravages of the Christians, against whom he had till then been so successful, that it threw him into a lingering distemper, which carried him off in less than three months^t.

Succeeded by his son Al Kamel.

WE have already given an account of his death, age, years of his reign, and number of children he left behind, in our former account of his *Syrian* dominions^u; and have only to add here, that he was succeeded by his worthy son *Al Kamel*, whom he had so often made choice of to govern this kingdom in his absence. He came to the crown, however, in an unhappy crisis; on the one hand, his father dying in *Syria*, without having any of his sons about or near him, and his brother *Al Moadhem*, who first heard the news, coming into *Damascus*, and concealing his father's death till he had seized on all the treasure and valuables in the palace, and obliged the chiefs of that city and kingdom to swear allegiance to him; whilst

Great difficulties attending the beginning of his reign.

^p Vol. ii. p. 63. *ABU'LFAR.* sub an. 608. *EBN SHOHNAH*, ibid. *RENAUDOT*, ubi sup. p. 564, & seq. ^q *RENAUDOT*, ubi sup. p. 537, & seq. ^r Vol. ii. p. 68. ^s *EBN SHOHNAH* in an. *Hej* 613. *ABU'LFAR.* & al. sup. citat. ^t *ABU'LFAR.* *EBN SHOHNAH*, & al. sup. citat. ^u Vol. ii. p. 67, & seq.

a his own treasury in *Egypt* had been in a great measure exhausted to supply that of *Syria*, where the bulk of his army and scene of war mostly lay.

ON the other, the *Franks* not only kept *Damieta* closely besieged, but made thence frequent and dreadful inroads into the country, and threatened its capital with fire and sword; Damieta besieged by the Franks. insomuch that the inhabitants seemed to place their chief refuge in flight, and were preparing to retire farther towards *Upper Egypt*, with all their most valuable effects. Within he had the *Melchites* to fear, who were numerous, and hated by the *Moslems*, on account of their friendship to the *Franks*, and their readiness to take all opportunities of joining forces with them; on which account they were more oppressed with taxes, and other hardships, than the *Jacobites*, who bore an equal hatred to the *Franks* and *Mohammedans*. What was still worse, b at this dangerous juncture, was, that a body of about 12,000 enthusiastic *Moslems* had made a furious irruption into the camp of the *Franks* before *Damieta*, and made a great slaughter, and did other mischief amongst them, and, in their way thither, amongst the Christians, before they could be suppressed; which so exasperated the vindictive besiegers, that they not only cut them all in pieces, but carried on their ravages and hostilities with greater fury and cruelty.

THIS was the sad state of the kingdom when *Al Kamel* came to the crown; the treasury exhausted of money, and the country of a sufficient force to make head against such powerful enemies, both within and without. All these dreadful prospects were aggravated, moreover, by the resentment and loud outcries of his *Moslem* subjects against the Christians settled amongst them, as the cause and promoters of these frequent and cruel incursions from *Europe* and *Palestine*. These were the real difficulties which that prince laboured under from the very beginning of his reign, and which forced him upon severe measures, which neither his courage nor extreme sagacity could help him to avoid. To this end, therefore, and to quash c at once the loud complaints of the *Mohammedans* against the Christians, he issued out an edict, by which he obliged all the latter, the clergy not excepted, to contribute to the carrying on of the war, either by entering into the service among the *Moslems*, or by procuring an exemption from it by dint of money. These exactions fell still heavier on the *Melchites*, for the reasons already mentioned, and obliged them to pledge their most valuable church utensils, to satisfy the large sums imposed upon them. Neither were their monasteries exempt from d paying such large quotas as reduced them to the lowest degree of misery. The *Jacobites*, though less obnoxious and suspected, were however obliged likewise to furnish vast sums of money; neither could that save their stately cathedral of *St. Mark*, in the suburbs of *Alexandria*, from being levelled to the ground; not so much, indeed, out of dislike to them, as St. Mark's cathedral demolished. use of it as a fortress, to batter down and reduce that opulent city. It was, therefore, merely with a view of saving so considerable a place, that *Al Kamel* was obliged, much against his will, to order the demolition of that magnificent structure, to the great mortification and regret of all the Christians, especially the *Jacobites*, who beheld, with no small grief, the zeal and eagerness with which the *Moslems* executed the Soltan's orders, till the very last stone of it was removed e from the ground on which it stood *. To stop likewise their further progress into the country, the Soltan ordered the city of *Al Mansurah*, then running to ruins, to be rebuilt and well fortified, as it stood on the spot where the *Nile* divided itself into the two principal branches which form the *Deltah*. All these expences obliged him to raise the taxes on the Christians and *Jews* to a still more exorbitant height; and such vast sums were extorted from them, as forced great numbers of them to abandon the country, especially as the war had caused such an universal scarcity f of corn and other provisions, that many of the poorer sort were famished to death; others, thro' despair, put an end to their misery; and great numbers among the rich renounced their religion, and apostatized from Judaism and Christianity, to free themselves from those heavy imposts. All this while the soldiery made no scruple to break into the granaries, warehouses, and habitations, of the merchants and other inhabitants, and carrying off all the corn and provisions they found in them with impunity; there being no possibility to suppress those disorders whilst the war with the *Franks* and the extreme scarcity attending it lasted, which was above two whole years; that is, till a truce was concluded between the Soltan and the *Franks*, which followed the surrender of *Damieta* to him †, as we shall see in the sequel.

IN the mean time we cannot forbear taking notice here of the strange and blind party zeal which reigned at this time among the *Jacobite* Christians, and which neither the heavy taxes with which they were beyond measure oppressed, nor the other calamities attending the war, could abate, in relation to the choice of a patriarch, in the room of the late *John*, whose see, by this time, had been vacant full ten years, but raged still as fiercely as ever; Strange disputes between the Jacobite Christians, 1226.

* ABU'LFED. ABU'LFARAJ, EEN SHOHNAH, & al. sup. citat. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 572, & seq. Vol. ii. p. 70, & seq. † ABU'LFARAJ, & al. sup. citat. in an.

The Soltan's
equity towards
them.

Instance of his
generosity to
the monks,
1227.

To those of
St. Macarius.

Damieta sur-
renders to the
Franks.

Al Kamel
forms an alli-
ance with the
Syrian princes.

Damieta re-
taken.

1220.

Deadly Con-
tests among the
Christians.

infomuch that, in spite of all their pretended pleas of poverty and heavy taxes, each party a was imprudent enough not only to apply to the Soltan, but to offer him very considerable sums, to induce him to interpose his authority in favour of, or opposition to, the priest *Dawd*, or *David*, the candidate in dispute: yet such was the exemplary equity of that prince, as to decline the offers and requests of either, without intermeddling farther in their differences, than by an exprefs prohibition to both to pursue any further such indirect and unjustifiable measures ^z.

ON the next year that monarch gave a fresh instance of his singular bounty and generosity to the monks of the great convent of the vale of *Habib*. In his return from *Alexandria* those fathers had given him and his retinue the best reception they were able in their present condition. In return for which he was pleased to order them some hundreds of sacks of wheat, flour, barley, beans, pease, &c. to be sent to them out of his own granaries, and exempted them from the heavy tax that had been laid on their monastery, as well as from other duties and forfeitures they were obliged to pay to the crown. He gave likewise leave to the monks of *St. Macarius*, who, for want of a patriarch, were without a superior, and on that account (and of the great impost they were obliged to pay to the crown at all such elections, when they were in no condition to pay) were dwindled to a very small number, full leave to chuse one from among themselves, and a full exemption from any future tax ^a. By this time the *Franks* had carried on the siege of *Damieta* with such vigour, in spite of all the strong fortifications which the Khalif of *Baghdad*, *Al Motawakkel*, had caused to be added to it, in order to render it an impregnable bulwark against the frequent incursions of the *Greeks* ^b, that it had been constrained to yield to their superior force, and to surrender at discretion, the Soltan being in no condition to succour it; the consequence of which was, the *Egyptians* were every-where so disheartened, and the enemy so elevated, that the total reduction of the kingdom was expected by both sides soon to follow that of *Damieta*. The *Franks* had been no less successful in *Syria*; so that the two Salehs, or kings, of *Damascus* and *Aleppo*, began now to fear their power more than ever, and to think, that if they were once masters of the one, the others would not be long able to stand out against them.

UNDER these distresses the Soltan had often applied to these two princes, in vain, for some succours from thence, and endeavoured to persuade them, from the motives of their mutual danger, to join forces with him against the common enemy; but had hitherto found them ^d too attentive to their own safety to be so far solicitous for his. He was at length obliged to take a journey thither, and try how far his presence would prevail upon them: and there it was that a strong alliance was formed between those three princes, for the recovery of *Damieta*, and the driving of the *Franks* out of *Egypt*. These accordingly marched directly to that city, and so closely besieged the *Franks* within, that, whether through want of provisions, or, as others will have it, through the misunderstanding of the chief commanders, they were forced to surrender much sooner than they hoped for, and the *Franks* to sign a treaty, by which they were obliged to restore that important place, with all its districts and appurtenances, to Soltan *Al Kamel*, and to agree to a mutual exchange of prisoners. This treaty was concluded in the 617th year of the *Hejra*; upon which *Al Kamel* took possession of it ^e two years after it had been wrested from him ^c, and the *Franks* evacuated the kingdom. This treaty, and the recovery of that important fortress, quickly restored peace and order every-where, and by degrees a plentiful supply of all kinds of provisions; while the *Franks*, through want of conduct and unanimity, lost the fairest opportunity they could have wished of making themselves masters of all *Egypt* ^d.

AL KAMEL being now happily rid of his imminent danger, and seeing his enemy at a convenient distance, was taken up in repairing the fortifications of *Damieta*, *Al Kayro*, and other places of his dominions, and in moderating, with his usual candour and equity, the feuds that still raged as much as ever between the partisans and opposers of the election of *David* to the patriarchate. These, it must be owned, were grown to such a height, as to give him no small uneasiness, whilst the *Franks* were so near him, and had such a powerful navy and army threatening him, and, what was still worse, the *Melchite* Christians, both numerous and ready not only to join with them, as being of the same principles, and using the same rites with them, but might easily prevail upon the malecontents of the *Jacobite* party to unite with them in the same interest. But now all those apprehensions from that quarter being happily blown over by the late treaty, and the most dangerous enemy so far removed from his coasts, he left those two factions at full liberty to wrangle amongst themselves about their election, whilst he applied his whole care in settling the most important affairs of his kingdom upon such a foot, as to be out of all further danger of a foreign invasion: and in this

^z RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 574.

ABU'LFED. & al. sup. citat. Vol. ii. p. 71.

^a Ibid. ibid.

^b De hac, vid. supra, vol. i. p. 470, & seq.

^d Ibidem Ibid.

^c ABU'LFAR.

- a he succeeded so well, that whilst the *Alexandrian* church was torn in sunder by party rage^c, his other subjects enjoyed a profound peace under his mild government, and himself all the advantageous opportunities his martial genius could wish for of extending his conquests abroad, especially in *Syria* and *Palestine*: in the carrying on of which he made frequent alliances with some one or other of his uncles or brothers, which seldom failed of turning to his advantage. But as these are out of our *Egyptian* limits, we shall refer our readers, for a fuller account of them, to the authors often quoted in the margin^f, and to what hath been occasionally said of them in a former volume^g. The misfortune was, that his successes, and the care of securing his conquests, did so engross his thoughts and time, that his *Egyptian* forces were gradually drained to supply those in *Syria* and *Palestine*; insomuch that in the space of five or six years, during which he had been pursuing them, his own dominions were become in some measure defenceless, when most in danger to be invaded anew. For the *Franks*, ever attentive to all his motions, were alarmed at every advantage either gained or lost in that war, and had been no less alarmed at his progress in the one, than inspired by his neglect of keeping up the strength of the other part of his dominions. But what most exasperated them against him, and spurred them on to make a fresh and powerful attempt upon *Egypt*, was his having seized on the city of *Jerusalem*, immediately after his brother *Al Malek Moaddhem* (who had been made Saleh of it), and caused it to be dismantled, in one of his expeditions into *Palestine*; since which time they had not ceased soliciting for fresh supplies of men and money from *Europe*, in order to make another attempt for the recovery of it out of his hands. As soon, therefore, as that desired reinforcement
- b was come over to them, which proved a very considerable one, they set about making all necessary preparations for a descent against him either in *Syria* or *Egypt*, as they found it most likely to answer their end. *Al Kamel* was soon informed of it; and, conscious of the weak condition to which his *Egyptian* dominions were by that time reduced, and how little able he was to make head against such a powerful armament, let it fall on which of the two kingdoms it would, saw himself obliged to enter into a fresh treaty with them; and which, after a short negotiation, was concluded between them.
- c The Franks attempt a new invasion against him.

- By this treaty, which, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, was signed in the year of the *Hejra* 624, *Al Kamel* was forced to yield to them not only the city of *Jerusalem*, but sundry other considerable places in *Syria* and *Palestine*, to preserve his *Egyptian* dominions from the threatened invasion: but upon this condition however, that that city should remain in its dismantled condition; that the *Moslems* should have their mosks, and other places of public resort and business, both there and in the other places ceded by the treaty, together with some other privileges^h; which, if not exaggerated by our author above-named in favour of his *Moslem* hero, plainly shew that his affairs, even at that time, were far either from being desperate, or the *Franks* so formidable as they have been represented. Neither is it altogether improbable, considering the greater concern which that prince shewed at this juncture for his *Egyptian* dominions, that his frequent absence from, and excursions out of, that kingdom, were chiefly occasioned by the continual uneasiness and disturbances which the two turbulent factions of the *Jacobites* gave him by their applications and appeals, both before and after the election of their patriarch, and merely to keep out of the way of their troublesome complaints and solicitations on that account (K), as it had been the constant maxim of all his *Moslem* predecessors, both
- Khalifs

^c RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 576, & seq.

^g Vol. ii. p. 68, & seq.

^f ABU'LFARAJ, ABU'LFEDA, EBN SHOHNAH, & al. sup. citat.

^h EBN SHOHNAH, in an. Hej. 625.

(K) It will not, we hope, be deemed an impertinent excursion out of our civil boundaries, if we give our readers a few instances of the extravagant height of zeal and fury to which those contests had been carried by both sides at this time. We have already seen how both factions had in vain attempted, by vast sums, to bribe that excellent prince to decide their contest in their favour by his own regal authority, and this at a time when they were greatly oppressed by the heaviest taxes, and made the loudest complaints of the poverty and misery to which they were reduced by them. Since that time they had held several chapters, not only without being able to agree in their choice, but every such convention had rather added new strength to the opposition, and fuel to their rage.

At length, after much wrangling and caballing, not only about the choice of a proper person, but about the manner of chusing him, whether by lot, voting, or balloting, which the reader may see more fully displayed in the author under-quoted (1), the turbulent and ambi-

tious *David*, whom we have heretofore so often mentioned, and who had caused the most grievous disturbances in the *Alexandrian* church above twenty years, gained the prize more by dint of faction and bribery than by merit, to the no small mortification of his opposite party; who did not, however, let him long enjoy the patriarchal chair before they broke out into open war against him; branding him with the blackest vices of simony, avarice, bribery, &c. He was, however, confirmed by the Soltan, who was heartily glad, at any rate, to see an end put to a contest which had caused him so much inquietness, and his subjects so much disturbance; and was accordingly consecrated patriarch in the year of the *Hejra* 633, and of Christ 1235.

These two last steps, which his friends hoped would have at once quashed the fury of the opposite party, made it only break out with greater vehemence. They immediately began with exhibiting a great number of articles of impeachment against him and his electors; wherein, besides the above-mentioned crimes of simony,

(1) Renaudot, ubi sup. p. 577, & seq. Vid. & sup. vol. ii. p. 85, & seq.

His great suc-
cesses.

Death and
character.

1237.

Khalifs and Soltans, not to interpose their authority in any of their religious contests and con- a
troverfies. But while he was thus taken up with affairs more agreeable to his martial genius,
as well as more suitable to his rank, in which he had by this time spent above six whole years,
during which those Christian contests had raged, and had subdued many considerable cities,
and even whole provinces, in *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Mesopotamia*, &c. leaving all that time the
government of his *Egyptian* dominions to his second son *Al Ader*, or *Al Adar*, whom he
had appointed viceroy of that kingdom, in the height and full enjoyment of all his successes,
scarcely ever interrupted by any but the *Franks*, he saw his *Syrian* dominions threatened by
a formidable army of *Tartars* and *Seljuks*, against whom whilst he was making and direct-
ing all the proper preparations, he was suddenly overtaken with death, at his own *Syrian* ca-
pital *Damascus*, in the 20th year of his reign, and 70th of his age, and of the *Hejra* 635¹,
to the great surprise and grief of all his subjects, and more especially of his army, and of all b
the learned men in his dominions, with whom he took a singular delight in conversing, and
consulting them upon all proper occasions, not without eminent tokens of his esteem and mu-
nificence, and that not only with a special regard to such as excelled in the liberal sciences,
but with a general beneficence to the whole body of them; for whom he erected and endowed
public academies for most branches of learning, to say nothing of other public works of his
both in *Egypt* and *Syria*, where, as we have already shewn, his candour and generosity ex-
tended themselves even to the Christians, tho' the feuds and contests of one set of them had
caused him to moderate on the one hand, and the *Melchites*, by their friendship and confor-
mity of religion with the *Franks*, his most irreconcilable enemies, had given so frequent oc-
casion to their invading and ravaging both his *Syrian* and *Egyptian* dominions on the other^m. c

BUT notwithstanding all these excellent qualities, he met with great opposition from his
brethren and relations, and was obliged to engage in frequent wars and contests with them:
in which, however, by prudence and singular courage, he was able to defeat all their hostile
designs, as well as the many revolts which were raised against him by his Emirs, both in *Syria*
and in other parts of his conquered dominionsⁿ. So that, in spite of all these intestine oppo-
sitions from within, and the united forces of the invading *Franks*, who infested and disturbed
the greatest part of his reign, it may be truly said to have been as glorious and successful a one
as that of any one of his predecessors.

Al Adel chofin
Soltan of
Egypt by the
Emirs.

AL MALEK AL KAMEL left at his death, among other issue, two sons who succeeded him,
the eldest in the kingdom of *Syria* and his other conquests, and the other in that of *Egypt*: d
this last, not by any assignment or partition of the late king, who appears to have died intes-
tate, but by the free and universal choice of the Emirs and grandees of that kingdom. We
have already observed, that this young prince, whose name was *Al Malek Al Adel Abu Bekr*,
which last name he had assumed from one of his ancestors, had been for some years before
appointed viceroy of *Egypt*, and where by this time he had by his address, and many public-
spirited acts, so far gained the affections of the *Egyptian* Emirs, that they made no difficulty
to elect him Soltan, tho' in wrong of his elder brother *Nojmo'ddin*, his father's successor:
so that the news of *Al Kamel's* death no sooner reached *Egypt*, but he was proclaimed Soltan
by all the grandees, and inaugurated accordingly in his capital of *Al Kayro*, where they one
and all took the oaths of allegiance to him^o. The news of their proceedings soon reached e
the ears of his elder brother, who was then taken up at *Damascus* in settling the affairs of his
Syrian dominions; which he had no sooner done, than he hastened to *Egypt*, at the head of a
numerous army, in order to wrest that kingdom out of his treacherous brother's hands. Dur-
ing his absence his capital of *Damascus* having being seized on by the united forces of the Sa-

¹ Idem ibid. RENAUDOT, ubi sup. p. 578, & seq.

ⁿ ABU'LFAR, & al. sup. citat. RENAUDOT, ubi sup.

^m Idem ibid. Vid. & sup. vol. ii. p. 84, & seq.

^o Idem ibid. Vid. & vol. ii. p. 85, & seq.

avarice, ambition, &c. they further accused him of hav-
ing multiplied the number of priests to a monstrous de-
gree; to have extended his authority beyond its due li-
mits, by arrogating an illicit power, not only over the
monasteries within his own patriarchate, but even beyond
them, so far as even to consecrate a metropolitan for the
city and diocese of *Jerusalem*, a thing till then unheard
of. For all which, and many others of the like kind,
they insisted upon having a synod called, to try and judge
him; each party all this while strenuously applying to
the Soltan for redress, in an indecent, and some of them
even in a kind of tumultuous manner. To give the greater
weight to their articles with the Soltan and divan, they
likewise accused him of having embezzled large sums
out of that money which was ordered to be levied on the
ordination of every priest and monk, got him closely
imprisoned, and forced him to submit to such new regu-

lations and restrictions as they thought fit to impose upon
him, as well as to relax or give up all his former illicit
pretensions and incroachments: all which was done by
the authority of a synod, convened and authorized to try
and judge him; and who, by their prudent regulations
and wholesome severities, and particularly by some new
and more explicit canons in favour of their doctrine of
Monothelism, restored for a short interval the peace of
the *Alexandrian* church; tho' the Soltan did not live to
have the pleasure of seeing it, as the sequel will shew.
Is it therefore to be wondered at, that, beset and tired with
the continual sollicitations of two such contending par-
ties, he should prefer the pursuit of his military conquests
at a sufficient distance from them, to the fruitless efforts of
quelling their wranglings and animosities by his presence
and interposition?

- a heb of *Ahek* and the Saheb of *Emessa*, as we have formerly seen^p, he was obliged to submit to a treaty of partition with them; by which he had the kingdom of *Egypt* assigned to him, and entered it accordingly at the head of his forces, and that with universal acclamations of joy by all the *Egyptians*, even by those who had been most forward in electing and swearing allegiance to his brother; who, as he was informed on his march thither, had been seized, or, as the other writers have it, had been murdered, by his own servants^q. He soon after possessed himself of the strong castle of *Mount Gibel*, which opened an easy passage into the heart of the kingdom, and thence proceeded to his capital of *Al Kayro*. He was no sooner settled on the throne, but reflecting on the fickleness of the *Egyptian* grandees, he set himself about the choice of such ministers as he might more safely rely on; and among them the famed *Alasib Azzo'ddin Abdalazziz*, whom he raised to the dignity of high chancellor of the kingdom. He also made an advantageous peace with the *Franks* for his greater security. We have already given an account of the main articles of it in a former volume^r; and shall only add, that some of them proved a great mortification to the factious *Jacobites*, and their worthless patriarch, who had hitherto been so turbulent and troublesome to his predecessors, as we have already shewn in the history of the two former reigns. This obliged him to follow their maxim, and to turn their constant discords to his own advantage, by loading the former with the heaviest taxes, and dooming the latter to the severest fines for his simoniacal extortions; which brought a constant income into his coffers, at the same time that it so impoverished both sides, especially the patriarchs, that they dared not undertake any thing in favour of the *Franks*, their friends and allies, as being of the same communion, and of course his most inveterate enemies.

An. Hej. 637.
of Christ
1239.
Driven out by
his elder brother;

who makes a
peace with the
Franks.

- THE better to strengthen himself in his *Egyptian* dominions, he not only followed the maxim of his predecessors in keeping up a numerous body of *Mamluks*, or *Circassian* slaves, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more copiously in the sequel; but most injudiciously increased them to such an exorbitant number, and raised them to such a height of power, that they soon after overturned the whole *Egyptian* constitution, seized the government, enlarged their conquests, and raised that kingdom to a greater degree of wealth and splendor than it ever had enjoyed since the reigns of the *Ptolemys*. We have already observed, that *Salaba'ddin Ebn Ayub*, the founder of this dynasty, had abolished the schismatical khalifat of *Egypt*, and obliged that nation to acknowledge that of the *Abbasides* of *Baghdad*. The better therefore to suppress the faction of the former, which was still very powerful, he was the first who undertook to form a powerful corps of militia from among the bravest and stoutest of his new upstart race of slaves, brought thither by myriads from the *Turkish* dominions by the plundering *Arabs*, and to have them carefully trained up in all the branches of martial discipline. His successors followed his example, and by the sole aid of that militia maintained themselves on the throne against all the opposition of the *Fatimites*. But *Al Malek Nojmo'ddin*, not satisfied with such a security, was the first who ventured not only to augment their numbers to an excessive height, but to introduce a corps of them into the portico of his palace at *Al Kayro*, whom he appointed for his life-guard, and to disperse a much larger number of them thro' other cities and fortresses of his kingdom; by whom he was informed of every thing that was done in his *Egyptian* dominions, and his subjects kept under a kind of tyrannic slavery: by which means these new upstarts became in a short time so powerful and insolent, as to occasion one of the greatest revolutions that ever had happened in that kingdom, and thereby put a final end to the *Ayubite* dynasty, as we shall more fully see in the sequel of this history.

Fatal fondness
for his Mam-
luks.

Mamluks who
and whence.

- IN the mean time, while he was taking all these imprudent precautions for the securing of his *Egyptian* dominions, he was no less impatient to recover his *Syrian* ones out of his invading competitor's hands, well remembering how treacherously they were wrested from his own, and was only waiting a favourable opportunity to invade them at the head of a powerful army, which he was then raising with all possible speed both in *Egypt* and among his friends and allies. So intent and eager was he on this enterprize, that he hired a large body of *Khowarazmians* from the other side of the *Euphrates* to invade *Syria*, where they committed the most horrid carnages and barbarities, which we have given an account of in a former volume^s, putting all to fire and sword, sparing neither age, sex, nor condition, burning and plundering all the towns, and even churches, where-ever they came; insomuch that he found himself obliged to send them express orders not to approach nearer his *Egyptian* territories.

Nojmo'ddin
prepares to re-
cover his Syri-
an dominions.

Hires the
Khowaraz-
mians to in-
vade Syria.
An. Hej. 642.

ALL this while *Al Malek Ismael*, the now Saleh of *Damascus*, was no less watchful over all his motions, and diligent in making the best preparations to oppose him; and to that end had, on the succeeding year, concluded a peace with the *Franks*, and, to attach them more

The Syrian Sa-
lah prepares to
oppose him.

^p Vol. ii. p. 86, & seq.
p. 92, & seq.

^q EBN SHOHNAH, in an. 638.

^r Vol. ii. p. 88.

^s Vol. ii.

Hej 641.
A. D. 1243.
Cyril the pa-
triarch dies.

His rich ef-
fects confiscat-
ed by the Sol-
tan.

Nojmo'ddin
invades Syria.

Defeats the
allied Syrians
and Franks.
Hej. 642.
A. D. 1244.

Retakes his
capital of Da-
mascus, and
his other Syri-
an dominions.

Constrains Ish-
mael to accept
a new treaty.

Enters Da-
mascus in tri-
umph.

Other con-
quests in Sy-
ria.

firmly to his interest, had yielded to them the cities of *Tiberias*, *Jerusalem*, *Ascalon*, and other a considerable places in *Palestine*, and on the *Syrian* coast ¹. This extraordinary cession did how- ever greatly offend his *Mohammedan* subjects: for which he made no other apology, than that he granted it to them for fear his *Egyptian* competitor should wrest them out of his hands; tho' hitherto there had no hostilities been begun between them, but only preparations both offensive and defensive; especially if we may credit *Abu'lfeda* and other *Arabic* writers, who date this cession three years earlier than *Ebn Shohnah* ²: neither do we read of any invasion from either side, till some years after this we are upon ³. However that be, nothing happened consider- able in this kingdom till the year of the *Hejra* 641, answering to that of Christ 1243, and that was the death of the patriarch of the *Jacobites*, after he had sieged some months above seven years in the *Alexandrian* church, and reduced his flock to the greatest poverty by his b excessive avarice and horrid exactions on them, under pretence of levying the heavy tribute which the Soltans had laid upon them; the care of which had by those politic monarchs been committed to him: so that he not only died unpitied and unlamented, but detested, and repre- sented as a monster of avarice and brutality by all the Christian as well as *Mohammedan* writers, and as such was prosecuted even after his decease, and accused of having embezzled vast sums of the Soltan's tribute to his own use, and heaped up an immense treasure, as well as vast quantities of the richest furniture, and other valuable commodities. Upon which the Soltan c ordered his palace to be sealed up, his effects to be seized, and a severe inquiry to be made into his accounts, and, upon conviction, ordered all his ill-gotten wealth to be sold by auction, and the money, which amounted to an excessive sum ⁴, to be confiscated into his own treasury. He did not even spare the church plate, utensils, and other ornaments of value belonging to the churches under that patriarchate, but seized on them in the same manner; by which he d heaped up an immense treasure into his coffers, whilst he left the deceased pontif hardly enough to defray the expence of a decent burial. On the following year, being that of the *Hejra* 642, and of Christ 1244, *Al Malek Nojmo'ddin* having advanced at the head of his *Egyptian* forces into *Syria*, and joined his hired *Khowarazmians*, he attacked the combined army of his com- petitor *Al Malek Ishmael* and that of the *Franks*, assisted by a numerous body of knights tem- plars, and gained a complete victory over them, in which the knights, fighting with their usual intrepidity, maintained their post till the last, according to the institutes of their order, and the oath taken at their admission into it, and either died sword in hand ⁵, or were obliged by a superior force to surrender themselves prisoners.

THIS action, in which the *Syrians* and their allies lost so great a number of their best forces, and had their camp and military chest plundered, proved so decisive in favour of the *Egyptian* Soltan, that it gave a new turn to his affairs in that kingdom, and was soon after fol- lowed by the reduction of its capital, against which that monarch sent his generalissimo, the warlike *Maimo'ddin*, at the head of a numerous army, and with the character of viceroy of his *Syrian* dominions. The siege was accordingly laid, and carried on with such furious vigour, that the garrison was forced quickly to capitulate, and to surrender it into his hands, on con- dition that they, and such of the inhabitants as were willing to retire, should be permitted so to do with all their effects. After which that general entered the city, but suffered not the plun- dering *Khowarazmians* to follow him into it, but assigned them some maritime places for their e garrisons, where they might be always ready at hand against all emergencies.

By this time *Al Malek Ishmael*, the Saleh of *Balbek*, and lately of *Damascus*, his competitor, was reduced so low by his many losses, and the defection of some of his allies, whom his f strange behaviour, or perhaps more likely his late defeat, had alienated from his interest, that he was glad to submit to a fresh partition treaty, and not only to cede, but to renounce all future claim both to *Damascus* and other places, which *Al Malek Nojmo'ddin* had been possessed of in that kingdom, and to accept such other places as he should think fit to assign to him in lieu of them. We have already given an account of this treaty in the *Syrian* history ⁶. After which *Al Malek Nojmo'ddin* once more entered that metropolis in triumph, and was received with all the demonstrations of joy by his faithful *Damascenes*. As for *Al Malek Ishmael*, he retired as fast as he could to his old dominions of *Balbek*, to the great regret of the victorious *Nojmo'ddin*, who highly blamed his general for suffering him to escape, and sent his Vazir loaded with irons prisoner into *Egypt*.

NOJMO'DDIN afterwards pursued his conquests with uncommon success, and, if we may believe some of our authors, dispossessed the two Salehs of *Balbek* and *Hemz* or *Emessa*, and some of their allies, of their territories; tho' *Al Makin*, who lived about this time, mentions nothing of this last particular ⁷. However, as those transactions do not so immediately respect

¹ ABUL'FED. & al sup. citat.
ABU'LFAR. RENAUD. & al. sup. citat.
subseq. hist. Malth. vol. vii.

² Confer ABU'LFED. & al cum EBN SHOHNAH in an.
³ De his vid. vol. ii. p. 92, & auet. ibi citat.
⁴ See before vol. ii. 93, et seq.

⁵ ABU'LFED.
⁶ De his vid.
⁷ Conf. ABU'LFED. ABU'LFARAJ,
EBN SHOHNAH. & AL MAKIN, in an.

a the kingdom of *Egypt*, we shall refer our readers to the account we have given of them in a former volume ^b.

By this time the *Franks*, who had sustained so considerable a loss by their late defeat, and were no less alarmed at the vast successes of the *Egyptian* Soltan, had made frequent and pressing instances with the *European* powers for fresh succours from thence; which were at length obtained from several courts, especially from that of *France*, which safely landed at *Acca* on the *Syrian* coast, in the year 647, under the conduct and command of their famed *Lewis* the IXth, since surnamed the *Saint*, and soon after were put into action by that prince both in *Syria* and *Egypt*. His first expedition accordingly, in the latter of these kingdoms, was against the city and sea-port of *Dimyat*, now vulgarly called *Dimieta* ^c, the fortifications and garri- son of which were at this time in no condition to make any considerable defence, and which surrendered to him almost as soon as his forces landed before it, the cowardly garrison abandon- ing the place at his first approach, as if seized with a panic, and fled by several ways out of it in the utmost disorder and confusion. The surrender of it proved, as was rightly deemed, a most effectual and speedy means to oblige *Al Malek Al Saleh* to withdraw his victorious forces out of *Syria* to defend his *Egyptian* dominions. He was then laying close siege to the city of *Emessa*, or *Hemz*, whose Emir was in alliance with that of *Balbek* and the *Franks* against him: but no sooner had the news of the loss of *Damietta* reached him, than he ordered the siege to be raised, and marched with all the speed he could into *Egypt*, to oppose the *French* monarch, and to drive him out of that kingdom. Unfortunately for him, he was seized in his march thither with a tumour in his thigh, which turning into a gangrene, put a speedy end to his life and reign, tho' not before he had made a severe example of his cowardly *Damietan* soldiers, whom he ordered to be hanged in their military accoutrements, as we have seen in a former volume ^d, where we have also given an account of his offspring and singular character, as well as some other circumstances of his disease and death, which need not be repeated here. He died in the 40th year of his age, and ninth of his reign, and was succeeded by his third son, the other two being dead before their father. He was surnamed *Al Malek Al Saleh Moadbdebem Turan-Shah*, the founder of the city of *Salebiyah*, for the conveniency of hunting. He was then at *Hispn Caifa* when his father died; but was proclaimed and acknowledged Soltan without any opposition, by the means and policy of a favourite slave of the deceased monarch, a woman not only of exquisite beauty, but of admirable sense, wit, and resolution, who artfully concealed his death till she had convened all the *Egyptian* Emirs and grandees, as well as the principal officers of the army, to take the oaths of allegiance to him, under pretence that it was done by his father's express order: all which was therefore readily and punctually complied with by them all, and she appointed to govern the kingdom till the arrival of the new king. What chiefly influenced those grandees to so unanimous and speedy a resolution, was not only the singular influence which that favourite female was known to have over the deceased Soltan, but more probably the great progress which *Lewis* was making in *Lower Egypt*, after the reduction of *Damietta*, who was making the speediest marches, at the head of his *Franks*, towards the capital of *Egypt* ^e.

e No sooner therefore had *Al Moadbdebem* received the news of his succession to the throne, than he hastened to the court, where he received the compliments and congratulations of the nobles, and the female favourite resigned to him the reins of government: immediately after which he put himself at the head of a powerful army, consisting chiefly of *Mamluks*, and of his hired *Khwarazmians*, and marched with all possible speed to oppose the invading *Franks*, and to endeavour to drive them quite out of his *Egyptian* dominions; a strong body of whom were by this time got as far as *Al Mansurah*, being detached from the main army, in order to go and surprise that place, which they had actually done, and entered it sword in hand, killed a great many of the garrison, particularly the *Othman* general *Ebn Shah*, as he was washing in a bath, and committed several other plunders and ravages, till overpowered by the volleys of stones, and other missile nuisances, with which the citizens overwhelmed them from the tops of their houses, they were obliged to abandon the town, as we have before seen ^f; the streets of it being so narrow, and the gates so strait, that their cavalry could neither defend themselves in the one, nor hardly escape thro' the other. At their return however to the Christian army, they gave their monarch such a promising account of what they had done, and of what they had observed of the strength and disposition of that of the *Egyptians*, that he immediately resolved to go and attack them at all adventures. The number and appearance of his own was such, as made the Soltan for some time hesitate whether they had best stand their ground against them, or retire. King *Lewis*, on the other hand, thinking himself sure of a victory, if he could but attack them in a plain, inadvertently ventured to lead his forces across the branch

^b Vol. ii. p. 93, & seq.

^c De hac vid. sup. p. 17, & seq.

^d Vol. ii. p. 95.

^e Vid. Ant.

^f Vol. ii. p. 96.

of the *Nile* called *Atbimen*, which divided the two opposite armies, without thinking of a
 King Lewis and his army soon filled the enemy with fresh courage: upon which they fell upon the *Franks* with such
 defeated; and made a much greater number of them prisoners, among whom was *Lewis* their king and
 he taken prisoner. commander, who having secured no place of retreat, was obliged to surrender himself to the
 superior force of the enemy.

How the elated Soltan treated his royal captive, as well as the particulars of this interesting
 action and victory, are variously recorded by the Christian and *Moslem* historians; for a more
 succinct detail of which we shall refer our readers to what hath been hinted of them in our
 Antient History, and in a former volume of this Modern part^b: but they all agree to his
 being taken prisoner, and forced to redeem himself from his close confinement by an exorbi-
 tant ransom: to which the *Moslem* writers add, concerning the motives of his enlargement, that
 during this interval (if it might not be more properly stiled an interregnum, in which *Shajr Al*
Dor, supported by the head general, and those other Emirs of the *Mamluks* who were in her
 interest, governed the kingdom with an absolute sway), the young Soltan, vexed beyond mea-
 sure to see himself stripped of all but the bare name and shadow of authority, was no less atten-
 tive to the more flattering, tho' fatal as they proved in the end, counsels and solicitations of
 a set of young *Mamluks* he had about his person, and of much about the same age, who were
 ever whispering in his ear, that the only effectual means he had left to extricate himself out of
 his present bondage, and to establish his own authority upon a sure foundation, against the
 overgrown power of the *Mamluk* Emirs and their female protectress, was not only to listen to
 the captive monarch's advantageous offers for his enlargement, but to clap up a transitory
 peace and alliance with him, and such other Christian powers as were most likely to assist him
 in the asserting of his own, and suppressing that overgrown and unnatural height of it, which
 his Emirs had usurped over him.

The Soltan suspected by his Mamluks; who revolt against, and assassinate him.
 AN advice of this soothing and important nature was greedily applauded by the young
 Soltan: but as it was at the same time no less dreaded by the Emirs, who on that account had
 placed a sufficient number of spies about his person, could not be communicated, much less
 resolved on, with such secrecy, but they had timely notice given them of it before any step had
 been taken towards executing any part of it; a general alarm had spread itself over the whole
 body of them at *Al Kayro*, and as obstinate an insurrection made against the Soltan, as if he
 had already been guilty of some desperate attempt towards their total destruction. One of the
 most desperate of them, *Rokno'ddin Abu'l-fatab*, afterwards raised to the throne, having given
 him a most dangerous wound upon his first appearing to quell them, this unexpected indignity,
 joined to their loud clamours and scurrilous complaints, soon convinced the young sanguine
 prince that his presence would but exasperate them the more, and expose him to greater dangers:
 to avoid which he saw himself constrained to take refuge in an adjacent wooden tower, on the
 border of the *Nile*. Hither they pursued him with renewed fury, and fully resolved either to
 make him perish in the flames, or to overwhelm him with volleys from their fire-arms or
 other missile weapons, set fire to the tower, which was soon in a blaze on every side, and
 obliged him to throw himself in the river, where, endeavouring to save himself by swimming,
 they discharged such a dreadful shower of arrows, as put a fearful end to his life and reign^c.

Hej. 644. A. D. 1250.
 THUS perished the unhappy *Al Malek Al Saleh Moadhdhem Turan-Shah*, the last Soltan of
 the *Ayubite* dynasty, through the jealousy and overgrown power of the *Mamluks*, who had
 been the chief supporters of it during several glorious reigns against the *Fatemite* faction, and
 had been on that account so highly esteemed and favoured by all the Soltans of it, from
Salaba'ddin, the first founder of the militia, to the unhappy reign of the unfortunate *Al Malek*
Turan-Shah (L).

SOON

^b Vol. ii. p. 96, & seq. ^c ABU'LFED:

(L) We must not here pass by one circumstance men-
 tioned by *Ebn Shohnab*, though omitted by the other
Moslem writers, which will in some measure account for
 the jealousy which the *Mamluks* had conceived against
 their young prince, so near the beginning of his reign,
 and in the height of so many promising successes.

He tells us (1), that after the glorious victory obtained
 over the *Franks* which we have lately related, *Turan-Shah*
 removed from *Al Mansurah* to *Fares Cur*, where (whe-
 ther elated with his success, or exasperated at some of

their insolent behaviour, we are not told) he took upon
 him to rebuke and threaten them in such severe terms
 as raised the insurrection we lately mentioned, and ended
 in that atrocious catastrophe we have there related.

It was indeed hardly to be expected that such an up-
 start race of slaves, and who had been looked upon and
 treated as the chief support of the *Ayubite* dynasty, and
 so signally distinguished and intrusted by *Al Malek Al*
Saleh, the father of *Turan-Shah*, should bear to hear
 themselves reproved and threatened by that young elated

(1) *Ebn Shohnab*, in an.

prince;

- a Soon after this sad catastrophe the *Mamluk* Emirs assembled, and invested *Shajr Al Dor*, *Shajr Al Dor* the late Soltan's favourite, with supreme authority, and caused her to be proclaimed, crowned, ^{proclaimed} and prayed for, as Soltaneſs of *Egypt*, with the additional title of *Omm Khaled*, or *Queen*. ^{Soltaneſs.} *Mother*, as ſhe had had a ſon by the Soltan *Al Malek Al Saleh*, named *Khaled*, who died in his tender years. She had not however enjoyed that dignity long before thoſe very Emirs, who had raiſed her to it, whether aſhamed to ſee the *Egyptian* kingdom governed by a female and a ſlave, or becauſe they obſerved her election to have diſgusted the *Egyptian* grandees, ^{Depoſed and} ſhewed as much readineſs to have her depoſed from it, and choſe in her ſtead one of their prin- ^{Al Moez} cipal Emirs named *Al Moez Azzo'ddin Aybek Al Turkoman*, toward the end of the former ^{choſen in her} *Rabi*, on this ſame year. His reign however proved but ſhort; for the Emirs, whether out of diſlike to his government, or perhaps aſhamed that they had not rather choſen one of the *Ayubite* family to that dignity (M), of whom there appeared ſo many equally fit for, and more juſtly intitled to it. Upon which they made no ſcruple to depoſe him, and conferred ^{who is alſo} the ſovereignty of *Egypt* once again upon the *Ayubite* race. The perſon they made choice of ^{depoſed, and} was *Al Malek Al Aſbraf Muſa Ebn Al Naſer Yuſef Ebn Maz'ud Ebn Al Malek Al Kamel*, ^{Al Moez} one of the deſcendants of the late famed Soltan *Al Kamel*, a child but ſix years old, and ^{Aſbraf choſen} crowned him Soltan on the 5th day of the former *Yomada*. His election and ſupreme authority were ſoon after confirmed by the Khalif of *Baghdad*, *Moſta'ſem*, then on the throne; who, on account of his minority, appointed *Azzo'ddin Aybek* his governor, or guardian of the realm. This laſt, tho' veſted with ſuch an authority, did not forget to ſtrengthen himſelf
- c by proper alliances; and one of the firſt public acts which he did was the concluding and ratifying of a treaty, which had been ſet on foot between *Al Malek Turan-Shah* and the *Franks*, upon condition that the latter ſhould reſtore to the new Soltan the town and caſtle of *Damietta*; which was accordingly complied with, together with the other conditions agreed on between them, and mentioned in a former part of this work ⁱ, and the place put into the hands of the *Egyptians* on the 8th of *Saſar* of the ſame year. Soon after which king *Lewis* left the kingdom, and returned into *Syria*; and a while after ſet ſail for his own dominions.

- d ANOTHER public act of his, which was no leſs acceptable to the *Ayubite* family, was to cauſe the interruption, which had been made in their ſucceſſion to the Soltanat by the election of the chief Emir *Al Malek al Moez*, to be expunged, by inrolling the date of his pupil's reign from the unfortunate murder of his predeceſſor. We meet with nothing after worth notice, either concerning his government or his young pupil's reign, except ſome hot conteſts they had with *Al Malek al Naſer*, the Saleh of *Damaſcus*, till the year of the *Hejra* 652; in which happened that new revolution, which put a final end to the *Ayubite* dynasty, ^{The end of the} and totally deprived all the princes of that family from having any further power or intereſt in ^{Ayubite dy-} this kingdom. ^{nasty.}

- e THIS remarkable event was brought on by no leſs a perſon than the late *Mamluk* depoſed Soltan *Al Moez Azzo'ddin*, who, by the aſſiſtance of his wife *Al Shajr Al Dor*, whom he had married after his election, as well as by his own intereſt with the *Mamluk* Emirs, was become powerful enough to get the young *Al Malek* depoſed from the Soltanat, and himſelf to be reſtated into that dignity; by which he became the founder of a new dynasty. But this new race of *Mamluk* Soltans, ſo famed for their power, opulence, and conqueſts, we ſhall refer to our Supplement, where we will endeavour to recite their hiſtory, and give a more explicit and ſatiſfactory account of their origin, extract, riſe, and diſcipline, than has ever yet appeared.

ⁱ See before, vol. ii. p. 97, & ſeq. See alſo ABU'LFEDA, & al. ſupra citat.

prince; and eſpecially if pre-acquainted with his deſign of entering into an alliance with the *Franks*, which, in ſuch a criſis, might be ſuppoſed to have been aggravated with all the alarming circumſtances that could excite them to a revolt; without expreſſing the moſt lively tokens of anger and reſentment at his ſuppoſed ingratitude; till the conteſt being blown up, as may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, by mutual reproaches on both ſides, hurried them to that horrid parricide which we have ſeen.

(M) *Ebn Shonab* doth indeed ſeem to intimate the ſame, who tells us (2), that he met with his tragical end about five years after having cauſed *Shamſo'ddin Lulu* and *Dhia'ddin Al Kaymari* to be put to death before his face, for having cut off *Al Malek Jehonael* with his own hand, and for ſome other acts of the like tyrannic nature; which have been mentioned in a former part of this work (3).

(2) *Ebn Shonab*, in an. *Hejra* 655.

(3) *Vide ſup. vol. ii. p. 98.*

S E C T. III.

The history of the African islands.

HAVING given a full account of the history and present state of *Egypt*, we are obliged, by unavoidable reasons, to deviate somewhat from our original plan, which proposed that the *African* islands should be separately described.

THIS, we have observed, would render many parts of the history of *Africa* obscure, by references to those islands, of which we now enter upon a description; reserving *Malta* only to fill up the space appropriated in our proposals to the *African* islands.

WE shall begin with the islands situated at the mouth of the *Red Sea*, and trace them along the continent, first from north to south, then round the *Cape of Good Hope* to the gulph of *Benin*, and from thence along the *Slave*, *Gold*, *Ivory*, and *Grain Coasts*, to the *Cape de Verdes*; concluding with *Madeira*, and those islands situated the nearest to the *Streights of Gibraltar* and the mouth of the *Mediterranean*.

Bab-el-Mandel.

In this order, the first island that occurs is *Bab-el-Mandel*, or the *Port of Affliction*, formerly called the *Island of Diodorus*, situated towards the entrance into the *Red Sea*, joining one side of the *Streights of Bab-el-Mandel*, and lying under the 13th degree of north latitude (A). Standing in the very middle of the *Streights*, about four miles from the *Arabian* coast, and the same distance of *Abissinia*, directly opposite to *Cape Zeila*, it divides the entrance into two canals, both which it fully commands; insomuch that the antient kings of *Egypt* used to fortify them by a boom or chain laid across from the island to the continent on each side. *Pigafet*, however, affirms that the western canal is five *German* leagues over, and navigable by the barges and shipping; whereas the other is much narrower, and blocked up with shoals and sand banks; an assertion which is denied by the most authentic writers (B). It is about five miles in circumference; and important on no other account than its situation, as it produces neither fruits, roots, grain, or herbage. Formerly, however, it occasioned bloody wars between the *Abissinians* and the *Arabs* of the kingdom of *Adel*, falling into their hands alternately, till the *Portuguese* took it, and demolished its fortifications. The *Turks* being now masters of both coasts, it is sunk into its natural nothingness, and is in a manner deserted, having only a few poor mean inhabitants, for whom it scarce provides a moderate sustenance^a.

Suachem.

NOT far from hence lies the island of *Suachem*, or *Suachin*, according to *Marmol*, having the *Red Sea* on the west. It is about five or six leagues in circumference; though *Rosario* speaks of it as a very small contemptible island.

Barbora.

OPPOSITE to the kingdom of *Adel* is situated the island called *Barbora*, after a town of the same name upon the neighbouring continent. The inhabitants are negroes, clothed in the fashion of the natives of *Adel*, industrious in trade, and great breeders of cattle, for which the soil affords excellent pasturage. In general, all the inhabitants of the islands and coasts of the *Red Sea* drive a considerable commerce with the natives of the opposite coast of *Arabia*; however, the rich trade carried on by the *Moors* of *Ziden* in drugs, precious stones, ambergrise, and musk, in which the islanders partook, is greatly diminished since the *Dutch* established so powerful a commercial empire in the *East Indies*^b.

Socotora.

THE next island is that of *Socotora*, or *Sicutthera*, discovered about two centuries since by *Ferdinand Pereira*, a *Portuguese*, and by some moderns believed to be the *Dioscorides* of *Ptolemy* and *Pliny*. It stands to the north-east of *Cape Gardafui*, or *Gardafoy*, called in some maps *Rafulgat*, and placed about 75 miles from this promontory, in the latitude of 12

^a LA CROIX, tom. iv. p. 3. sect. 12.

^b MARMOL, tom. i. p. 32. LA CROIX, tom. iv. p. 157.

(A) *La Croix* places it under twelve degrees fifty minutes north latitude; and this geography corresponds pretty nearly with all the best modern maps.

(B) *Gottrard de St. Bernardin* observes, in his voyage to *India*, that the *Streights of Bab-el-Mandel* are situated under 12 degrees 40 minutes, between two capes; that on the *African* side being called *Rosbeb*, and the other on the *Arabian* coast, *Ara*. Immediately between these points is the island of *Mium*, between which and the *Asiatic*

side runs a canal a league over, and about six fathoms in depth. The other canal that divides it from *Africa* is 12 fathoms deep; but the coast equally inhospitable and dangerous to shipping, affording not a single harbour where the anchorage is tolerable, or the vessels sheltered from the storms that frequently blow here. In a word, it requires the greatest dexterity in piloting, the utmost caution, and the most accurate knowledge of the middle channel, to pass this gut with safety (1).

(1) *Bernard. apud La Croix.*

a degrees 10 minutes north, according to *De Lisle*, or 12 degrees 50 minutes, if we follow *La Croix*, and a number of other writers. *Mandesloe*, undoubtedly by an error of the press, places it in 21 degrees 40 minutes, having *Melinda* to the north-east, and to the south the continent of *Arabia*, from which it is about 16 leagues distant^c. Most authors agree in its being of considerable extent, no less than 25 leagues in length, 19 in breadth, and about 50 in circuit. All the surrounding shore is bold, every-where filled with safe anchorage and good ports; and it has in particular two fine bays and secure harbours, where the shipping ride safely against every wind that blows. These are called the harbours of *Benin* and *Cora*.

It is amazing that a place so often touched at by *Europeans*, by lying so near *Egypt*, so much frequented by all the trading nations, should be so variously and contradictorily described by different authors; some affirming that it has only one town, called *Tamart*, or *Tamary*; others that it has three, the former being the chief; and others, that there is neither a town, village, or house, on the whole island, the natives living in dens, caves, and burrows, dug under ground, the more effectually to shelter them against the scorching beams of the sun. *Mandesloe*, indeed, asserts that *Tamary* is a place very considerable for its extent, buildings, strength, and populousness, having a fort mounted with cannon, that commands the sea-port, and a fine palace, the residence of the viceroy. Whether this be so or not, it is agreed upon all hands, that the island is populous and fruitful, under the government of a prince (Soltan), who was tributary to the Cheriffs of *Arabia*, and now probably to the *Porte*.

Most of the inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, stiling themselves *Arabs*; and indeed their manners and language bear a strong resemblance, if they be not altogether the same. The whole country abounds in cattle and fruit, with which, and some other commodities, they trade to *Goa*, where they are better received than the native *Arabs*, who are not permitted to enter that town without passports. The produce of the island consists chiefly in aloes, frankincense, ambergrise, dragon's blood, rice, dates, and coral (C), which are transported from *Goa* over many parts of the *Indies*, and to all the kingdoms in *Europe*; whence arise great profit to the traders, and advantages to the inhabitants, who are luxuriously supplied with all the necessaries of life, in exchange for their commodities. Formerly they had a more immediate intercourse with *Europe*, by means of the *East India* shipping, which frequently stopt here, when disappointed of their passage, either by being too early or too late for the monsoons; but now the stated period of those winds are so well ascertained, that this port is intirely neglected.

THE climate, says *Dapper*, is exceeding hot; to which he ascribes the short continuance of rain, which seldom exceeds two or three weeks in the season. This defect, however, is happily remedied by heavy dews, occasioned by the lofty mountains, whose tops are always covered with snow, so high as to stop the clouds, condense them, and afterwards dissolve them in a kind of heavy mist or fog, which thoroughly waters the earth. There are besides some rivers rising from springs, which are never affected by the driest seasons; and on the coast are some wells dug by the *Arabs*, tho' other parts are totally destitute of water.

ALL the inhabitants are either natives of *Socotora*, or *Arabs*; these calling the former by the name of *Beduins*, or stupid brutes. They are distinguished into two sorts; the inhabitants of the coast, who intermarry with the *Arabs*, and are called *Half Beduins*, and those of the interior parts, who rigidly adhere to their own customs, and reckon it a heinous crime to mingle blood with foreigners. These last alone are the true *Beduins*, more fair than the *Indians*, and so beautiful in their shapes, that they might, says *Dapper*, pass for handsome *Europeans*; yet are they deceitful, lazy, and cowardly, suffering themselves to be in a manner enslaved by a handful of *Arabs*, and attending nothing besides husbandry and pasture; both which are chiefly carried on by the women. Their food consists of milk, butter, rice, dates, and the flesh of their cattle; and their cloathing is greatly inferior to that of the rest of the inhabitants, who seem to make use of all the benefits of their situation and commerce, at the same time that they want the personal advantages of the former; for they are of a mean stature, dusky complexion, lean habit, hideous in their features, but hardy, healthy, and strong, to an extreme^d. With this account *La Croix* perfectly agrees, except where he asserts that, in general, they exceed the common stature, and have short black frizzled hair. They feed upon fish, flesh, milk, butter, and vegetables; the common dish being a composition of all these boiled together, with which they eat bread, rice, or, when these are wanting, dates, which they form

^c MANDESLOE, apud Harris, tom. i. p. 754.

^d DAPPER, ibid. THEVET, l. iv. c. 11.

(C) The aloes brought from thence, called *Socotorina angustifolia spinosa, flore purpureo*, is easily distinguished by its glossy surface and transparency from every other kind of this plant. It is sent to *Europe* in lumps wrapt in skins, of a yellowish red colour before it is broke;

but, when reduced to powder, of a bright gold colour. Its taste is bitter, accompanied with an aromatic flavour, but too weak to prevent its being disagreeable. After all, it is by much the most tolerable of the whole species, and most in use in the shops.

into a kind of paste. The above composition they chiefly use in sickness, esteeming it a kind of panacea, capable of removing all manner of diseases; an opinion to which they are so rivetted as to be blind to repeated experience.

As to their dress, the fashion differs in the several parts of the island; and some writers assert, that the native *Beduins* go intirely naked, except a small bit of cloth tied round the loins, and suspended in form of an apron. Others again say, that they wrap up the privities in a kind of pouch, this being all their cloathing; whilst *Thevet* affirms, that the body is covered with a long robe, and the head with a cap made of goat-skins. The women go bare-headed, and wear only the cloak and gown of *Camboline*, or a shift made of goats hair. In general, this is the dress of the island, and hangs down in a train behind, not unbecoming, tho' extremely inconvenient, on account of the heat of the climate; for their method is to tie it round the body like a girdle, when they are at work.

THEY salute by kissing the shoulder; are intirely ignorant of arts, insomuch that, but for the commerce of the *Arabs*, they would be destitute of every conveniency of life. Reading and writing, and the more liberal arts, they are, if possible, still more ignorant of, and deem it learning enough that they are able to reckon their cattle by nitches made on a piece of wood; yet they are extremely ingenious in the *Camboline* manufacture, which is a beautiful stuff, formed out of such coarse materials as goats hair.

OSSORIUS asserts, that the natives are prohibited polygamy, confining themselves to one woman during her life; but all modern geographers deny this to be true; affirming that their fortunes and inclinations are the only restrictions: and that they divorce them at pleasure, either for a time or for ever. They may even be the fathers of children, without being obliged to maintain either the women or children, after they are delivered, provided only that, during her pregnancy, she declare to whom she will give the child, when it sees the light. For this purpose, the father kindles a fire before the door of his hut or cave, and then makes proclamation that he will give away the infant, of which his wife is on the point of being delivered. After this, he fixes upon some particular person for its adoptive father, to whom the infant is carried immediately after its birth. Here it meets with all that tenderness, kindness, and those caresses which are denied it by the unnatural father, is given to a nurse, and ordered to be fed with goats milk. These children are called the *sons or daughters of smoke*; and it frequently happens that a good-natured man, who is himself incapable of getting one, shall have the honour of rearing a dozen children, upon whom he bestows all the affection of a real parent. This is perhaps one of the most extraordinary and unnatural customs that history can instance, as it seems to be founded upon no principle of religion, policy, or inclination, but upon mere caprice only; for it is common with a father, who exposes his own, to adopt the children of others, and requite, by his kindnesses to the latter, the good offices done to the former.

THE *Socotorans* are no less singular in another custom, which equally reflects upon their humanity; for they commonly bury their sick before they have breathed their last, making no distinction between a dying and a dead person. Indeed their prognostics are infallible; and how should it be otherwise, when they never permit nature to make those vigorous efforts, which it frequently does towards a crisis, and in the last extremity. They esteem it a duty to put the patient as soon as possible out of pain; and make this their request to their friends, when they are on the sick bed, which, in all acute disorders, may be called the death-bed. When the father of a family finds himself thus circumstanced, and apprehends that his dissolution is near, he assembles his children around him, whether natural or adopted, his parents, wives, servants, and all his connections, whom he strenuously exhorts to a compliance with the following articles of his last will: never to admit any alteration in the doctrine or customs of their ancestors; never to intermarry with foreigners; never to permit an affront done to them or their predecessors, or a beast stole from either of them, to go unpunished; and, lastly, never to suffer a friend to lie in pain, when they can relieve him by death. Such are the extraordinary requests of the dying man: after which he makes the signal to have the last of them performed upon himself, and expires. Frequently this last duty is performed by means of a white liquor, of a strong poisonous quality, which exudes from a tree peculiar to this island, of which no writer either gives the name or description. Hence it is, that legal murders are more common here than in any country in the world; for, besides the inhuman custom last-mentioned, the other requests of dying men produce numberless quarrels, and entail family feuds and bloodshed upon their posterity for generations, by taking revenge of the injuries done to their ancestors.

THEIR chief magistrates, next in rank to the Soltan, are the *Cacis*, or *Hodamos*, who judge and determine in all causes political and ecclesiastical, civil, or criminal. Those *Hodamos* hold their employment for a year; but the shortness of its duration is compensated by the extraordinary power and dignity annexed to the office; it being the loss of an arm to touch a bit of stick, or a cross, the badges of their authority, with which they never part while

- a while they are in employment. There is no appeal from this tribunal, nor can the successor reverse any decrees passed before his coming into office. If a man pinched with hunger, and ready to perish with famine, relieves his necessities by stealing a sheep or goat, he immediately takes sanctuary in a temple; but if he be overtaken by the lawful owner, before he has met with any person in the asylum, then he loses his right hand; for, in that case, say they, he entered the temple contrary to the will of heaven, as was apparent by no one's being ready to receive him there*.

- b It has been supposed by some authors, that the *Beduins* were Christians of *St. Thomas*, or *Jacobites*; that *St. Francis Xavier* converted many of them to the true faith; and that the custom prevalent among them, of assuming the name of some saint, is an evident proof of their religion. But *Dapper* justly observes, that the calendar of saints affords no such names as *Lacaa*, *Sumaa*, *Xambe*, *Taramo*, and such-like, the only appellatives known in *Socotora*. The mistake, he believes, arises from their giving the name of *Maria* to women; but *Maria*, he affirms, is only a generical term in their language; and in this he is followed by *La Croix*. It is true, they practise the rite of circumcision, and are so scrupulous in this superstition, that they cut off the fingers of those whose parents have neglected to perform the operation upon them, or have themselves refused it; but this is a custom, as we have already observed, common among all primitive and barbarous nations; witness the negroes on the coasts of *Africa*, of *America*, and the inhabitants of the islands of the *Terra Australis*, or southern continent. It is likewise true that they observe *Lent*, or at least fasts equivalent to it, which they begin to observe at the new moon of *March*, abstaining for the space of 60 days from milk, butter, flesh, fish, and living wholly upon dates, rice, honey, and vegetables; procuring the honey from *Arabia*, in exchange for aloes and frankincense. They have altars and crosses; but as they are intirely ignorant of every tenet of the Christian church, nothing certain, we think, can be deduced from ceremonies and usages handed down by tradition, of which they can give no manner of account, or for which they cannot produce a single reason. Nay, so far from being followers of Christ, they are, if we may credit the most authentic vouchers, gross idolaters, and worshippers of the moon, which they esteem as the creative principle of all things; a notion extremely inconsistent with Theism, much more with Christianity, and the doctrines of redemption. In great droughts they assemble in a solemn manner, and offer up their petitions to this luminary. They make a public sacrifice to her towards the beginning of *Lent*, and offer up whole hecatombs of goats in honour of her; they enter into their temples whenever the moon rises or sets, and practise several other religious ceremonies, - which prove them to be the zealous votaries of this inconstant deity, and totally ignorant of the principles of the true faith. *La Croix* relates, that, at the rising and setting of the moon, or more probably at the new and full moon, they make a solemn procession three times round their temples, or *moquamos*, and thrice round their burying places, striking against each other two pieces of odoriferous wood, about a yard long, which each man holds in his hands. This ceremony they perform three times in the day, and as often at night; after which, putting a large cauldron, suspended by three chains, over a great fire, they dip into it splinters of wood, with which they light their altars, and the porch of the temple. They then put up their prayers to the moon, that she will enlighten them with her divine countenance, shed upon them her benign influence, and never permit foreigners to intermix with them. There is also an annual procession made round the temples, preceded by a cross, the whole ending upon the priest's clapping his hands together, as a signal that the moon is tired with their worship. Others say, that the signal consists in cutting off the fingers of the person who holds the cross; in recompence for which he has given him a stick, with certain marks, prohibiting all persons of whatever degree or condition to molest or hurt him ever after; nay, to aid and assist him with all their power, in whatever manner he may require their help, and to respect and honour him as a martyr to religion, under the penalty of corporal punishment, and the loss of an arm†.
- f THIS account of *La Croix* is perfectly consistent with what *Sir Thomas Roe* relates, in his journal, of the religion and manners of the natives of *Socotora*. From the last-mentioned writer we shall further observe, that he found the inhabitants of this island to consist of four different sorts of men; viz. of *Arabs*, whom the king of *Caxem* had sent to keep the island in subjection to him; of slaves to the prince, who are employed in preparing aloes, expressing it, and putting it into bladders; of *Beduins*, the primitive inhabitants of the island, who were banished to the mountains till they submitted to the yoke, and agreed to breed up their children in the *Mohammedan* religion; and, lastly, of savages, with long hair, who live naked in the woods, and refuse all society; perhaps the forcerers and magicians mentioned by *Marco Paulo* in his travels‡.

* DAVITY, t. v. fol. 6;7. MAFF. l. iii. OSSOR. l. v. † LA CROIX, ibid. TENSEL. in vit. Xav. l. i. c. 8. ‡ MARCO PAULO, apud Harris, t. i. p. 622. LA CROIX, t. iv. p. 150. BAUDRAND, sub hac voce. BOWER's geog. t. ii. p. 507. DAPPER, ubi sup. LA MARTINIERE, p. 87. 3. 2.

To the above account of the *Socotorans*, it may not be improper to add the general character of them given by *Mandefloe*, who was an accurate observer and describer of manners. They live, says this writer, chiefly upon fish, roots, and fruit. They use their women, who are chiefly *Arabians*, with great tenderness; but are so jealous that they never permit them to be seen by a stranger. As they are crafty and deceitful themselves, so they are suspicious of the same insincerity in others; they adulterate their commodities, and expect that those they deal with have done the same. The island affords some indifferent oranges, tobacco, citrons, and cocoa-nuts; but they seldom come to maturity, on account of the stony, dry, and sandy soil. Their chief commodity is aloes; and they have also dragons blood, and keep great numbers of civet-cats; so that this commodity may be purchased at *Socotora* for three or four crowns *per ounce*, which shews how plentiful it is; but, unhappily, there is no method of being secured from fraud; for they find methods of adulterating even the civet. a

THE *Socotorans* have no wild fowl, and great scarcity of tame; yet are not destitute of cows, camels, asses, and sheep, with goats, whose hair upon the thighs is curled in the manner in which satyrs are painted. Their arms are swords with large hilts, without a guard, poniards with long blades, which they constantly wear stuck in their girdle, and fire-arms, which they manage with some dexterity, but cannot keep in order, or free from rust; so that in a few weeks they are rendered useless. They are remarkably expert in the use of small bucklers, which they wield in such a manner as to protect every part of the body, and are wounded only when their shoulders are pierced or cut down by blows. Though they live in an island, and trade with the continent, they are ignorant of navigation, and have no other vessels than flat-bottomed fishing-boats, with which, however, they weather great storms. The torrents that tumble down from the mountains like rivers, either in rainy weather, or when the snow on the tops of the mountains is melted by the sun, sufficiently supplies all foreign shipping with water. Though they are *Mohammedans*, yet they worship the sun and moon; Christians or infidels, their religion is a strange mixture of truth and infidelity (E). But one would imagine that idolatry and paganism prevail, from the solemn processions and sacrifices made to those luminaries. b

BETWEEN *Socotora* and *Cape Gardafui* stands another island, called *Abdal Kurin*, possessed chiefly by *Arabs*, whose manners have nothing particular. Of this island we find no mention made in voyages, or by geographers. c

THE next islands with which we meet, according to *Jean de Castro*, an accurate *Portuguese* voyager, are a cluster of small islands, called the *Seven Sisters*, or, as others imagine, the *Two Sisters*, between *Socotora* and the island of *Abdal Kurin*; besides *Sarbo*, *Shama*, *Dallaka*, and *Massua*, on the *Abissinian* coast; all of them inhabited, well watered with wells and rivulets, stocked with cattle, and covered with grain, grass, and fruit-trees*. d

St. Mary
Island.

WE next come to the islands situate round *Madagascar*; and first to the island of *Saint Mary*, called by the islanders, and the inhabitants of *Madagascar*, *Nossi Ibrahim*, or the *Isle of Abraham*, lying betwixt 16 and 17 degrees of north latitude, opposite to the mouth of the river *Manangbara*, and about two leagues from the shore. The length from north to south is about eighteen leagues, and its breadth near three from east to west. To the south of it there stands a small island, separated by a narrow canal, not above three fathom over, so fertile, rich, and abundant in grass, fruits, &c. that the inhabitants of *Saint Mary* send their cattle thither to fatten, and lay out large plantations of rice, corn, roots, and fruits; notwithstanding which they have not thought proper to plant any colony in it. This is probably the same island which *Flacourt* places in the bottom of the bay of *Antongil*, which he highly praises for its beauty and fertility, as well as for the safety of its harbour, once much frequented by the *Dutch*, in their early voyages to the *East Indies*†. As to the island of *Saint Mary*, it is surrounded by rocks, over which the canoes pass when the sea is high; but at low ebb they are scarcely covered with a foot of water, which renders the coast dangerous, and, but in certain places, inaccessible to shipping. On every part of the coast, large quantities of white coral, e

* PREVOST, t. i. p. 192.

† FLACOURT'S Hist. of Madagascar, c. xviii.

(E) In that curious discourse of *Abu Zeid Al Hassan*, in *Purchas*, we find the following account of their Christianity:—When *Alexander* subdued *Persia*, his preceptor *Aristotle*, with whom he corresponded, wrote to him to look out carefully for the island of *Socotora*, that produced aloes, a famous drug, without which the medicinal *biera* could not be made up. He advised him to remove the inhabitants, and to plant the island with *Greeks*, that they might send aloes into *Greece*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*. Accordingly *Alexander* gave the necessary orders to dispo-

se them, and to settle a new colony. Then he commanded the governors, whom he had appointed over the dominions of the conquered *Darius*, to protect this infant settlement, which remained in paganism till the time of *Jesus Christ*. After this, and as the gospel was propagated in *Greece*, the *Socotorans* embraced the faith, after the example of the other *Greeks*, their countrymen, which they, as well as the inhabitants of the other islands, have preserved to this day (3).

(3) *Etiam apud Harris*, vol. i. p. 540.

- a and great variety of shells, of the most beautiful shapes and colours, are found, which the natives used to carry to the *French* factory at *Madagascar*, and now sell to such of the *European* shipping as happen to touch there. The whole island is divided by rivers, brooks, and running springs, that give fertility to the soil, and beauty to the scene, enriched on every side by plantations of rice, millet, yams, fruit, and all kinds of vegetables; of which two crops are produced yearly. Fine large sugar-canes grow spontaneously; and this island is capable of being improved into a very valuable sugar colony. They have also the tobacco plant in greater perfection than on the island of *Madagascar*; and indeed equal to that of *America*. The air is extremely moist, there being hardly a day in the year in which it does not rain within the compass of twenty-four hours, and frequently a week without any intermission.
- b Their cattle are fat and good, are never confined within folds or fences, but permitted to wander about at full liberty, in every part of the island; their own sagacity preventing their damaging the plantations. A considerable quantity of ambergris is found upon the eastern shore, which the inhabitants gather to make offerings of incense to their *Ammonougues*, or the tombs of their ancestors. There are also several kinds of gum produced here, which they use in perfumes, particularly *Tacamabaca*, of a fragrant delightful odour, approaching to that of lavender and ambergris (F). Though the virtues of this resin are reckoned very inconsiderable in *Europe*, the negroes of *St. Mary* island judge far otherwise; and experience, we are told, has confirmed their opinion; for they apply it with great advantage externally, for discussing and maturating humours, and abating pains and aches of the limbs; and indeed the fragrance of the finer sort would seem to indicate other intentions and virtues, and its being applicable to higher purposes (G).

SINCE the *French* were settled on *St. Mary's*, it is become much more populous than before; nor dares the chief of *Antongil* now set foot on the island, though formerly he used to carry fire and sword amongst the poor natives, and was a scourge which they dreaded more than famine and pestilence. There are at present ten or twelve villages, and at least 700 natives, of *Zafe Ibrahim's*, or sons of *Abraham*. Their sovereign or chief, called *Raignasse*, the son of *Rafiminon*, that is, chief of the race of *Abraham*, is also acknowledged the head of this sect all over the island of *Madagascar*.

- d THE islanders employ themselves in cultivating rice, yams, peas, beans, and all kinds of pulse, on which they chiefly live. They are particularly fond of catching, by nets or hooks, a kind of fish they call *Hourills*, which they carry for sale to *Madagascar*; every fiftieth being paid as a duty to the sovereign. They will, on no consideration, ally themselves to Christians, though they live upon good terms with them; probably from some faint remains of their antient *Judaism*.

- e WE shall next describe the island of *Mascareique*, *Mascarenbas*, *St. Apollonion*, or *Bourbon*. *Island of Bourbon.* The two former names were given it by the *Portuguese*, who were the first discoverers; the third it had from all the *Europeans* till the year 1654, when the *Sieur Flacourt*, governor of *Fort Dauphin* and all the *French* settlements in *Madagascar*, taking possession of this, called it *Bourbon*; by which name it is now generally known. It stands east of *Madagascar*, under 21 degrees 30 minutes south latitude, about 370 miles distant from the coast of that island. Its form is oval, thirteen leagues in length from east to west, and ten in breadth from south to north; in all about forty-six miles in circuit. Although *Flacourt* took possession of *Bourbon* in the king's name, yet no colony was established here till the *French* had abandoned *Madagascar*; on which occasion a considerable settlement was fixed here in 1672. There are many good roads for shipping round *Bourbon*, particularly on the north and south sides; but hardly a single harbour where the ships can ride secure against those hurricanes which blow during the monsoons. Indeed the coast is so surrounded with blind rocks, sunk a few feet below the water, that entrance into the harbours, at least coasting along the shore, is at all times dangerous.

- f ON the southern extremity there is a volcano which continually spews out flames, smoke, and sulphur, with a hideous roaring noise, terrible in the night to mariners; no less so, says *La Croix*, than the island *del Fuego* of the *Cape de Verdes*, mount *Hecla* of *Iceland*, and we may add mounts *Ætna* or *Vesuvius*. There is an island, of which we know not the name, standing about twenty leagues from this volcano, that would seem to be wholly formed of the ashes and liquid minerals thrown out by it. In crossing over the island from south to

(F) This gum, or, more properly, resin, is sent over in round shells, and bears a high price in the shops, though, in general, the *American Tacamabaca* is substituted in its room, and the most used.

(G) The natives tell us of a tree of the growth of this island, the fruit of which takes root in the ground immediately after its dropping off the branch. This tree they call *Thiout*, and the *French*, *Vouthiout* (4).

(4) *La Croix*, t. iv. p. 561.

north, you meet with a fine plain, six miles in circumference, with a lake in the middle, and a river flowing from each side of it, that divides the island into two parts.

THE climate, though intensely hot, is healthy, being refreshed by cooling gales that blow morning and evening from the sea or land. Sometimes, however, terrible hurricanes shake the whole island almost off its foundation, and affright the inhabitants, but generally without any other bad consequence. No country can be more happily watered than *Bourbon*; every side of which is refreshed by rivulets, springs, and murmuring brooks, which tumble in delightful cascades down the crevices and chinks of the mountains into the sea. To most of these the *French* have given names, calling them all rivers, as the great river of *Golet*, *St. John's* river, the *Eastern* river, and the rivers of *St. Giles* and *St. Stephen*.

THE island abounds in fruit, grass, and cattle; though before the *French* settled upon it, the latter were hardly known, and the country was almost a desert. It produces excellent tobacco, which the *French* have planted there; aloes, white pepper, ebony, palm, and other kinds of wood and fruit-trees spontaneously. It even yields wood fit for ship-building, and a great variety of trees that yield odoriferous gums and resins; among the rest, benzoin of an excellent kind, and in great abundance. Notwithstanding the quantity of white pepper shrubs, they never could discover either the plant that bears the black pepper, or cubebs, though this last has been frequently found with the inhabitants. The rivers are well stocked with fish, the coasts with land and sea tortoises, every part of the country with horned cattle, as well as hogs and goats; the former imported from *Europe*, and since exceedingly multiplied. The pork here is reckoned delicious, and attributed to a very extraordinary cause; namely, the hogs living upon turtle, which connoisseurs in eating affirm gives a flavour, delicacy, and richness, to the flesh, beyond what they have ever tasted in other countries (H). Like *Ireland*, this island is remarkable for harbouring no noxious or poisonous animal; and possibly both accounts may deserve equal credit. Certain, however, it is, that before the *French* settled there no man ever saw a mouse, rat, ant, gnat, serpent, toad, or any other animal offensive or troublesome to men. Ambergrise, coral, and the most beautiful shells, are gathered upon the shore. The woods are filled with game, such as turtle-doves, paroquets, pigeons, and a great variety of other birds, equally beautiful to the eye, and pleasant to the palate.

IN the year 1654, one *Anthony Jameau*, a *Frenchman*, with seven more of his countrymen, and six negroes, went from *Madagascar*, with leave from the *French* director, to settle on the island of *Bourbon*. With them they carried some cows, calves, and bulls, which they coupled with some other cows and bulls that had been sent thither five years before, and had multiplied from a very few to the number of thirty in that space of time. On their arrival, *Jameau* and his companions built huts for themselves, laid out plantations of tobacco, melons, and all kinds of fruits and vegetables; but all their labour was rendered useless for that season by a terrible hurricane, that destroyed every thing, overturned their huts, rooted up their tobacco, and laid the whole fields waste. After this, waiting till the next sowing season arrived, which was not before the month of *November*, or three months after the hurricane, *Jameau* and his companions had leisure to make the circuit of the island, and discover its true situation and produce. In this tour they found nothing of the smallest use in trade, except aloes, ambergrise, and coral; though they had the pleasure of discovering that the country, in beauty, exceeded their utmost wishes, and promised equal fertility. They renewed their labours; and it was amazing to see with what vigour every thing they planted sprung up, as if all the exotic seeds they had carried with them had been indigenous to the soil. Here they remained in the midst of plenty, and all the felicity of our first parents in paradise, for two years and eight months, before one ship touched upon the island, or the smallest bark from *Madagascar*; when, beginning to weary of every pleasure, without the enjoyment of a more numerous society, they resolved to put themselves on board an *English* ship that touched there about that time, and carried them to *Maderespatan*, then an *English* factory on the *Coromandel* coast, together with a considerable cargo of tobacco, benzoin, ambergrise, and coral, that they had cultivated and collected during their stay (!).

ABOUT

(H) This relation, *La Croix* says, he had from three *Frenchmen* banished hither from *Madagascar*, before a settlement was formed. They lived here three years in exile, by order of the governor, feeding all that while upon hogs flesh, without bread of any kind, rice, yams, or any other sort of food. All this while, though half the time naked, they enjoyed perfect health; a circumstance which they wholly attributed, though falsely, to the wholesomeness of the pork. Indeed *La Croix* seems to

look upon the air and pork of *Bourbon* as an infallible remedy for the worst diseases.

(I) This *English* vessel was probably captain *Castleton*, who gave it the name of the *English Forest*; though, by a mistake of the date, this voyage is quoted by many authors as if it happened thirty years before this event. He made strong remonstrances to the company about establishing a factory in it; but the same reasons which have since deterred the *French* from settling in it, prevented

- a ABOUT forty leagues east of *Bourbon* stands *Maurice Island*, by some thought to be the true *Apollonia*, and believed by *Flacourt* to be altogether fictitious; though later discoveries have certainly ascertained its existence. The *Dutch*, who first touched here in 1598, gave it the name of *Maurice*, in honour of the prince of *Orange*; though the island generally goes by the name of *Mauritius*. Some writers believe it to be the isle of *Cerne*, which *Pliny* mentions; and is placed by the antient geographers in 18 degrees 30 minues south latitude: an opinion that overthrows itself, as *Maurice Island* stands in 21 degrees of the same latitude. It is of an oval form, about 150 leagues in circumference, with a fine harbour, says *Mandesloe*, capable of holding fifty large ships, secure against any wind that blows, and an hundred fathoms deep at the entrance *. This harbour is called after the name of *Jacob Cornelius Van Neck*, who was admiral of the second *Dutch* Squadron sent to the *East Indies* †; or rather, we believe, that touched at this island.

THE climate here is extremely healthy and pleasant: the island is filled with mountains, covered with the best ebony in the world, and various other woods of value; and watered with pleasant rivers, well stocked with fish. When the *Hollanders* first arrived, they found it quite uninhabited, and consequently uncultivated; nor did it produce any kind of cattle, besides deer and goats; though now every field lows with cows and oxen, and bleats with sheep. Some of the mountains are so high, that their tops are covered with snow, and so hid in thick clouds, that frequently it is impossible almost to breathe, or to see where to step even at mid-day. Every part of the island is now applied, after the manner of the *Dutch*, to some particular use, not a spot being left uncultivated; and though the soil be not the best, yet have they raised all the fruits of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, together with tobacco, rice, and whatever else is wanted for the conveniency or use of life. Was the earth less stony, and in any degree comparable to that of *Bourbon*, those industrious republicans would long before now have made the island of *Mauritius* the paradise of the world; but, besides this, it is so filled with the roots of trees, that it is an inconceivable labour and expence to clear a plantation.

- BESIDES the ebony of *Maurice Island*, it produces two other kinds of wood, greatly resembling it in quality; one red, the other yellow as wax. The woods abound with such quantities of birds, and so tame, that they may be taken by one's hands. On the coast is an extraordinary species of swan, which we will not venture to describe after *La Croix*, as it seems to be a creature of his own imagination; at least so extraordinary a bird would require the best authority to attest its existence, before we can believe that it is found only in this one island, and this single author.

THE *Dutch* have a fort, well mounted with cannon, and garrisoned with fifty men; besides which there are, or at least there have been, upwards of eighty families on the island, who keep a great number of slaves employed in the plantations. Here they touch in their passage from the *Cape of Good Hope* to *Batavia*; and as neither of these colonies are well stocked with timber, it is probable they are supplied from *Mauritius*. It is said they have a great number of saw-mills on the coast; which corroborates the conjecture that a quantity of timber is shipped off from hence; but the reason the *Dutch* first possessed themselves of the *Mauritius* was, that they might have a place of refreshment between *Europe* and *India*; having at that time no other, the colony at the *Cape* not being established. So long a voyage required that the seamen should rest and recover themselves from the fatigue and sickness which generally attend long confinement, and the putrid habit contracted by eating salt provisions in a hot climate. For this purpose, next to the *Cape*, they could not have fixed upon a better place than the island of which we are now speaking; whose temperature, fresh water, fruits, timber, and secure harbour, give it every advantage over any other beyond the *Cape*.

- UNDER the latitude of 19 degrees 50 minutes south stands the island of *Diego Roderiguez*, Roderiguez about 22 leagues east of *Madagascar*, says *La Croix*; though *Roberts*, *De Lisle*, and other f geographers, place it at least that distance east of *Mauritius*. That it is inhabited, is all that voyagers relate of it. In the 16th degree of south latitude, directly opposite to the coast of *Sofala*, are placed, by late geographers, the islands called by the *Portuguese*, *Ilhas Primieras*; and other islands, called *Angoxas*, in number four, opposite to *Mozambique* (K).

* MANDESLOE, ubi supra, p. 756.

† LA CROIX, t. iv. p. 572.

vented the company from attending to *Castleton*; namely, the danger of the coast, and the badness of the harbours. The *French*, however, claim the property of the island of *Bourbon*; but for what reasons we know not.

(K) We cannot help taking notice of the ignorance

or carelessness of most of the modern compilers, both *French* and *English*; an instance of which now occurs: some of them placing these islands west, and others east, of *Madagascar*. Certain it is, that all the best maps place *Roderiguez* east of the *Mauritius*.

HERE are also several small islands, called *Utiques*, placed by *La Croix* opposite to *Cape St. Sebastian* on the coast of *Sofala*, and under the latitude of 24 degrees, nine miles from the continent; yet these we have reason to believe to be the little cluster of islands which stand off *St. Sebastian*, on the north-west end of *Madagascar*, east of the *Comorro* islands. They produce rice, millet, and great abundance of cattle; there is also ambergrise found on the sea-coast, which the *Moors* collect and export to different parts of the continent. But the most valuable commodity of these islands is a pearl-fishery, which might turn to good account, if the natives understood their virtue, and did not spoil their colour and transparency, by boiling the oysters in which they are found. In this kind of merchandize do the inhabitants, who are all *Mohammedans*, traffick with the neighbouring islands, with *Madagascar*, and the continent.

Madagascar
Island.
Different
names, and
discovery of it.

THIS great island, the largest in the world, called generally by geographers *Madagascar*, and, in the language of the country, *Madecase*, or, according to *Thevet*, *Albargra*, and, by the *Persians* and *Arabians*, *Sarandib*, was discovered by *Laurence Almeida*, who first anchored in this island, *A. D.* 1506.

HE commanded a fleet of eight ships, and was son of *Francis Almeida*, the first viceroy sent to the *East Indies* by the king of *Portugal* *. The *Portuguese* denominate *Madagascar* *Ilha de San Leoranzo*, or island of *St. Laurence*; notwithstanding the island was sufficiently known, and the former name established amongst the *Europeans*. Whether it obtained the name of *St. Laurence* from *Laurence Almeida*, the discoverer, or from the day of the discovery, is uncertain; the more probable opinion is the latter, from a prevailing custom amongst the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, of calling all their new acquisitions by the name of the saint on whose festival they were made.

GASPAR DE SAN BERNARDINO, in his travels by land to *India*, following *Damiano de Goez*, pretends that the sea-coasts were discovered *A. D.* 1508; that, shortly afterwards, *Rui Pereira de Coutinho* travelled through the interior parts; and that *Triftran de Cunha* sailed afterwards round the island, by command of *Alfonso D'Albuquerque*. Many have been of opinion that this island was known to the ancients; that *Pliny* called it *Lerne*, and *Ptolemy*, *Menuthias*; but it is certain, that the ancients had no knowledge of any southern country beyond *Sierra Leona*.

Situation.

THE island extends in length from north north-east to south south-west beyond the line, and begins, says *Flacourt*, from the north point in 11 degrees; by the account of *Francis Cauche*, in 12, and some minutes; or, according to *Pyrard*, in 14, and ends in the south point in 26; which is from *Cape St. Sebastian* to *Cape St. Mary*. The distance, according to *Linschoten*, from *Cape Corienthas*, on the continent in *Africa*, is 126 leagues, from the coast of *Sofala* 110, and 44 from *Mozambique*.

Extent of the
coast.

THE length from south to north is 200 *German* leagues; and, according to *Linschoten*, 220, breadth 70, and circumference 600 (L). The sea rolls with great rapidity, and is exceeding rough at the flowings and ebbings of the tide, between the island and the continent of the *Cape of Good Hope*, forming a chanel or passage, which, at the western entry, is 85 leagues broad; in the middle, where narrowest, and opposite the island *Mozambique*, 44; but farther on eastward is extremely wide, and contains many islands. All *European* ships, in their voyages to and from *India*, unless forced by storms into other courses, generally sail through this chanel.

Figure.

THE eastern coast of this island extends directly from the north north-east to south south-west, from *Cape Itapore*, or *Fitorab*, situated in 25 degrees 6 minutes of south latitude, to the bay or gulph of *Antongil*, and from thence directly north to the end of the island. From *Cape Itapore* to the country of *Caremboule* the coast extends westward, and forms in a manner the figure of a quarter of a circle. From *Caremboule* to the mouth of the river *Sacabiti*, the coast extends north-west; and from *Sacailte* to the 17th degree of south latitude, almost north, inclining a little eastward; and from thence to 14 degrees, directly north, the extremity of the island.

THE whole coast is divided by rivers, which have their springs in the inland countries, and discharge themselves in the sea. There are many bays and gulphs, abounding in good roads and harbours; the greatest part of the south coast, from *Cape Itapore* to *Caremboule*, was inhabited by *Europeans*, chiefly *French*, who abandoned the island, through the mismanagement and bad conduct of the directors of their *East India* company.

* *Soric*, Hist. of Portugal, p. i. p. 248. *LINSCHOT*. *DAPPER*, *LA CROIX*, & mult. al.

(L) *Francis Cauche* makes the circumference amount to 800, length to 260, and breadth in one place, 100 *French* leagues.

a IN this part is the bay or gulph of *Dauphin*, thus named from *Fort Dauphin*, erected near French *first in* this place; in the language of the country, *Tholangare*, situated between two points; one is *possession*, *Cape Itapore*, in 25 deg. 30 min. of south latitude; the other called the point of the bay *Tholangare*, or *Dauphin*, in 25 deg. 10 min. of the same latitude. The bay of *Caremboule* is thirty leagues from *Fort Dauphin*, and is known to *Europeans* by the name of the *Dutch Burying-ground*: a body of *Dutch*, who had escaped being shipwrecked, repaired there^b, and were most of them massacred by the natives of *Caremboule*. There is another bay in the south point of *Madagascar*, in the route to *East India*, called the bay of the *Sun*.

THE *French* claim the honour of first discovering the maritime countries between the bay of *Antongil* and the bay of *St. Augustin*; although the *Portuguese*, in all their voyages to *East India*, have constantly, since the year 1506, anchored in this island, and improved their discoveries. The *Dutch* have followed their example; yet neither have ever penetrated so far into the country as the *French*^c.

GREAT quantities of iron and steel are found throughout this island, which their artificers *Iron and steel* forge and purify with less difficulty and labour than *Europeans*. They reduce the ore, as *mines*, brought from the mines, into powder, upon burning coals, place it between four stones, which are clayed round for the purpose, and, by continual blowing underneath with bellows, made in the shape of gun-barrels or water-pumps, the ore runs in less than an hour; the metal is afterwards extracted, and, by great heat, is formed into bars of three or four pounds weight. The provinces of *Mabafalle*, *Anachimouffi*, *Ivoronbeoc*, *Icondre*, and *Manamboule*,
c abound in mines of fine steel; and, in all parts of *Amboule*, *Anossi*, *Matatana*, and *Manghabei*, the iron is of such excellency as to differ very little from steel.

THERE are no silver, copper, lead, or tin mines; though *Offorio*, upon what authority *Silver* we cannot say, affirms that there are several of the former: but it *La Croix*, and his author, may be depended upon, what silver there is in the island was chiefly cast upon the coast by a *Dutch East India* wreck. Mr. *Drury* confirms *Offorio*'s account, and speaks of silver in the mountainous and inland parts of the country, and of a white metal, much like to *British tin*^d.

THERE are three sorts of gold; the country gold, called *Malacassa*, is of a different nature *Gold* from the gold made use of in *Europe*, pale, and as easy to be cast as lead: an ounce is worth no more than twenty florins. The gold from *Mequa*, called *Voulameneraaca*, was brought by the *Rhoandrians*, and is good and fine; the third sort is that imported by the Christians, called *Voulamen-Voutrouva*. The *Malacassa* gold is that which was formerly found in the country, of which there are mines in the province of *Anossi*, and in every quarter of the island, if credit may be given to the negroes. This gold is of three kinds; one sort exceedingly fine, called *Liteharonga*; another coarser, called *Voulamenesoutchi*; and a third, a middling sort between the preceding two, called *Abetlavau*.

THE rivers and brooks are rich in various kinds of precious stones, in chrystal, topazes, *Precious stones*, granates, amethysts, eagle-stones, emeralds, sapphires, hyacinths, jaspers, and blood-stones, called by the natives *Rbahamanga*, and by physicians by the Greek word *Hematites*, cornelians,
c and touchstones.

THE waters in several provinces are extremely particular, running under ground, and afterwards appearing impregnated with the juices they draw with them; and in this manner receiving the different tastes and qualities inherent in the metals and places through which they flow. In the valley of *Amboule* is a fountain of hot water, esteemed a sovereign remedy against all disorders proceeding from cold in the nervous parts; and the same water, taken inwardly, cures asthma, and all disorders of the lungs, removes obstructions in the loins and spleen, and expels the gravel. *Qualities of the waters.*

THERE are in several places mineral springs: a brook runs in the province of *Anossi*, near *Fort Dauphin*, whose water the *French* and negroes call *iron-water*. Near the valley of
f *Amboule* springs of salt water are found upon a high mountain, sixty miles distant from the sea; and the natives make salt of those waters. There is a spring likewise upon a mountain near *Manghafia*, whose water produces pitch. Eastward of mount *Hiela* are streams of white water, with the taste and smell of brimstone; and in the provinces of *Houlouve* and *Ivoronbeoc*, the ditches are full of saltpetre. These are convincing proofs that almost every mineral species lie concealed in the bowels of this island.

MADAGASCAR is divided into 28 provinces; *Anossi*, or *Carcaussi*; *Manatengha*, or *Manam-pani*; the valley of *Amboule*, the country of *Vobitsbang*; *Itomampo*, *Icondre*, *Vatmanabon*, *Anachimouffi*, *Eringdrane*, *Vobits-Anghombe*, *Manacarongha*, *Matatan*, *Antavaree*, *Gballem-boulou*, *Tametavi*, *Sabaveh*, *Voulovilou*, *Andovouche*, *Manghabei*, *Adcimou*, *Mandrerei*, *Am-
patre*, *Caremboule*, *Mabafalle*, *Houlouve*, *Siveh*, *Ivoronbeoc*, and *Machicore*. *Division of the island into 28 provinces.*

^b RENNEFORT, LA CROIX, &c. Madagascar, p. 393.

^c Id. *ibid.*

^d History of Portugal, p. i. p. 284. History of Ma-

Rivers.

THE chief rivers in this island are those of the *Franchere*, *Acondre*, *Imanbal*, *Manambatou*, *Mangbafia*, *Harangazavac*, *Fautac*, and *Sauma*, in the province of *Anossi*; *Manampani*, in the province of *Manatengba*. In the province of *Vohitsbang* the rivers *Manatengba*, *Aviboul*, *Andraghinta*, *Sandravinangba*, *Manambondrou*, *Maffianach*, and *Manangbare*. In the provinces of *Itomampo*, *Icondre*, *Vatemanabon*, *Manamboule*, and *Anachimouffi*, the rivers *Itomampo*, *Jongbainou*, *Maropie*, and *Mangbarac*. In the provinces of *Manacharongba* and *Matatana*, the river *Manangbare*. In the provinces of *Antavare*, *Anachimouffi*, and *Ambohitsina*, the rivers *Avibabe* and *Sacavil*. On the coast of *Tametavi* to the bay of *Antongil*, the rivers *Manangbourou*, *Manansatra*, *Morimbo*, *Simiame*, and *Manangbare*. In the provinces of *Ampatre*, *Manangbare*, and *Caremboule*, the river *Mandrerei*. In the provinces of *Mahafalle*, *Houlouve*, *Siveb*, and *Ivoronheoc*, the river *Jongbelabe*. In the province of *Mabicore*, the rivers *Ongbalabe*, *Ranoumene*, *Rancumainthi*, *Sahavianba*, *Soumaudo*, *Manatangb*, and *Manfiatre*.

The province of Anossi.

THE province of *Anossi*, or *Carcaussi*, or *Androbeizaba*, is situated in 23 deg. 18 min. of latitude, and extends from the province of *Manatengba* to the river *Mandrerei* in 26 deg. Most of the several rivers above-mentioned, which water this province, run into the *Franchere*, *Ramevate*, or *Immour*, whose spring is in the mountain *Mangbage*, and discharges itself in the sea in 25 deg. 18 min. of south latitude, two small leagues from *Fort Dauphin*, having received the rivulets *Acondre*, *Imanbal*, *Manambatou*, *Andravoule*, and several others, which run down the different mountains in this province, and are enlarged by the mixture of their waters. The mouth is often stopped, and the course to the sea interrupted, unless kept open by the overflowings of great rain and high tides. The water runs salt one league above the mouth, and particularly in a free communication with the sea. A lake is formed at the mouth, called *Ambouc*, half a league wide, and with depth sufficient for any ship, if the mouth was constantly open; which might be easily effected.

Cape St. Romain.

CROCODILES breed in this and every river in the island. The *French* call the cape, half a league distant from the mouth of the *Franchere*, and which, from the north-west along the coast, runs six or seven leagues into the sea, *St. Romain*, and the negroes *Cape Ramevate*, or *Heboale*. When the cape is passed, the coast forms a great bay, in the shape of a cross, which extends to the point of the river *Dian Panrouge*, or *Pitorab*. The land runs out in the middle of this bay, and almost forms a peninsula, called *Tbolangare*. *Fort Dauphin* lies to the north of this peninsula, and *Port Dauphin* over-against it. The *French* call this bay or gulph, from *Tbolangare* to the river *Dian Panrouge*, *Dauphin Bay*, and the country lying between the coast of *Tbolangare* and *Cape St. Romain*, the bay of *Sivoure*, from a lake of that name, which overflows in great rains, and forms itself by six or seven rivulets running into it. The other point of *Dauphin Bay* is called *Cape Itapore*; and near it is another great bay, called the *Bay of Loucar* and *Itapore*, from the name of a river, which, running from the spring in the adjacent mountains, discharges itself in this place in the sea, in 25 deg. of latitude. This bay is convenient for shipping and boats, which may ride there with great safety, though the entrance is rocky and dangerous. A small island, called by the *French* *St. Clair*, lies near; and behind that a harbour. The river *Mangbafia* is next, and runs cross a bay of the same name into the sea; and large ships may anchor there: the river is in 24 degrees 30 minutes, is navigable, and its spring is in mount *Siliva*. About half a league farther to the north-west is another small river, called *Harangazavac*. *Manambatou*, remarkable only for the rocks at the entrance, is a league and a half from the river *Mangbafia*. The two following small rivers, *Fautac* and *Sama*, have no mouth; but, when swelled with heavy rains, run into the sea. This province includes several islands and peninsulas along the coast. The country is beautiful, and fertile in pastures for cattle, and abounds in fruit-trees; and, if carefully cultivated, would produce every necessary for life; surrounded by high mountains, and diversified by numerous hillocks and fruitful plains.

Fertility and pasturage.

Towns on the river Franchere.

THERE are several towns on the river *Franchere*, and other rivers that flow into it, which belong to the chief of the country: the most remarkable are, *Franchere*, *Imanbal*, *Cocombes*, *Andravoule*, *Ambonnetanba*, *Maromamou*, *Imours*, *Marofoutouts*, and *Fanangbaa*; besides numerous villages and hamlets throughout the country. *Hatore* is seven leagues from *Fort Dauphin*, and is under the government of the dian of *Mandonbouc*. The *Portuguese* formerly had a fort near this place, on the top of a steep rock, and several buildings below, with inclosures, that furnished all sorts of provision for their subsistence; but were massacred by the neighbouring people.

THE mountains in the province of *Anossi* are covered with wood and shrubs; and, about four leagues distant from *Fort Dauphin*, the adjacent hills are quite destitute of leaves. The *French* often dug in this neighbourhood, expecting to meet with silver and gold mines; and were extremely fond of a particular place at no great distance, where springs of running water flow near each other, and empty themselves afterwards in one river. They found in this river several stones and heaps intermixed with yellow clay, and a great quantity of black and white spangles shining like silver, which they carefully pounded and washed; but the separated matter

a matter proved too light. About sixty yards above these springs, to the top of the mountains, the grass, and every sort of vegetable, appears half-dried and yellow, from a metalline sulphur which gives that colour; but the top is covered in every part with a verdure both fresh and delightful. It is reported, that the *Portuguese*, who dug at the foot of this mountain, on the north side, found gold; and that the place where they dug, after they had been drove out by the chiefs of the country, has been since filled up. Gold mines discovered by the Portuguese.

WHITES and negroes inhabit this province: the whites are distinguished, and form three estates or different degrees, by the names of *Robandrians*, *Anacandrians*, and *Ondzatfi*: the negroes are also subdivided into four classes; viz. *Voadziri*, *Lobavobits*, *Ontsoa*, and *Ondezes*. The whites, who came and settled in this island about two hundred years ago, are distinguished by the name of *Zaferamini*, or *Rabimini*, from *Imina*, the mother of *Mohammed*, or, according to others, *Zaferamini*, or race of *Ramini*, from whom they say they descend; or from *Ramnania*, the wife of *Rabourod*, the father of *Raba i*, and of *Racouvatsfi*. The *Robandrians* are distinguished from the others. Whites, or *Zaferamini*, are the first in dignity and credit above all the people of this province; and when they proceed to the election of a king, whom they stile *Ompiandrian*, or *Dian Babounche*, the sovereign is chosen from the *Robandrian* race; next to him the others hold the rank of princes, and are honoured as such by all the subjects. The *Anacandrians* are descendents of the chiefs, but who have degenerated, as the bastards of princes, or sprung from a *Robandrian*, *Anacandrian*, or *Ondzatfi* black woman. These are likewise known by the name of *Ontampassemaca*, or people from the sandy parts of *Mecca*, from whence they report they came with the *Robandrians*. The hair of the *Anacandrians* is long, and hangs down in curls like the *Robandrians*, with red skins. Both enjoy the privilege of killing beasts. The *Ondzatfi*, the lowest of these people, are descended from the bastards of the *Anacandrians*, and the offspring of those sailors who brought the *Zaferamini* to this country, or their predecessor *Dian Racoube*, or *Racouvatsfi*. The skins of the *Ondzatfi* are red, and their hair like that of the *Robandrians* and *Anacandrians*: they are permitted to kill no animal, except a chicken, and are all fishermen. Three different sorts of white inhabitants.

THE negroes, in the language of the country called *Outon Mainthi* and *Marinh*, are distinguished into four classes, as above-mentioned. The *Voadziri* are the most powerful and richest of the negroes, are masters of several villages, and descended from the original lords of the country, reduced under the dominion of the *Zaferamini*, who came and settled there: they enjoy the privilege of killing beasts, their own, or subjects or slaves property, when at a distance from the whites, or *Zaferamini*, and no *Robandrian* or *Anacandrian* in the village. The *Lobavobits* are also chiefs among the negroes, and descendants from the *Voadziri*; with this difference, that one commands a whole district, and the jurisdiction of the others extends over their own village and family. They are also permitted to kill those beasts they intend to eat, when at a distance from the whites. There are many, notwithstanding, who affirm, that they have no power to kill either ox or cow, though their own property, and obliged to send for a *Robandrian* or *Anacandrian* for that purpose, rich as they are, having stocks of eight hundred head of cattle. The *Ontsoa* are near relations, and next to the *Lobavobits*. The *Ondezes*, the lowest of all in the sense of the name, *Ondeze* signifying a lost man, are originally slaves by father and mother, bought, or made prisoners in war. The *Anacandrians* and *Ondzatfi*, or *Voadziri* and *Ontsoa*, in the hour of death, have the greatest difficulty to resign themselves; they cannot support the separation from their children, and part in the greatest concern and anguish of mind; being certain that the chiefs, to whom they are subject, never fail, according to custom, to rob them of their cattle, and every thing they possess, leaving a bare and naked field for them to cultivate with rice, and to plant all other necessaries for their support. The *Voadziri*, *Lobavobits*, and *Ontsoa*, enjoy the liberty of submitting themselves, upon the death of their lord or king, to any chief they please; and the new lord, in consideration and return for such homage, makes them a present; by virtue of which he becomes heir again to all their possessions, upon their demise. The *Ondezes* have no such liberty; but, in dearth and times of famine, the chiefs are obliged to support and subsist them; which, if refused, they have the privilege of giving themselves to new masters. Four different sorts of negroes.

ALL these people have neither religion nor temple; they keep up a custom of immolating beasts on particular occasions, in sickness, on planting yams or rice, on assemblies, and circumcision of children, on declarations of war, first entry into new-built houses, and on the funerals of their parents. They offer the first-born beast to the devil and to God, naming the devil first, in this manner, *Dianbilis Aminban-habare*, or, Lord Devil and God. They inherit this superstition from their *Mohammedan* ancestors, and their doctors, called *Ombiaffes*, who are the greatest impostors. Offerings to God and the devil.

THE country of *Anossi* was under the dominion of the *French*, and chiefs that resided near the coast; and, before the *French* took possession, had been governed by the *Zaferamini*, under a prince, whom they not only honoured as a king, but as God: his name was *Andian Ramach*; and when he died, *Andian Maroarive*, who was a Christian, had been baptized at

Goa, brought up by the Jesuits, and subsisted by the viceroy there, was sent into his own country, and delivered to his father *Andian Thianban*. He had been instructed in the Christian religion, could read and write in the *European* manner, and give an account of his faith; but, being with his father, returned to his former paganism, and was killed by a musket-ball, when the *French* attacked the town of *Franchere*, the place of his residence.

Captain Rivault privileged to sail thither.

In the year 1642, captain *Rivault* obtained leave and privilege from cardinal *Richlieu*, for two years, exclusive of all others, even the partners, to send ships and forces to *Madagascar*, and the neighbouring islands, in order to establish a colony, plantation, and commerce, who erected a society for this purpose, under the name of a *French East India* company; and the grant was drawn out with an addition of ten years more privilege, to the year 1661.

Takes possession in the king's name.

The company, in *March* 1642, sent the first ship under the command of captain *Coquet*, who was going to load ebony at *Madagascar* on his own and some private merchants account, with two governors, whose names were *Pronis* and *Fouquenbergh*, and twelve *Frenchmen*, to remain there, and wait the arrival of a ship, which was to sail from *France* in *November*. *Coquet* arrived there in *September*, having in his way anchored at the islands of *Mascarenha* and *Diego des Rois*, and took possession of them in the king's name, and sailed further on towards *St. Mary's Island* and the bay of *Antongil*, where he did the same. *Fouquenbergh* and *Pronis* stopt at length in the port of *St. Lucia*, or *Manghafia*. The ship *St. Laurence*, sent by the company under the command of captain *Giles Resimont*, arrived on the first of *April* following at *Madagascar*, at the time that *Coquet* was gone to load in the provinces of *Anossi* and *Matatane*. *Resimont* brought seventy fresh men for *Pronis*, who lay sick near a month at *Manghafia*, by the bad air and situation of the place, where a third part of his men died (C).

French opposed at their first landing.

The negroes, encouraged by the whites, meditated an opposition on the first arrival of the *French*; but the design was stifled in its birth by the diligence and presents which *Pronis* made to *Dian Ramach*, lord of the country. Upon this success, *Pronis* sent twelve *Frenchmen* to settle and erect buildings in the province of *Matatane*. Upon their arrival, a party advanced about eighteen leagues into that province, towards *Mannzari*, to buy rice and other provisions, and to discover the country; but six were killed in crossing a river by the chiefs of those places, who had assembled in great numbers, under *Zaze Rabimina*, a near relation to *Dian Ramach*, and to the chiefs of the province of *Anossi*. *Resimont's* son, and six sailors, employed in loading of ebony, were also destroyed in the province of *Vohitsbang*. This opposition was owing to the intrigues of the chiefs of *Anossi*, who, not daring to undertake any thing openly in their own provinces, for fear of making the *French* their enemies, had secretly encouraged the neighbouring chiefs. *Resimont* loaded as much ebony afterwards as was possible, and sent six more *Frenchmen* into *Anossi*, where *Pronis* was at that time, who had never changed his residence during the absence of *Resimont*; but having withdrawn from *Port St. Lucia*, or *Manghafia*, went with all his forces to the bay of *Tbolangare*, in the province of *Anossi* (D), where, about the year 1644, they began to fortify themselves; and, having reduced almost the whole province by force of arms, built a fort in 25 deg. 6 min. of south latitude, and named it *Fort Dauphin*; most advantageously situated, on account of the harbour, which is sheltered on every side from dangerous winds, and whose entrance is convenient for all sorts of shipping. *Fort Dauphin*, so called by *Pronis* (E), who was the first *Frenchman* that resided in that country with the dignity of governor, stood contiguous to one point of the bay or gulph of *Tbolangare*, situate in 25 deg. 6 min. of south latitude, opposite *Cape Itapere*, 20 min. further. Many buildings were erected behind the fort, adjoining to the governor's house, with great inclosures, that produced every sort of fruit and kitchen-herb. In the year 1656, the fort took fire by an unforeseen accident, and was destroyed; but soon after re-established. The *French* kept a strong garison, under the direction of a governor, who resided there by the king's appointment, and carried on a troublesome war with the neighbouring people, and particularly the *Lobavobits*. They over-ran the moun-

Fort Dauphin erected.

(C) No sooner had the natives observed their intention, but they used their utmost art to prevent their fortifying themselves *.

(D) The *French* landed two hundred men, well armed and provided with store of ammunition, and other necessities for building, and immediately began a fort. This created a war, in which the *French* were victors, and suppressed the natives; who in time became better reconciled to them, tho' secretly disgusted at the deaths of their king and his brother, and likewise at the indignity shewn to the prince whom they sent into *France*, when their ships sailed from the island †.

(E) The *French*, by their artful and cunning deportment, gained such friendship that they married, and lived up and down in several towns at some distance from each other, not above five or six in a place, in great tranquillity, for some years; but at last, their families growing numerous, the natives became jealous, resolved to free themselves from a foreign yoke, and formed a conspiracy to cut off all the white men in one day; which they effected soon after, not leaving a white man alive ‡.

* *Drury*, p. 103.

† *Idem*, *ibid*.

‡ *Idem*, *ibid*.

- a tains, ransacked the houses and villages, and carried away their cattle. In the year 1651, *The French Flacourt*, the French governor in this island, ravaged the country of *Franchere*, with eighty *Frenchmen*, and some negroes, armed with shields and darts, who destroyed, by his order, the houses and huts of those barbarians, and carried off numbers of cows and oxen. The best and first property belonging to the *Robandrians*, consisting chiefly of houses and provisions, was by these means destroyed. Many of the natives conceived an extraordinary aversion to the French, from a sale of slaves of both sexes, which *Pronis* made to the Dutch governor of the island of *Mauritius*, who came there to purchase; but what provoked and enraged them most, and raised the strongest hatred to the French, was their selling sixteen ladies of the *Lobavobit* race among the slaves; the greatest part of whom died in the passage, and the remaining few, upon being landed, fled immediately, and lived wild in the woods.

The French commit hostilities.

Become hateful for their cruelty.

THE province of *Manatengba*, or *Manampani*, so called from a river of the same name which waters it, is situated in 23 degrees of south latitude, and is a fertile and agreeable country. The valley of *Amboule* is something more northward, at the mouth of this river.

Province of Manatengba described.

THE river *Manampani*, whose mouth is situated in 23 degrees 30 min. of south latitude, or under the tropic of *Capricorn*, has its source in the valley of *Amboule*, receiving several springs from the mountains of *Encalida*, *Hielea*, and *Mangbaze*, waters the whole valley, and runs its course directly east.

river.

- In this valley stands the large town of *Amboule*. The country produces plants and fruits in plenty, chiefly white yams, and the herb *Sesame*, from whose squeezed seeds is drawn the oil *Menachil*. The oxen and cows are extremely fat, and their flesh is excellent. Iron-mines are also found here. Near the town of *Amboule* is a fountain of hot water, within twenty feet of a small river, whose sand is almost burning. The water of the fountain is said to boil an egg hard in two hours; and the inhabitants affirm the water to be a sovereign remedy against the cold gout.

Fertility.

THE people of this part are employed in different preparations of iron and steel, which they have from their own mines, and forge darts and various other instruments in a workman-like manner.

Employment of the natives.

- THEY are governed by a *Voadziri*, whom they honour with the title of *Great Lord*, or *Rabertau*, who, in cattle and other provisions, is the most considerable and richest of the chiefs in this country. *Rabertau* exercises sovereign authority and absolute power; but is frequently, in times of distress, surprised by his subjects, who assemble in great numbers, seize his person, and threaten him with death, unless relieved. To extricate himself from this dilemma, the chief is instantly obliged to issue orders for distributing provisions amongst them; but is usually repaid with interest, a quadruple return being made in a plentiful harvest. The people of the valley of *Amboule* live in great licentiousness with their superiors, and their country is the retreat for the roguish and lazy.

Government.

- IZAME, a small province, is situated to the west of this valley. The inhabitants work neatly in all sorts of iron instruments; and *Menachil*, or oil from the seeds of *Sesame*, is made in great plenty. The natives of this part, who are reckoned to be about 800 in number, are the most enterprising and best soldiers of the island, and are governed by a *Voadziri*, a near relation to *Rabertau*.

Province of Izame.

THIS province extends from the river *Manatengba*, situated in 23 deg. 30 min. to the river *Manangbare*, and stretches up the country as far as the river *Itomampo*, bordering upon *Anradjaboc*, near the source of the river *Mandrerei*, and the country of *Fanghaterra*, and includes the province of *Manacarongba*, near the river *Manambondrou*.

Province of Vohitsbang.

- THE rivers that water the province of *Vohitsbang*, are the *Manatengba*, which runs into the sea with four mouths, *Vinangadimo*, *Manamaza*, *Sagandacan*, and *Vinangavarats*. The river *Aviboule*, which the French call *St. Giles*, distant four leagues from *Manatengba*, is navigable, and runs strait to the sea. The river *Andragbinta* is two leagues higher up. The *Sandravinangba*, that has no mouth, and runs from the mountains of *Viboule*, is one league beyond. *Manambondrou*, without any mouth also, is three or four leagues further. The river *Massianach* is fifteen leagues from the river *Aviboule*, with a bay convenient for boats, called by the French *L'Anse des Borgnes*, from a one-eyed chief of the country, called *Ontan-nalera*. The country adjoining to this river is called *Manacarongba*. Four leagues northward is the river *Manangbare*, with seven mouths, almost all choaked up with rocks, which rises in the country of *Itomampo*, towards the east, and is made by three other rivers, the *Jonghainou*, *Itomampo*, and *Mangarac*; and these three uniting their waters lose their names, by forming the river *Manangbare*.

Rivers.

- THE sea-coast from the river *Mangbafia* to *Sandravinangba* is hid with the high mountains of *Viboule*, or *Vohitsbang*, which are covered with thickets, and the vallies below abound in honey. It is believed that a great quantity of gold might be found here. The whole country

Fertility.

try

try of *Vobitsbang* is mountainous ; which may be discovered at a great distance upon the sea ; and abounds in honey, oxen, sugar-canes, yams, rice, and other necessities of life, with many iron-mines.

Character of
the natives.

THE inhabitants of this part are black, with thick, long, curled hair, extremely quarrelsome, and at continual variance with each other, on old disputes, never forgot, but revived on the slightest occasions, and transmitted from father to son. They are great robbers, and frequently steal the children and slaves of their nearest relations, even for sale and transportation to distant places. They keep up an implacable hatred to the *Zaferamini*, or whites of the province of *Matatane* ; possessed with the imagination of an extraordinary power in them, by means of certain letters and characters, to bewitch and send distempers and death among them. *Ompizées*, or poor fishermen, dwell at the mouth of the river *Manatangha*.

Dress.

THEIR garments are made of the bark of a tree, called *Fautastranou* ; those brought from *Matatane* are made of another bark, called *Avo*. They travel into the provinces of *Carcaussi*, or *Ampatre*, to buy cotton apparel ; and their arms are a wooden shield, covered with the skin of an ox, and a heavy dart.

Religion.

THIS country is governed by several chiefs ; and the people have no religion, divine service, or worship, established ; but, by an ancient custom, refrain from hogs flesh, and are circumcised.

Province of
Itomampo.

THE province of *Itomampo* is about three leagues long, situated in a valley, and surrounded by high mountains ; and the best steel in the island is prepared here.

Icondre.

THE province of *Icondre* is very small and mountainous, situated in 22 deg. 30 min. south latitude. Its boundaries on the east, a little northward, are high mountains, which divide it from the country of *Itomampo* ; on the south the countries of *Vatemanabon* and *Machicore* ; on the north-west, the country of *Manamboule* ; and on the north, the mountains situated between *Jonghainou* and *Itomampo*.

Vatemanabon.

THE province of *Vatemanabon* adjoins on the east, a little northward, to *Icondre*, and the springs of the rivers *Itomampo* and *Mandrerei* ; whence likewise rises the river *Maropia* ; on the west and south to the country of *Machicore* ; and is uninhabited, being destroyed by the wars.

Manamboule.

THE east is bounded by the province of *Manamboule*, and the river *Itomampo* ; the country of *Anachimouffi* on the north ; on the west that of *Alfissach*, and on the south, the great mountains, in which is the spring of the river *Ongelabe*, which runs westward into the sea of *Mozambique*.

Anachimouffi.

THE province of *Anachimouffi*, about four days journey long, hath, on the east, the river *Jonghainou*, which runs through it ; the country of *Manamboule* on the south ; on the west, great mountains ; and, on the north, the river *Mangharac*, and the country of *Eringdrane*.

Rivers.

VARIOUS rivers water those provinces ; the *Itomampo*, *Jonghainou*, *Maropia*, and *Mangharac*. *Itomampo* waters the province of that name, and flows from the mountains of *Viboule*, wherein is its source, and that of the river *Sandravingha*, which runs cross into a part called *Houdre*, above *Ivourbon*, situated along the rivers *Manangbare* and *Jonghainou*, or middle river, running between *Itomampo* and *Mangharac*, flows from the mountains of *Icondre*, through the provinces of *Manamboule* and *Anachimouffi* ; afterwards takes its course directly north ; and having flowed in this manner for the space of four days journey, and winding in a place at a small distance from *Itomampo*, runs a short course directly west to the river *Mangharac*, situated about a league lower, where, mixing their waters in the river *Itomampo*, they make the river *Manangbare*, which gliding directly east and south-east, for the space of eight days journey, runs into the sea by seven mouths. The river *Maropia* is an arm only of the river *Itomampo*, which glides into the *Mandrerei*. The river *Mangharac* waters the north part of *Anachimouffi*.

Nature of the
country.

THE country of *Itomampo* is extremely fertile ; rice, yams, sugar-canes, and pulse, grow in abundance ; and there are great numbers of cattle. *Manamboule*, tho' hilly, is equally plentiful in the same produce ; and has some iron-mines. *Manamboule*, and the following countries, are situated and disposed in such manner, that wood is scarce, and to be had only from the high mountains. *Anachimouffi* produces great quantities of rice and yams, with plenty of cattle, and other necessities of life ; and is extremely populous.

Voadziri.

THE *Voadziri* of *Manamboule* is called *Dian Panobabe* ; and his power became great by the assistance of the *French* in the war he carried on against the neighbouring chiefs.

Eringdrane.

THE province of *Eringdrane* is bounded on the east by high mountains, on the west by three great rivers, *Manatangh*, *Zoumando*, and *Sabanangh*, which run from these mountains thro' the whole country into a great bay, situated in twenty degrees of south latitude, on the side of *Mozambique*. It is a flat country, and of great extent, and divided into the greater and lesser ; the lesser, where the river *Mangharac* takes its source, is the south, and the greater is the north part, and ends where separated by the river *Manfiatre* from *Vobitsangbombe*. The

Mangharac

- a *Mangharac* comes from mountains situated to the east of *Eringdrane*; its source is about 20 degrees 30 minutes; runs directly east for the space of three days journey, afterwards winds in a half-circle, and runs east and E. S. E. for the space of four days journey, into the *Jongbainou*, in the country of *Icondre*.

THE province of *Vobitsanghombe* is divided from *Eringdrane* by the river *Manfiatre*; is Vohitsang- bounded on the north by the country of *Ancianaſte*, on the east, by that of *Sabavez*, situated hombe. in 19 degrees 30 minutes of south latitude, and the high mountains of *Ambobitsmene* extend westward to the *Mozambique* sea, and end on the south side in the province of *Eringdrane*. The river *Manfiatre* has its source in *Eringdrane*, in 19 degrees latitude, and runs between the country of *Eringdrane* and *Vobitsanghombe*, into a bay situated in 20 degrees.

- b THE province of *Eringdrane* is very populous, can raise an army of thirty thousand men, and has great plenty of cattle upon the mountains on the east side. *Vobitsanghombe* is not inferior in numbers, and can bring into the field an hundred thousand men. The towns and houses in this part are well built, and surpass in beauty those of any other quarter. Plenty of rice grows here, and the country is rich in cattle, iron, and steel. Cloaths are made here of the rind of a tree called *Bananas*, of equal fineness with those of silk, which they also make; and both are cheap. The inhabitants are great enemies to the people of *Eringdrane*.

THE provinces of *Manacarongha* and *Matatane* are situated on the sea-coast between the Manacaron- rivers of *Manangbare* and *Mananzari*, and are bounded on the west by the mountains which gha and Ma- separate the country of *Anachimouſſi* from *Eringdrane*. The two little countries of *Ivourbon* tatane.

- c and *Saca* are comprised within the circumference of these limits.

THE river *Manangbare* is made by three different rivers, the *Itomampo*, *Jongbainou*, and *Manangbare* *Mangharac*, besides many small rivulets, which run down from the mountains. The three river. rivers joined together lose their own, and take the name of *Manangbare*, which runs into the sea with seven mouths, about four leagues distant from each other, but not navigable, on account of rocks; nor is the river, tho' sufficiently wide.

THE country adjacent to these mouths and river is called *Manacarongha*.

- d THE province of *Matatane* is situated near the river of that name, which has its spring in the mountains of the province of *Vatchei*, and runs into the sea by two mouths, seven leagues distant from each other, which form a large and delightful island, the residence of the people of *Ramin*. This country is flat, abounding with sugar-canes, honey, yams, and cattle, and is watered by many rivers abounding in fish. Sugar-canes grow in such plenty, that many ships might be loaded yearly, could the natives be brought to make sugar, and were they furnished with necessary implements. The chiefs of this country enjoy a plurality of wives, having fifteen or twenty, who live retired in separate apartments, in an inclosed place, surrounded with palisadoes, like a large town; and whoever presumes to enter it, is punished with death.

- THESE people have neither church nor mosque, are much addicted to superstition and Religion. witchcraft, give great credit to billets wrote in *Arabic* characters, called *Hiridzi*, *Mazarabou*, and *Taliffimou*, believe some preservatives against thunderbolts, rains, winds, wounds in time of war, and even against death; others as sureties against all sorts of venoms and poisons, and preserving and freeing towns and houses against plunder and fire, and as powerful and infallible preservatives against all sorts of disasters. These billets are set up by the *Ombiaſſes*, or priests, physicians, conjurors, and astrologers, who afterwards retail them to the unhappy negroes; though the greatest sale is amongst the whites, who wear them hung about their necks, sewed up in pieces of leather, silk, and stuffs. The same characters are engraved also upon gold, silver, and small pieces of flat cane, for the same purposes. The people of *Ivourbon* and *Saca* keep up, as neighbours, the same customs, and are equally addicted to witchcraft and superstition with the last-mentioned people, who lull them in their errors by selling them billets for their use in the same manner.

- f THE inhabitants of this province are of two orders, the *Zafecafimambous*, who are the chief, Zafecafimambous and Za-ferahiminas. and the *Zaferahiminas*; both which, but especially the first, are excessively ugly, and are all *Ombiaſſes*, or doctors. The *Zaferahiminas* have been greatly depressed by the latter, having nothing but slavery in their present option. Upon their attempting, about a hundred years ago, to appear as masters, they were all put to the sword, except the women and children, to whom they allotted, for their residence, an island and particular quarter, which they plant and breed cattle upon, and are called *Ontampassemaci*, or people from the sandy shores of *Arabia*, from which country they originally came. They arrived in this island in great canoes, sent, Sent to preach the Koran. according to their own account, about two hundred years ago, by the Khalif of *Mecca*, to instruct the islanders in the *Mohammedan* law. The chief and most distinguished amongst them married a black, on condition that the issue of that marriage should be all called *Zafecafimambous*, the name of their father, contrary to the custom of the south quarter of that island, where the children bear the mother's name; which custom takes place also in the province

Erect schools
for the educa-
tion of youth.

vince of *Machicore*. The *Zafecafimambous*, increasing greatly, erected schools in every vil-
lage for the education of youth, where they continue teaching to read and write in the *Arabic*
language. They have an authority over other whites, or *Ontampassemaci*, and enjoy an ex-
clusive privilege of killing cattle; and must be employed in that office. The *Ontampassemaci*
are expert, and support themselves by fishing.

Rivers.

THERE are several rivers northward besides the *Matatane*, in this province; viz.
the *Mangkasiouts*, *Manangcare*, *Mananbare*, *Itin*, *Itapoulabei*, *Itapoulofirire*, *Itapaulo-*
mainthiranou, *Faraon*, *Lomaboric*, or *Morembei*, and *Mantaraven*. The river *Man-*
ghasiouts, or *Manghasies*, is small, and about three leagues from the river *Matatane*. The
French settled a plantation on the shore; but rocks and land-banks render the navigation dan-
gerous. The river *Manangcare* is also small, and about four leagues farther. *Mananbare*,
i. e. plenty of provision, abounds with fish. *Itin*, a small pond only, is half a league from
Manackare. *Itapoulabei*, *Itapoulofirire*, and *Itapaulomainthiranou*, are three small rivers, two
leagues distant one from another, whose springs are in the neighbouring mountains. *Faraon*,
two leagues distant from *Itapaulomainthiranou*, is navigable for boats. The *Manoufi* whites
dwelt along this river, which flows from the western mountains between *Eringdrane* and
Matatane. *Lomaboric*, or *Morambei*, is a large river, three leagues from *Faraon*, which
runs six or seven leagues more westward. *Mantaraven* is a small river, about six leagues
distant from *Morambei*.

Antavare.

THE province of *Antavare* is situated to the north of *Matatane*, in 21 deg. 30 min. of
south latitude, and bounded by the province and cape of *Manoufi*; the greatest part of it is
watered by the river *Mananzari*, whose source is in the mountains of *Ambobitsmene*, or red
mountains, situated about twelve leagues farther north-west, and runs south-east and east.
About a league more to the north is another small river, that runs into the sea.

Manoufi.

The province of *Manoufi* extends from *Cape Manoufi* and *Mananzari* to the river *Manan-*
ghourou, situated fifteen leagues farther north, which flows from the high mountains of *Am-*
bobitsmene, as well as the river *Mananzari*. Three more rivers run between *Cape Manoufi* and
the *Mananghourou*; viz. *Andrasadi*, *Tentamamou*, and *Tentemami*. The river *Mananghourou*
is the next.

ANTAVARE is extremely fertile in rice, yams, bananas, sugar-canes, and honey, of which
wine is made, and abounds in cattle and goats, and all sorts of fowls and provisions. The
French discovered in this province gold-dust by the means of negroes, who offered it to
sale.

Ambobits-
mene.

THE province of *Ambobitsmene* is situated north and west of *Antavare*, and takes its name
from the red mountains of that name, situated in 20 deg. of south latitude. These high
mountains are seen at a great distance on the sea, and resemble the *Tafelberg* of the *Cape of*
Good Hope. This country joins to, or is rather the same as, *Vobits-anghombe*; and the sea is
on one side of this long ridge of mountains, which extends fifteen leagues into the country,
and a flat country on the other, abounding in ponds and marshes. Here is also a lake fifteen
leagues in length, and the same in breadth, containing several small islands.

Inhabitants.

THE *Zaferabongs* live upon those mountains in the country of *Famentara*, are rich in gold,
iron, cattle, rice, sugar-canes, yams, silk garments, and many other necessaries of life.

Avibahe ri-
ver.

ABOUT twelve leagues distance from the river *Mananghourou* runs another, called *Avibahe*,
navigable for boats, the mouth always open and free; and is believed to run from the great
lake, which, in its course, discharges itself into the sea. The river *Sacavile* flows between
this and the *Mananghourou*; and, three leagues further, the river *Tsatfac* runs into a bay or
gulph, called by the inhabitants *Tametavi*. About three leagues distance the *Tametavi*, and
a league and a half further the *Ivorbon*, fall into this bay, which is navigable for ships. The
French call it *Port-aux-Prunes*, or plum-harbour.

ON the coast of *Tametavi*, as far as the bay of *Antongil*, are included the provinces of
Vouloulou, *Longue-Point*, *Andouvouche*, and the bay of *Manghabei*, or *Antongil*.

THESE countries begin at the bay or harbour of *Tametavi*, situated in 18 deg. 30 min.
and extend along the sea-coast as far as the bay of *Antongil*, or *Manghabei*, in 15 deg.
of south latitude, and border on the land-side on the mountains and provinces of *Vobits-*
anghombe and *Ansfianach*, next to *Tametavi*. Along the coast run three small rivers, *Fantac*,
Faba, *Fabo*, and *Marobarats*, at a short league's distance from each other. The *Anachinguets*,
farther on, runs into a bay named *Sabavez*, which is of great depth; the bottom is good and
sandy, but the bay is exposed to east, south-east, and east north-east winds.

Vouloulou.]

ABOUT three leagues further north is the *Cape*, which the *French*, from the form and
length, call *Longue-Point*. The adjacent country is called *Vouloulou*, and is watered by the
river of the same name. There is a fine harbour, situated under 18 deg. behind the rocks,
which runs a quarter of a league into the sea; and, five leagues further, runs a great river,
named *Ambato*, but not to the sea; and is remarkable only for rocks and sands.

THE bay of *Galemboulou* is two leagues further north, in 17 deg. 30 min. very extensive, with a good road for boats behind the rocks, but extremely dangerous, on account of them and the violence of the sea. The village of *Ratsimalone* lies upon the coast of *Galemboulou*, and is known to the *Europeans* by the name of *St. Matthew*. The river *Mananghourou*, navigable for boats, runs into the sea about three leagues from *Galemboulou*, at the end of the bay.

A SMALL island, called *Amboutnossi*, is reported to be in this part; and that a river runs from one of the mountains in the country of *Antsianach*, of the same name, directly west, into a great bay, frequented by the islanders of *Comorro*.

THE river *Mananghourou*, which flows towards the sea from west to east, is divided into four arms near the mouth; one of which preserves the name from the source to the mouth; the next is called *Manansatran*, and situated three leagues from the preceding. *Marinbou*, the third, is three leagues from *Manansatran*, has no mouth, and is directly opposite the island of *Nossi-Ibrahim*, or *St. Mary*. *Simiame*, the fourth, three leagues distant from *Marinbou*, is a great river, which continues its source to the sea, within seven or eight feet depth of water round the mouth, and is navigable for boats six or seven leagues towards the source. The river *Mananghare* is directly opposite the north point of the island *St. Mary*, and to the south point of the bay of *Antongil*, and continues its source to the sea; and is navigable for boats at the entrance.

ALONG the west coast lies the country of *Andouvouche*, or bay or gulph, so called from Andouvouche many great and contiguous bays; among which is the bay of *Antongil*, formerly called *Manghabei* by the inhabitants of the country, situated in 15 deg. of south latitude, which extends lengthways to the north, and is about six leagues wide. At the end of the bay stands an island, extremely high above water, has no plain at the bottom but the shore, two leagues round, intirely covered with the most delightful verdure, and abounding in all sorts of plants and fruit, good water, plenty of fowls, honey, and bananas; and is to sailors the most convenient and agreeable place of refreshment. There are some rocks, and three or four small islands, in the middle of the bay, from the entrance on the north-east side. Some of the islands are sown with rice, and the others are covered with wood.

THERE are three populous villages situated upon the mouths of rivers, about half-way down the bay, on the north side, and many others along the shore, as far as a river that runs to the north; and many rivers flow into the bay. Beyond these, a great river divides itself into two arms; the course of one is northwards, and the other to the westward, which forms, by the division, an island between the arms. On the north side of the bay stands a large town, encompassed with a strong palisado, and called by the *Portuguese* *St. Angelo*. Upon advancing deep in the bay, on the left hand, stands another, called *Spakenburgh*, built by the *Dutch* in 1595, in their first voyage to the *East Indies*, containing in the inclosure about two hundred houses. There is another situated upon a river that runs west south-west, with respect to the before-mentioned island.

THE coast of *Galemboule* is intirely covered, for about two leagues in width, with forests of high trees, and the interior part of the country is full of bamboos, or a kind of thick cane, called *Bambu Voulu*.

THE soil is good and fat, and, from frequent rains in the country, not subject to be parched up. The meadows produce abundant pasture; though the inhabitants are never rich in cattle, the greatest stock of the most wealthy amounting to no more than twenty or twenty-four. The mountains are peculiarly fruitful, and the towns in this part are built with more regularity and solidity, in great taste of situation, either on tops of mountains or eminences, or on the banks of rivers, palisadoed round with two gates or entries, one for the usual and ordinary goings in and out, another towards the woods, to facilitate retreats to those places of refuge and safety, when surprised by enemies, or when too weak to resist.

THE people from *Port-aux-Prunes*, to the bay of *Antongil*, practise the same customs, and are, in general, called *Zafe Ibrahims*, or race or offspring of *Abraham*, or from the name of the contiguous island *Nossi-Ibrahim*, of which they call themselves natives. The *Zafe Ibrahims* observe the sabbath-day, and disagree with their neighbours in other customs. On this account, *Flacourt* believed them descended from a race of *Jews* or *Arabs*, who formerly had taken shelter in this island. The men, women, and children, are much fairer than the whites of *Matatane* and *Androbeizaba*; their hair is long, and hanging down; they are free, liberal, hospitable to strangers, and not addicted to murder or theft; have a different manner in songs and dances from the people of *Androbeizaba*, and an observation of cadence and time, particularly in dances of two and two, and are remarkable in their stops, renewals, and motion of the arms. Love is the only subject of their songs, and the company, by clapping hands, beat time to the lascivious gestures of the body, always practised in singing, which is called *Mangharac*, or keeping of time. The men and women, in sickness, or in disorders of the eyes

or

or head, variously rub their faces with white, black, red, or yellow colours. Many, chiefly^a old women, use colours to appear more gay and youthful. The women and young maidens are less difficult than on the coast of *Androbeizaba* and *Matatane*; access to them being extremely difficult, from their parents care and inspection of their conduct.

Employment.

THE men and women in general are industrious, being employed in the rice-fields from sun-rise to sun-set. The men cut canes in the woods, burn them, and use them, when dried, to manure the land. The *Indians* call those canes *Bambu*, and the inhabitants of *Madagascar*, *Voulou*; where they are generally large. All other work is done by the women; the young plant rice in the ashes of canes, wetted by the rain for some time, in a manner equally new and entertaining, grain by grain, singing, dancing, and keeping time; then they make a hole in the earth with the point of a stick, fling in two grains, and close the hole by covering it^b with earth, and pressing it with the foot, continually singing and dancing, and shaking and stretching out the head with uncommon vivacity. They weed the rice, and in harvest-time, when ripe, carry it themselves into the barns. Whilst the women are employed in this work, the men renew the cutting and burning of canes in another place: for as soon as the rice shoots in one field, another is immediately planted. In this manner they are constantly employed, having, throughout the year, rice green, in flower, and in beard. The *Bambu* canes are remarkable for making an extraordinary loud noise in the burning.

Use they make of European commodities.

THE inhabitants of *Galemboule* make no ornamental use of *European* commodities, but esteem and preserve them with great care, to exchange afterwards for cattle from the mountains of *Ambobitsmene*, or of the country of *Antsianafita*. They have very little gold, and immediately buy cattle when possessed of any. They prefer silver to gold, a reddish kind, and that which is fine.^c

Religion.

THE natives of *Galemboule*, and all the *Zafe Ibrahims*, keep and refrain from work on the sabbath-day, believing that they should be wounded, or that sickness would be an inevitable consequence. They don't acknowledge *Mohammed*; but call his followers, and all who do not scrupulously conform to the manners and customs of their country, *Caffres*. They acknowledge *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *David*; have no knowledge of *Jesus Christ*, or any other prophet, and practise circumcision; have neither fasts, law, nor religion; and are totally ignorant of the true attributes of God, honouring him by offerings and victims of oxen, cows, and he-goats. They have no temples, but *Amounouques*, or certain places wherein are placed the^d tombs of their ancestors, to whose memory they pay great honour; an universal practice among the inhabitants of this island. Some few remains of *Judaism* seem apparent through the darkness of this surprising ignorance. They are extremely superstitious, and would sooner die than eat part of a quadruped animal, or bird, killed by a Christian or any inhabitant of the south coast (A). None but the *Filoubeis*, lords or chiefs of the country, enjoy the privilege of killing any beast or bird whatever; and this is executed with a confused utterance of particular words, when the knife is applied, and by lifting up the eyes towards heaven, in a manner seemingly of making an offering of it. All children born on *Tuesdays*, *Thursdays*, and *Fridays*, are exposed, as accursed, in the woods, to die of cold or hunger, or be destroyed by wild beasts. Some few have been released by women moved with compassion, who^e have generously hazarded their own lives to preserve theirs, and afterwards brought them up with the parents consent.

Barbarous custom of exposing children.

Government.

EACH town, being a distinct and independent republic, is governed by a master, or lord, called *Filoubei*, a name common to all the chiefs in this part (B), who distribute justice in their respective towns. One of the most antient is usually chosen from among this race, to decide all disputes that may arise, and is raised in dignity above the rest. They assist one another mutually in time of war against those of another race; and, in case of quarrels between the *Filoubeis*, and a declaration of war is likely to ensue, the others interfere as mediators, and use all endeavours for an accommodation; which, if refused, they separate, leaving them at full liberty to act as they please. The slaves are looked upon in a better light among those^f people than among those of the provinces of *Androbeizaba* or *Carcanossi*, and are not kept in that rank, their masters calling them children, and they reciprocally calling their masters fathers, eat at table with them, and frequently marry their daughters. The *Dutch* formerly frequented this bay, and traded in rice and slaves. A few years ago twelve were in the bay, and eight of them died through the unwholesomeness of the country, and the remaining four were barbarously killed by a chief of the country, called *Rabecon*. They placed their con-

Slaves treated in a kind manner.

(A) If the daughter of a king be married to any one that is not of a royal family, their children are not admitted to the honour of killing beeves, notwithstanding

the father be a freeman, and a chief among his neighbours*.

(B) All the great families have a general name of distinction, which they value themselves upon†.

* Dury's Hist. p. 173.

† Idem, p. 370.

- a fidence in him ; but he unexpectedly betrayed them, after they had freed him from another chief, his inveterate enemy, who was killed in battle by a musket-ball.

THE *Europeans* have, in these days, but little knowledge of the country beyond the bay *Employment.* of *Antongil* to the north point, excepting one province, named in their sea-charts *Vohemaro*, where rice is cultivated in the same manner, and grows as easily, as in *Galemboule*. A goldsmith, an inhabitant of *Anossi*, and whose predecessors came from *Vohemaro*, declared, according to some accounts, that great quantities of gold were found in that province ; and, what is extraordinary, that all the goldsmiths of *Anossi* are of that country. The east coast of this province forms a bay, which bears the name of *Vohemaro* or *Boamaro*, situated in 13 deg. of south latitude. The coast extends directly north of *Antongil*, as far as the north-east part of the island, called *Cape Natal*. The following account is of the coast and neighbouring country, from the mouth of the river *Franchere*, westward and northward, the coast winding round in that manner as far as the river and bay of *Jongbelake*, so called by the inhabitants of the country, and, by *Europeans*, the river of *St. Augustin*, as far as the river *Man-siatra*.

FROM the mouth of the river *Franchere* to *Cape Moncale*, the coast extends in a chain of *Coast from* sands, four leagues wide, and from *Cape Moncale* to the bay of *Ranoufoutchi*, or bay of *Ga-* *Carcanossi to* *lions*, about two leagues. Some wood grows along this sandy coast, between two bays called *Ambourve*. Aloes, called *Teteck*, is plentiful in this wood, growing in the parts adjoining to the country. *Mozambique* lies between *Cape Moncale* and *Ranoufoutchi* bay. The chief town of *Ranoufoutchi* is named *Italy*. Here large ships and boats may enter this bay, which lies open to the south and south-east winds, the most troublesome in the country, and always attended with violent thunder. *Mandrerei.*

ABOUT five leagues beyond this bay, the *Mandrerei* runs between the river and bay of *Salt easily* *Ponds*, called *Anghongs*, where great quantities of salt are made, with little care and trouble. *made.* This part is too sandy for rice ; but cotton grows in great plenty, and a large quantity of oil is drawn from the plant *Ricinus*, useful in many disorders, and proper for anointing the hair and head. About two hundred years ago, the *Portuguese* had a settlement upon the bay of *Ranoufoutchi*, and a governor, whom the natives called *Macinorbei*, a name made by joining the words *Mio Signor*, which they heard the *Portuguese* pronounce, to the word *Bei*, signifying chief in their language.

THE river *Mandrerei*, on the east of the province of *Ampatre*, divides it from *Carcanossi*. *Ampatre.* This province, along the coast, is about twenty leagues in length, and twelve broad, from the sea to *Machicore* (C). There is great scarcity of water, which is had only from a few marshes *Scarcity of* here and there, no river running through the province ; yet it is full of forests, in which the *water.* natives erect their villages, with strong hedges round them, made of stakes and thorns intermixed, and accessible only through the gates. The coast is not broke into by any bay, and extends in a straight line as far as *Caremboule*.

THE inhabitants are much given to rob their neighbours of their effects and wives, which is *Manners.* the cause of that irreconcilable hatred which subsists among the people in these parts, ready, upon the most trivial occasions, to break into wars, equally bloody and destructive. Their whole forces amount to three thousand men ; each village has a chief, and one is raised to a superior authority and credit.

THE river *Mandrerei*, which divides the provinces of *Carcanossi* and *Ampatre*, runs like a *River Man-* torrent with great rapidity, without any discharge, for the greatest part, into the sea ; the *drerei.* source rises from the same mountain with that of *Itomampo*, and runs a great way to the south-west, receiving in its course the waters of the rivers *Maropie*, *Manamboule*, and *Mananghare*, into the south ocean. *Maropie* is near the river *Icondre* ; *Manamboule* rises upon *Mount Hiela*, runs northward cross the country of *Machicore* into the river *Mandrerei* ; and *Mananghare* runs from the south-west side of the same mountain into the same river.

THE province of *Mananghare*, situated near the river of that name, is fertile and delight- *Mananghare.* ful, but uninhabited, and a retreat only for wild bears and buffaloes, which abound there. Every neighbouring chief pretending to the sovereignty and property, hinders any settlements taking place, through an apprehension and fear of continual war and plunder.

HIELA is an extreme high mountain, from whence flows the river *Manampani*, which *Mount Hiela.* waters the valley of *Amboule*, is very populous, and divides the valley from the provinces of *Machicore* and *Carcanossi*. There is a province to the west of *Carcanossi*, called *Encalida* ; between this and the village of *Amboule* lies the country of *Caracarac*.

(C) Probably this is the country where *Drury* mentions the great scarcity of water, and wherein the inhabitants and cattle are supplied by dew water, who, in the morning, collect in the fields eight or ten gallons of it, which is a good while fresh, but turns sour in a day's time, and becomes disagreeable to the taste *.

* *Drury*, p. 72.

Caremboule. THE province of *Caremboule* is but a small quarter, about six leagues in length, and three or four in breadth, and is bounded on the south by the sea, begins on the west at the bay or gulph of *Caremboule*, and ends on the east side at the river *Manambouve*, which divides it from the country of *Ampatre*. a

Rivers. THE river *Manambouve* is very deep, and about thirty leagues distant from the river *Mandrerei*; its source is in *Machicore*, and it continues its course fifteen leagues towards *Caremboule*. The *Manamba* is a small river, which rises also in *Machicore*, and, running to the south, falls into the sea 20 leagues to the west of *Manambouve*. *Menerandre* is another small river, two leagues from *Manamba*, which rises also in *Machicore*, and runs to the south south-west. There are two more small rivers, four leagues from *Menerandre*, and half a league distant from each other, whose springs are in the adjacent mountains. b

THE coast of *Caremboule*, the southernmost part of the island of *Madagascar*, extends from east to west, begins about the westernmost part from *Manamba* river to the *Menerandre*, and from thence winds north-west to the rivers of *Manamba* and *Machicore*. The country of *Caremboule* is dry and barren, with good pasture-lands notwithstanding, and plenty of cattle; it abounds, like *Ampatre*, with cotton and some silk, which is made into apparel by the inhabitants. Numbers of buffaloes are met with along the banks of the *Manambouve*, formerly domestic animals, but become wild, as the natives report, by running in the forests for fifty years, during the continual wars amongst the inhabitants of this part.

Mahafalle. THE province of *Mahafalle*, situated more to the north-west on the sea-side, extends as far as the salt river, called by the *Portuguese* *Sacalite*, and fifteen leagues distant from the rivers *Manamba* and *Machicore*. The river *Sacalite*, situated in 25 deg. of south latitude, flows from the country of *Houlouve*, and runs into a gulph, an accustomed anchoring-place to the *Portuguese*, and never frequented by the *French*. c

Houlouve river. HOULOUE begins at the mouth of the river *Sacalite*, and extends above two days journey up the country. *Siveb* extends four leagues along the coast, in a strait line. *Iveronbeoc*, or country of the bay of *St. Augustin*, is the next, and situated near the river *Jonghelabe*.

Jonghelahe river. THE river *Jonghelabe*, besides many rivulets, receives the waters of three rivers, *Randumainthi*, *Ongbelamasse*, and *Sacamare*, and flows westward, inclining something south, from the source in the mountains of *Manambouve*, and falls into the sea at an extremely fine bay, which the *Portuguese* have for many years called the bay of *St. Augustin*, but retains to these times the name of *Jonghelabe* amongst the inhabitants; it is situated under 23 deg. of south latitude, and sheltered from the most dangerous winds, is navigable for great ships from the south to north-west, but hath rocks on both sides, which render the entrance dangerous, tho' there are six or eight feet depth of water in every other part of the bay. On the south side of this gulph stands a fort, built formerly by the *French*, quadrangular, with four small bastions, surrounded by pallisadoes, and a ditch full of water, eighteen feet wide, and two feet deep, not walled round, or built upon an eminence, but upon a level with the adjoining country, with a way fifteen feet wide crosses the ditch, to enter the fort. The *English* generally cast anchor in this bay, to take in refreshments, and land the sick men, in order for their recovery. d

Machicore. THE province of *Machicore* is of great extent, and of equal length with the river *Jonghelabe*, is seventy leagues over from east north-east to west south-west, the same from east to west, and about fifty from north to south, from the river *Jonghelabe* to the provinces of *Ampatre* and *Mahafalle*. e

THIS country was laid waste and ruined by wars; the inhabitants living concealed in woods, through fear of their enemies, upon roots only and the flesh of wild cattle. *Machicore*, *Concha*, *Manamboule*, *Alfissach*, and *Mahafalle*, were governed by one lord, called *Dian Baluoalen*, or lord of an hundred thousand parks. In the life-time of this prince, these countries enjoyed a profound peace, and flourished in excess of riches and pleasure; but, upon his death, a war broke out between his sons, which was carried on with so much fury and animosity, that it ended in their intire ruin and destruction. f

Rivers. DIRECTLY north of the river *Jonghelabe* lie two large rivers, one called *Ranomaintbi*, which falls into the *Jonghelabe* twelve leagues below the source, which flows from the country of *Alfissach*. *Ranoumene* is the name of the other, which rises in, and runs from *Anachimoussi* into the sea, in a bay situated in 22 deg. of south latitude. Another river of the same name, whose course is west south-west, runs into a bay under 20 deg. of the same latitude. The *Portuguese* call the adjacent country *Terra del Gada*, or land of cattle, from their great plenty. Three more rivers, called *Sabavianb*, *Soumaudo*, and *Manatangb*, flowing from the countries of *Eringdrane*, *Sinaipati*, and *Sinaivalales*, run westward into a great bay, in 19 deg. to the west of an island. g

THE *French* have scarce any knowlege of the north part of this island; and the *Portuguese* discovered of late years only some maritime places, as the country and bay of *Pracel*, the country

- a country of *St. Andrew*, the *Cape of Donna Nostra Cunba*, *St. Andrew's* river, river of *Diego Soares*; and the *Cape of St. Sebastian* is the north-west point of this island.

THEY have six sorts of honey, called, in the language of the country, *Tentele*; bees ^{Six sorts of} honey, called *Voatentele*, honey from certain green flies, called *Sib*, and two sorts of honey ^{honey.} from ants; one sort is from winged ants, and is gathered from the hollow trees; the other sort from ants of a larger size, without wings, who make their honey in *Vontatames*, or great heaps of earth, pointed at the top, and pierced round with holes, full of these ants; all which sorts of honey are exceeding sweet. There is still another sort of honey, or rather sugar, being harder and sweeter, called *Tentele Sacondre*; honey-flies, called *Sacondre*, lay this on the leaves of particular shrubs, and are transformed afterwards into small yellow, green, or red lumps. Many, with great reason, have held this honey, or sugar, to be the *Arabian Tabaxir*, not the *Sacar-Mambu*, or sugar of *Bamboo* canes, whose juice is no better than insipid starch. There is yet another sort of honey, esteemed poisonous, being made by bees which suck the flowers of a particular tree that produces a sharp poison. This tree is found in one part of the province of *Anossi*, or *Carcanossi*, and is called *Caracàrac*.

THE inhabitants make three sorts of wine; the first and most common is that which is ^{Three sorts of} made of honey; the second of sugar, called *Touach*, or *Touapare*, which signifies sugar-wine; ^{wine.} it tastes bitterish, like strong-beer, or apricot-kernel. A great quantity of it is made in the provinces of *Manamboule*, *Matatane*, and *Manghabei*, in the following manner: the sugar-canes are boiled in water to two-thirds, afterwards put into large gourds, and, in three days, the wine is so strong and penetrating, as, in a night's time, to eat through an egg-shell. The third sort is made with the fruit of *Banana*, boiled four or five hours, which makes a sourish wine, like cyder.

OILS are of different sorts, and made use of by men and women to rub the head and body: ^{Oils.} the most common and known are those of *Menachtanbetanbe*, *Menach* signifying oil, *Menackil*, *Menachouivau*, *Menachmafoutra*, *Menach-vourave*, *Menach-apocapouc*, *Menach-vintang*, and *Menach-arame*. *Menach-tanbetanbe* is an oil drawn from a particular plant, called, in the language of the country, *Tanbetanbe*, and known in *Europe* by the name of *Palma Christi*, or *Ricinus*. *Menackil* is an oil from the seed of *Sesame*, which they call *Voancaze*; a great quantity whereof is made in the valley of *Amboule*. *Menachouivau* is drawn from a fruit of the size of an almond, and is extremely good in liquors or meats. *Manachmafoutra* is drawn from nuts, the fruit of the tree which produces dragon's blood. *Menach-vourave* is drawn from a fruit named *Fonté*. *Menach-apocapouc* is squeezed from the fruit *Apocapouc*, extremely poisonous. *Menach-vintang* is an oil from large acorns, or mast. *Menach-arame* is drawn from nuts, the fruit of the tree from which the gum *Tacamabaca* is produced. The soil is various; there is a red earth, the same, or of equal goodness, with that called by apothecaries *Bole Armenian*, and that called *Terra Sigillata*, brought from the isle of *Lemnos*; but *Flacourt* equally esteems that of *Madagascar*. The red earth is called by the inhabitants *Tamene*, and the *Terra Sigillata*, *Tavelisse*; an earth as white as chalk, fat and clayey, and may be used instead of soap, to wash and whiten linen.

SEVERAL sorts of gum grow in this island, which they call *Lite*; and some are fragrant ^{Gums.} and odoriferous, such as the *Litementa*, or benjoin; *Literame*, or gum *Tacamabaca*; *Lite Fimpi*, an odoriferous gum of the tree *Fimpi*; *Lite Enfouraba*, a green gum, of a balsamic odour, from the *Fouraba*; *Quizomainthi*, a black gum, made use of in fixing the darts in their handles; *Hingue* is likewise a black gum of great fragrancy; *Litiminthi*, another black gum, viscous, and becomes dry; it comes from a tree in the province of *Manghabei*, and is like *Acacia*. The women make use of this gum in painting their faces, and it heals wounds and ulcers. *Litin Bitsic*, a species of gum made by ants in the province of *Ampatre*, is white, and hangs by the branches of trees; its inside is intermixed with small ants; and is also made use of to fix darts in handles. *Fanalouc* is nothing but a musk which comes from an animal of the size of a cat. *Varabanga* is a gum which yields an odour like that of incense. *Liturba* is dragon's blood. *Litin Barencoco* is another species of dragon's blood. *Litinpane* is a gum, or yellow resin, extremely fragrant, from a tree called *Fane*. *Vabonlitintang* is the juice of the plant or tree *Vintang*, or aloe. *Litinbaronga* is a yellow gum, which comes from a tree whose flowers yield the bees the sweetest matter for honey.

THIS island produces in great plenty various sorts of plants, eatable and medicinal. Rice, ^{Plants and} which they call *Varemanghe* and *Vatomandre*; there are four sorts of the first, two white and ^{other vege-} bearded, the other reddish, without beards, and of a rose colour when boiled. The rice ^{tables.} named *Vatomandre* grows only in winter, is smaller, and of a bitter taste. There is another species called *Varebondre*, only nominally different from *Varemanghe*, which is sown in the summer for a winter harvest, of no great account, and never sown but in failure of the other. There are several kinds of yams, which they call in general *Ouvi*, as *Ouvihare*, of *Soabei*, *Cambares*, *Ouvifoutchi*, *Ofeque*, *Mavondre*, *Maleve*, *Randre*, and *Dambarn*. The *Ouvifoutchi* are

are the best and dearest ; the *Soabeis* are the next, and white ; the *Cambares* are of a violet a colour, and the rest of a light grey. The *Ouvifoutchis* grow to a great size in a fat soil, and generally as large as the leg ; one hundred and fifty of these roots are the worth of an ox. The *Soabeis* are but half as big. The *Cambares* and *Ouvibares* are of equal size ; one hundred and fifty of these are given for one hundred *Ouvifoutchis*. Sometimes one plant of *Ouvifoutchi* will produce two, though they commonly shoot but one ; but three or four roots spring from one plant of the *Cambares* or *Ouvibare*. The *Ouvibares* are the least and cheapest, but are good ; they take root easier than the others, and are the common food for slaves : they cut them into four, five, ten, or twelve pieces, and plant them by handfuls to take root, and in eight months time they are quite ripe. The *Ofeque* root is a species of yam, or *Ouvi*, but bitter ; the islanders steep and boil the bitterness for traffick, and the negroes make b their nicest meats of it ; and several, when the bitterness is gone, dry them hard in the sun, and preserve them two or three years without being spoiled. The *Maxondre* root is a kind of rice, of the most agreeable taste ; one plant often shoots ten or twelve roots, but never larger than hens eggs : they have the chesnut taste in a superior excellence, and are lighter upon the stomach ; their outside skin is thin and bitter, and they are planted whole. The *Ouvi*, called *Maleve*, differs little from the *Soabei* and *Ouvibare*. There are various sorts of *Ouvi* that spring up of themselves, which are *Ouvi-in-lasso*, *Ouvi-randre*, *Ouvi-dambou*, *Fangbitz*, *Vabala*, *Fandre*, *Hompouc*, with several others, which they eat and seek for in the fields and woods. *Ouvienpasso* have roots of the length and thickness of the arm, equal in taste with the ripe *Cambares*, and grow in woods by the sea-side. *Ouvi-dambous* are like vine roots, c produce black berries with the taste of musk ; their shoots die every year ; the leaves, like vine leaves, are unpleasant, insipid, and hard to digest, and are never eat but in times of scarcity and extreme necessity. *Vabala* grows under ground as large as great bowls, the rind grey, are eaten both dressed and raw, and are plentiful in several provinces. The *Ompilampes*, a people who neglect agriculture, live only on those roots. *Fangbitz* are roots of an extraordinary largeness, covered with a reddish rind, are sometimes found of the size of a man, extremely sweet, yet more disagreeable, from their moisture, than the *Vabalas* ; and they satisfy hunger and thirst together, are of easy digestion, and diuretic, and grow under low hedges. The *Hompouc* and *Fandre* roots are well-tasted. The aforementioned *Ompilampes* and *Ompizeis*, who neither plant nor sow, take no other nourishment. The *Sonzes* are cab- d bages, whose leaves are round, and of exceeding magnitude ; the leaves have the taste of cabbage, and the roots that of artichoke bottoms. *Houmins*, or *Voamitsa*, are small roots like turnips, about the size of the thumb, one plant producing a hundred roots in a year. There are three sorts of *Nenufar*, with white, yellow, and violet flowers ; all are deemed food, and, like chesnuts, are eat boiled or roasted ; that with the violet flower is greedily eat by both sexes as a provocative ; the white and the yellow have a contrary effect.

Grain, fruit,
&c.

GREAT quantities of barley, which they call *Apembe*, grow in this country exceeding high, is ripe in the month of *June*, but of hard digestion. The *Voangbembes* are small beans, agreeable to the taste whether ripe or otherwise, but are heavy on the stomach ; are sown in *June*, and ripen in three months. The *Voandfourous* are small peas, of the size of lentils, e grow easily, and are sown at the same time with the *Voangbembes* beans. *Antac* is a kind of *French* bean. *Voandrou* is a kind of bean produced with great ease ; the fruit lies under ground with one bean in each pod : this, with great probability, is the *Arachidna* of *Theophrastus* : the leaves, like trefoil, are three and three, without branches or stalks, excepting those of the leaves. The *Varvates* resembles the caper-tree, blossoms in the same manner, each pod containing one small pea of the size of a lentil, not inferior to the *Voandfourou* : this plant is very fruitful, and grows to the height of a cherry-tree. Silk-worms are fed with the leaves of this tree in the province of *Alfissack*. Bananas grow in several places, but chiefly in the provinces of *Manamboule* and *Icondre* ; the inhabitants mix them in all their dishes ; some are as long and thick as the arm, called *Oufi* ; others bear fruit about half that bigness, f some no larger than the thumb, and others still less, which are called *Acondres*, of a green colour, whether young or old, with an hundred in a bunch. These roots are the constant food of the inhabitants, are good eating, very nourishing, and, when ripe, roast like apples. Some are plucked green, and hung up to ripen. In the province of *Eringdrane* the bark of this tree is spun for cloathing. The *Ananas*, called *Manassi* by the inhabitants of *St. Mary's* island, and of the bay of *Antongil*, grow in great plenty ; but those of that island exceed what are found in the neighbourhood of *Fort Dauphin*. The water-melons are of two kinds, one with black, the other with red seeds, and yield great relief in the hot season. They have such melons as in *Europe*, and pumpkins, whose first seeds were imported from *France*. The gourds are of two kinds, long and round ; the long are dressed before they are ripe, and eat g with milk, and, when dried, are made use of for bottles. They have great plenty of sugar-canes, principally in the provinces of *Matatane*, *Manamboule*, *Antavare*, *Galemboule*, and the island

Bananas.

Ananas.

Sugar-canes.

- a island of *St. Mary*. The inhabitants reap only the small advantage of bad wine, from their want of knowlege to make sugar ; but the wine is so penetrating as to exceed the strongest juice of lemon, and will cut through a stone cup in a night's time. *Voanato* is the fruit of a large tree that grows by the sea-side ; its meat, though clammy and viscous, is nourishing ; the natives eat it with milk or salt : the wood is very solid, proper for building, extremely clean and smooth, and not subject to rot or be worm-eaten. *Vontaca* is a fruit of the bigness of a quince, its coat as hard as a gourd, full of flat seeds ; the juice and soft meat, when ripe, is of an excellent flavour and taste, and casts the most fragrant smell ; but is prejudicial and hurtful to the stomach, if not perfectly ripe. *Garcias* calls these fruits *Bengal* quinces, and *Durant*, *Marmemelos de Bengala*. Its wine has the taste of beer, is laxative, and gives pains ; the ripe fruit fattens the hogs. They
- b have great plenty of the white pepper ; the woods near *Manghabei* are loaded on all sides *White pepper*. with this pepper ; turtle-doves and wood-pigeons feed on it, and it ripens in the months of *August*, *September*, and *October*. The great *Cardamum*, or *Langouze*, otherwise *Malaguet*, or grain of paradise, grows in great abundance near the province of *Galemboule* ; the fruit is red as scarlet, the meat white, of an agreeable and tart taste, with black seed. There is likewise true ginger, though not plentiful, by *Flacourt's* account ; but *Francis Cauche* affirms *Ginger*. that it grows throughout the island ; and that the islanders plant it round their houses, to receive the rain which falls on the leaves, and round the bee-hives, as food for the bees. On the mountains another kind grows, called *Sacaviro* of *Ambou*, which signifies hog-ginger. *Flacourt* affirms it to be only the *Zedoaria*. Coco-nuts are scarce, and, by the report of the *Coco-nuts*. inhabitants, were formerly unknown. About a hundred years since, the fruits were fortunately drove on the coast by the waves of the sea, which produced the first trees of this kind. This account seems probable, as in these days those nuts were seen floating near the shore, which, without doubt, came from some adjacent country, whose coast abounded with that sort of tree. The *Indian* saffron, which by the famous *Linschoten* is called *Curcuma* and *Cunbet*, *Saffron*. grows likewise in this island. *Saracine* resembles ginger in taste and its yellow colour, is not so tart, and is used to colour and relish the meat. *Voatzarte* grows upon small trees with broad leaves ; the fruit is gathered like onions, of the size of an egg, full of juice within, like the coco-nut ; the peel dried has an aromatic taste, and is eatable ; the natives make ropes, mats, and baskets, of the leaves. *Achith* is a kind of plant, that creeps on the ground
- d like a vine ; the leaves are round, pointed at the end, and dented like ivy, and always green ; the fruit, of the size of an unripe grape, ripens in the months of *December*, *January*, and *February*. The true vine abounds in the country of *Alfissack*, and the grapes are ripe in *January*. *Amboutou* is a small plant like flax, of a bitter styptic taste ; the natives chew this plant to blacken the teeth, lips, and gums ; it is corroborative, and, in times of famine, is eat to support and preserve strength. *Lengou* is the fruit of a creeping plant, of the size of a nut, thick-shelled, and tastes like the large green plum ; the skin pounded colours black, and is made use of for that purpose by the natives. *Zanale* is a fetid creeping herb, in great request and esteem among the natives for the same purpose, as also for the cure of ulcered gums ; the breath becomes strong, which renders their persons insupportable. There grows a plant
- e also, which the *Indians* call *Betel*, or *Betbre*, the *Arabians* *Tamboul*, and the islanders *Tamboure*, which they constantly chew with thyme and *Voadourou* fruit, after the *East Indian* manner. In the province of *Matatane* the fruit *Fourenfourou*, or *Indian Areca*, prevails. *Banghets*, *Banghets*. called by the *Indians* *Anger*, is the plant of which indico is made, in the following manner : a great quantity of the plant, when it first blossoms, is steeped in water, together with the stalks and leaves, which, being well stirred, putrify in three or four days ; the water becomes by the infusion of a violet colour, is cleared of the stalks and leaves, and then mixed and incorporated with a proportionable quantity of olive-oil, is afterwards run off by a hole in the bottom, through a sieve, into a tub underneath, and the dye in the settling sinks like
- f dregs to the bottom : the water is drawn off by pipes, or dipping of rags, which are squeezed till nothing but the dreg remains ; and this dried in the shade is the true indico. *Fanshaa* *Fanshaa*. is a great and high tree, which yields a reddish liquor, a considerable time after it is cut down ; the leaves are like fern, the wood veiny and hard, but soft in the middle. *Rauver* is *Rauver*. a tree whose leaves, like aloe, are half an ell long, but thinner, and made use of to cover huts and cottages, and called *Fandre*.

- LATACANGHOMELAHE, or bull-stone, from the resemblance in the fruit, is a creeping *Latacangho-* plant, of a white blossom, with the smell of, but larger than, jessamin. *Singefau* is a large *melahe*. leaf, three palms long, and four fingers broad, of a plant which cleaves to trunks of trees ; this leaf, bruised and applied to the eye, is said to clear the eye-sight. *Rhomba* is an herb *Rhomba*. that shoots great leaves, grows two cubits high, has the smell of cloves and cinnamon, and is a species of balsam. A great quantity of the eastern *Cyperus* is found on the sides of the rivers and marshes, which the natives call *Mouyta*, and use it in disorders of the head. *Longue*, *Longue*. like the *European* soap-wort, bears a flower resembling jessamin ; the root is bitter, and is

- good against the heart-burn and all sorts of poison : there are two sorts, one shoots white, the other purple flowers ; that with the white has the most virtue. *Anramatico* is a great plant two cubits high, with shoots at the end of the leaves a palm long, an hollow flower, with a particular and most curious fruit, in the form of a vase and cover, of two kinds, red and yellow : the natives, who believe that rain would immediately follow the gathering this fruit, refrain from it upon their journies ; but *Europeans* have found by experience these relations to be romantic, and without foundation. The flowers are full of water, and hold a gallon.
- Voame*. *Voame* are diminutive peas, or red beans, produced by a small creeping plant. The goldsmiths of this country, who have no notion of borax, solder gold by dipping it in *Voame* pounded and mixed with lemon-juice, called by the *Indians* *Conduri*, and by the inhabitants of *Java* *Saga*, who use it for weights. *Fionouts*, or *Voulibobits*, is an herb bearing yellow flowers and very thick leaves ; when burnt green, it has the smell of melilot, and the ashes make lye. *Fimpi* is a tree of the size of the olive ; the bark ash-grey, with the smell of musk, and its taste more biting than that of pepper. *Flacourt* deems it to be the *Indian Costus*. The bark is dried in the sun like cinnamon, and, whether burnt or not, has a most agreeable smell : the wood is white and hard, with a strong scent ; the leaves have the smell of the bark and leaves of the aloe ; it is called in the country *Tetech*, by the antient *Greek* physicians *Agallochum* and *Xyloaloe*, or aloe-wood, and by the *Portuguese* *Paoda Quilla* ; the leaves are something larger than those of the myrtle, dented, with near the same smell, and occasion sneezing. *Madriſe* is a tree whose wood is marbled, of a violet colour in the middle, and the leaves small. *Hazon Maintbi*, or black wood, or ebony-tree ; the ebony is the heart of the trunk ; the tree is large, loaded with small leaves like myrtle, of a dark green, with a blackish bark, and of three or four kinds. *Anacots* bears a fruit larger than the finger, of an ash-grey, with leaves resembling those of the pear-tree : the fruit contains a sweet and white juice, made use of to turn milk. *Tendrocosses* bears pulse. *Tarantale* is a kind of box. *Sanzenelabe*, or *Sanzene Vaue*, is of two sorts ; the wood has the smell of cumminseed, but much stronger ; the bark, resembling elder, is the strongest : the natives grind it with water upon a stone, and use it in fevers, and in curing every kind of wound ; the latter is reckoned the best. *Encafatrahe* is a wood whose heart is green, and full of veins, with the smell of a rose, like *Lignum Rhodium*, and, when ground and applied to the stomach, is good against heart-burnings and faintings. *Mera* is a tree with leaves like those of the olive, the wood yellow in the middle, without smell, and hard as box. *Vintang* is a tree whose wood is never worm-eaten, and used by the natives for canoes ; it produces a gum or resin particularly good in healing wounds. The wood of the tree *Azonorouts* is extremely good and proper for combs. *Tamboubitſi* is a tree whose wood is of an orange-colour in the middle, but of no use in dyeing. *Fatra* is the tree which produces benjamin. *Sandraba* is a straight and tall tree : the wood is blacker than ebony, without knots or fibres, and may be smoothed and polished as horn : it grows near and in the environs of *Ranoufoutchi* ; the greatest pieces are seven inches thick. *Cocambe* is another black wood, like the latter, more crooked, grows in stony and thorny places, has few leaves and flowers ; the wood, when burnt, yieldeth a most agreeable smell. Some of these trees have trunks and branches exceeding large. *Envilasse* is another species of ebony, resembling the *Sandraba* wood, with few knots. *Zaga* is the wood of which are made handles for darts. *Tamboure-ciffa* is a tree bearing apples, which, in ripening, open into four parts : the inside pulp is full of kernels, and covered with a thin orange-coloured skin, which yield a tincture like the *American Rocou*. *Anaco*, like the cypress-tree, grows by the water-side. *Aſſonpaſſebis* bears a fruit of exquisite taste, of the size of a date. *Vabats* is a small shrub, the bark of the roots of which is useful in dyeing, and is easily separated from the fresh roots by water, which, when dry, must be pared : the bark, for use, is boiled with silk or woollen on a slow fire, in a lye made of the same bark ; and the stuff, in this manner, is impregnated with red of the colour of fire, and, by adding a little lemon-juice, will take a fine yellow. *Tamarinds* likewise grow in great plenty. The tree called *Anghive* is of two sorts, the great and lesser ; the latter bears a fruit of the size of a walnut ; the first, common in the province of *Galemboule*, as large as hen-eggs, of a scarlet colour and exquisite taste ; a decoction of the roots cures the heat of urine and the gravel. *Andian Bouloha* is a small shrub that grows on the sea-shore, whose leaves resemble those of the herb called *Dog's Tongue*. *Varaucoco* is a plant that twines about great trees, and bears a violet-coloured fruit as large as peaches, of an admirable taste, extremely sweet, but viscous, with four great kernels in the middle ; and the wood, though worm-eaten in a year, is made use of for hoops : a red gum like blood oozes through the bark, thick and resinous, which dissolves by a candle like *Gum Lacis*, and has near the same smell. *Rhaa*, called in the country the dragon-tree, from the figure of that animal, as is related, distinctly imprinted on the fruit when the skin is off, grows as large as a walnut-tree, and, by making an aperture or incision in the bark of the trunk or branches, a gum springs out

- a out red as blood ; on which account the natives call the tree *Rbaa*, or blood, and apothecaries the gum *Dragon's blood* ; the wood is white, and soon worm-eaten ; the leaves longer, but like those of the pear-tree : the fruit, called in the language of the country *Mafoutra*, and by *Dodonæus*, and others, *Dragonæ*, has the form and size of a small pear, the end thicker, with five points or extremities, which contain a kernel covered by one membrane, of the form, colour, and almost the taste, of a nutmeg. *Monardes* and others have affirmed, that the figure of a dragon was imprinted on this fruit under the skin that covered it ; but *Flacourt*, who opened many, discovered the falsity of this account. There are three kinds of this tree, bearing different fruits, and a fat and thick oil is drawn from these kernels, which is a sovereign remedy against inflammations, burnings, erysipelas, itch, and extraordinary swellings ; a decoction of the bark is good for the bloody-flux. *Lalanda* is a jessamin which grows to the height of a small shrub ; the leaves are like those of the *European* jessamin, and the flowers are extremely odoriferous, which are used by the women to scent the oil of *Sesame*, called in the country *Menachil*. *Honnits Ancason* is a small shrub bearing a flower of the smell of jessamin, but larger and whiter ; the stock, which supports it, is white, and six inches long. *Voale* is a small shrub that shoots a flower like the *liriconfancy*, called by apothecaries *Lilium convallium*. *Langhare* is a small shrub that usually grows under bushes and hedges, and shoots long leaves notched like a saw, like the chestnut-tree, but closer and more pointed at the ends : the stock is straight, and the flowers, which grow without any seeming fastening or support through the bark all over the trunk, are blood-coloured, of a biting taste, laxative, and raises a salivation, if chewed. It is affirmed, that the wood pounded and drank with water, or hung by the neck, immediately cures the hiccups. *Mimboube* is a tree bearing odoriferous leaves, made use of to gladden and warm the heart. *Horame* is a large tree, which produces a particular gum, known among the apothecaries by the *American* name of *Tacamabaca*, and is properly a resin, generally of the poplar magnitude, covered with long and narrow leaves, with fruit of the size of a nut or plum, thick and like resin, and the wood fit for ship-building. A particular fig-tree grows here, called *Nonnuc*, and by *Linschooten*, in the *Portuguese* language, *Arvor de Rais*, or root-tree, from its aptness to take root at the end of the boughs, which incline to and touch the ground, and become new trunks, continue shooting fresh branches, inclining to the earth like thickets, and, becoming fresh stocks, multiply without discontinuance, into forty or fifty, as is frequently seen, each growing equal in height to the first or mother-stock, and the whole occupying so large a circumference, that an hundred persons may shelter themselves from the heat or rain under one of these trees. *Flacourt* relates, that he had seen several in the neighbourhood of *Fort Dauphin*, which had produced four new stocks, twelve feet each in circumference ; and that from each stock others had sprung, inclining to and ready to take root in the earth, at forty-eight feet distance one from the other. The fruit called the *Voanounouc*, or *Nounouc* fruit, or *Indian* fig-tree, has the taste and shape of *European* figs ; a milky juice springs from any aperture or incision in this tree, and the bark is fit for cordage. *Veva* is a small shrub, whose leaves resemble those of the almond-tree, of a dark green above, and white and hairy underneath, with an attractive quality. *Himavale* is a tree with six leaves on each little branch, placed opposite each other, odoriferous, and esteemed a good cordial. *Endrachendrach* is a great tree, the wood yellow, odoriferous, heavy, and hard like iron, and, as marble, suffers no alteration under ground ; wherefore it is properly called by that name, which signifies lasting without end. *Tsimandam* is a tree with few leaves, and is useful in cardialgias, the plague, and other contagious distempers. *Ferocoffe* is a slender shrub, which produces small round cabbages, which are excellent eating. *Mandouavate* is a tree guarded by a green bark, hard, and very prickly, and produces a fruit resembling filberds ; the wood is very fit for dart-handles. *Sira Manghits*, or odoriferous, from the agreeable smell of the leaves, is a slender tree, useful to cheer the heart ; the leaves have the smell of white and yellow Sanders, the bark that of cloves, and produces a sweet-smelling rosin. *Aboulaza* is a tree whose wood is also cordial. *Laberic* is a tree whose stock is upright and hollow, and the leaves are fixed round in a spiral line, like a screw. *Fooraba* is a tree which produces a green odoriferous balsam, and is a sovereign remedy for every sort of wound and bruise, and, mixed with oil, is used by women as an ointment for the hair, and bears a large fruit. *Mihohats* is a tree of a cordial virtue. *Arindranto* is a tree whose rotten wood, when burnt, yields a wonderful fragrancy, and is exceeding proper for perfumes. *Ouvilassa* is a creeping plant, whose root resembles that of jallap, and yields a gum or resin like scammony, and purges with such violence, when eat, as to draw blood. *Saldits* is a fine woody plant, which produces red flowers resembling feathers ; the seed is vomiting, and the root of the same plant stops it. *Pendre* is a tree that shoots leaves higher than an aloe, and bears ten or twelve white flowers of an excellent odour ; the women infuse it in the sun in *Menachil* or *Sesame* oils. *Apocapouc* is a tree whose leaves and flowers are like those of spurge-laurel ; the fruit is of the size of an almond or nut, and strong poison ; an oil is drawn, nevertheless, from the kernels, useful for anointing the hair. *Ouviau* is

- is a tree bearing a kind of almond, from which is drawn exquisite oil for the hair, and sauces. ^a
- Voulou. *Voulou* is a kind of *Indian* cane; *Linschoten* and *Acosta* name the tree *Mambu*, and, in imitation of the *Indians*, *Bamboo*; the pith is moist, and something like milk; the *Arabian* physicians call it *Tabaxir*, and the *Indians* *Sacar Mambu*, or *Bamboo*, and is in great esteem throughout the east. Their plenty in the province of *Galemboule* gives the name to the country; *Bamboos* and rice being almost the only produce, which the natives cut down and burn, and use the ashes as manure for rice; many are as large and thick as the thigh, tall, black, and round, and the chief beauty of the country: every three years the tree bears a fruit no larger than a small bean; flour, equal in goodness with that from *European* wheat, might be made of this fruit. This tree is as useful to these islanders as the coco-tree to the *Indians*, supplies materials for kitchen and household furniture of all sorts, and for all uses, ^b small wherries for the rivers, roofs, floors, planks, and stays for building, sedans, or palankins, and are made use of throughout the *East Indies* for the same purposes. *Ampoufoutchi* is a light white wood, easy to be worked; the ashes are proper to make powder, and the bark is fit for cordage. *Anaze* is a large tree, and grows like a pyramid; the fruit full of white pith, with the taste of tartar, and of hard kernels, like the pine-apple. *Tavevoule* is a tree whose leaves are narrow and long, without stalks, grow round, and appear to be glued to the branches. *Ouvave* is a kind of reed, knotty like the *Indian* cane, the roots fit to eat, and the wood, of a violet colour, serves to dye red. Besides these plants, mostly peculiar to the island of *Madagascar*, there are many which resemble or are the same with *European* plants. True grapes grow in the desert of *Alfissach*; but the inhabitants, ignorant of their ^c quality, are afraid to eat them. The land every-where produces good tobacco (L), and several kinds of jessamin. Hemp grows in great plenty; and *Flacourt* relates that the stalk, leaves, and seed, are the same as the *European*; that the natives take particular care in the management of this plant, who suck the dry leaves in lieu of tobacco, which produces a similar effect, stupifies and causes sleep: old women, the *Ombiaffes*, or priests and doctors, make use of it to banish chagrin and melancholy; and a like plant, called *Bangue*, is used in the *East Indies* for the same purpose. The stalk of the *Madagascar* hemp is looked upon as fit for cordage or linen, and never used as in *Europe*. Leeks, purslane, lettings, carrots, cabbage, turnips, anise, mustard, and hawthorns, are here in great plenty. *Voarots* is the fruit of a large tree, with leaves resembling those of the olive, which, added to the height ^d and extent of the boughs and branches, exhibit a most agreeable sight, and is extremely ornamental; the fruit, of the size of a cherry, with a thick shell like a nut, is exceeding bitter, and is of three sorts, white, red, and black. *Voaverone* is a fruit of a violet colour, not larger than a red currant, sweet and agreeable to the mouth, and dyes black and violet. *Mulberries*. White mulberries are found in this country, extremely four and sharp; the leaves are different, with a bare resemblance of the *European* fruit. *Azonvalala* is a small red agreeable fruit, without juice, and grows upon small shrubs amongst the bushes. *Voatsourte* is a small solid fruit, like nutmegs, with the walnut taste, either boiled or roasted. *Tocanhoba* is the fruit of a tree resembling the small pear-tree; it kills dogs; the tree grows extremely high; the wood, of musk colour, is the heaviest and hardest in the country, and bears a fine polish. ^e
- Voanane. *Voanane* is a fruit half a foot long, consisting of four parts, with the taste of a stony pear, and is a sovereign remedy in laxative disorders. *Entfacale* is the fruit of a large tree, which grows in a straight line, extremely high; the leaves are few, and resemble those of the nut-tree; the fruit long, and divided into different little cells, thinner than the skin that covers them, in and outside yellow, full of seed, and some juice of an agreeable taste, and grow upon the trunk from the bottom to the top, and only fastened by a thin stalk, which is uncommon and curious. There are three kinds; that already mentioned, the second with the outside black, and the third of an ash-grey; and all with veins and fibres lying in the bark.
- Fonti. *Fonti*, or *Dourou*, is a plant that grows like a plume of feathers, with leaves six feet long and two broad, and there are many ten feet long, exclusive of the stalk, which is sometimes ^f two feet long; the fruit is called *Voatfonfi*, or *Voadourou*, and is inclosed in a hard rind or bark.
- Quadrupeds, &c.* THE island of *Madagascar* abounds in different kinds of quadruped animals, insects, birds, and fish. There are three sorts of cattle; one kind horned, another with round heads, without horns, called *Boury*, and a third kind, whose horns are loose and hanging down, and fastened only to the skin of the head; all of them having large quantities of fat (M), contained in great bunches or swellings, which the natives melt and use for butter, the taste

(L) Here is also tobacco which they smoke in reeds or shells, as they do the *Jermaughla* *.

(M) They have an excrescence between their shoulders, somewhat like that of camels, all fat and fleshy; some of which will weigh three or fourscore pounds (4).

* Drury, p. 283.

(4) Drury's Hist. p. 80.

- a being equally agreeable. Buffaloes likewise run in herds in the province of *Machicore*; the natives believe that they were originally domestic animals, and became wild by the long continuance of civil wars. There are great numbers of goats and kids; the female kids commonly three times a year, and brings four at each time. The mutton is extremely fine tasted; and there is a kind of sheep, whose large and flat tails weigh twenty or twenty-five pounds. The woods are inhabited by great numbers of wild boars, with two horns near the nose, like great prickles, and with hard skins, who greatly damage and destroy the rice. The lard of tame hogs is good and wholesome; their food being chiefly land-tortoises, and their eggs (N). There is a kind of porcupine in great plenty, whose flesh, though insipid and flabby, is nevertheless esteemed by the natives. These animals sleep six months under ground, cast and
- b have new darts at this time. *Vosse* is an animal like the *Tesson*, or badger, and the flesh is agreeable. *Vareffe* is a beast of prey, of the bigness of a fox, with a large and long tail, and hair like a wolf. The dogs are small, with long snouts, short ears, and hair like foxes. Various kinds of monkeys and baboons are found in the different provinces of this island. Some are large and white, with black spots on the ribs and heads, with long snouts, and, like tygers, of a fierce nature, and never fully tamed. Others have grey hair and flat noses, and are easily tamed. Those called *Varis* are the most common; are grey, have long snouts, and large bushy tails, like foxes. There is another white sort, called *Sifac*, with good teeth, white tails, and two spots like teeth on the ribs, of a middling size, between the *Varis* and *Varicofi*, which stand upright and strong upon their hind legs. In the provinces of *Ampatre* and *Matafalle* is another white kind, with tails chequered white and black, that run in troops of forty or fifty together through the woods; and also another grey kind, with eyes sparkling like fire, and short hair, who die when taken, owing to the wildness of their nature. *Tsitfibi* are grey squirrels, which keep in the holes of trees, and never become tame. *Voudsira* is a small animal like a weasel, of a dark red colour, which feeds on honey, and smells like musk. Civet-cats are likewise very plentiful, and are esteemed dainty morsels by many of the natives. *Tretretrete*, or *Tratratratra*, is an animal of the size of a heifer two years old, with a round head, human countenance, with the fore and hind part like a baboon, and breeds in a desert near the lake of *Lipomani*. The natives are frightened at the sight of it, and fly from it; and it likewise flies on the least appearance of a man. *Antamba* is an animal as big as a dog, resembling, according to the negroes account, a leopard, which preys on mankind and beasts, but keeps to the mountains, and is seldom seen. *Mangarzahoc* is a great animal that brays like an ass, and is believed by some to be the wild ass. The mountain *Mangarzahoc* takes its name from this animal, which is never seen in any other part. *Brehis* is an animal with one horn in the middle of the forehead, as large as a goat, and extremely wild, and breeds in the province of *Ansiandea*. There is no brood of elephants, tygers, lions, and horses, in this island.
- c
- d

VARIOUS kinds of insects are found in this country. *Famocantraton*, or breast-leaper, is an extraordinary but dangerous insect, of the size of a small lizard, which fixes itself, as if glued, to the barks of trees, with its mouth open for catching spiders, flies, and other insects; and leap on the breast of those who approach the tree where they are, and cannot be got rid of but by cutting away the flesh on which they are fixed. There are numbers of cameleons, rats, mice, and water-rats (O). *Mandouts* is a kind of serpent, as large as the arm or leg of a man, not venomous, though deemed so by the natives, which feeds on bats and small birds. *Anacandef* is a sort of little serpent, no bigger than a quill, that slips into the body at particular times, gnaws the intestines, and occasions the most insupportable pain, and even death in a short time, if not extracted, which is seldom or ever performed. There are many other serpents, such as *Menore*, *Save*, *Mare*, *Tfondibale*, *Renoutic*, &c.

(N) This animal is a kind of porcupine, called by *Drury* a *Ground Hog*, and *Tondruck*, in the language of the country; is of the size of a cat, with snout, eyes, and ears, like an *English* hog; has bristles on the back, but no tail; the feet are like those of rabbits, and it feeds upon beetles and young snails; is very prolific, bringing about twenty in a litter, and suckling them all. It hides itself in the ground in a surprising manner; digs first two feet directly down, then two or three feet obliquely, afterwards works upwards a slant till within half a foot of the surface, where it makes a propor-

tionate lodging for the body, and lies five or six months without any sustenance; at the expiration of which term it is as fat as when it first went in. It is an excellent food, and no pains are spared to take them (5).

(O) Here is a creature of the form of a serpent, one of which Mr. *Drury* says he killed with his own hands; it was no-ways venomous. Several have been bit by them, and no worse hurt accrued than is customary from the bite of any beast (6).

(5) *Drury's Hist.* p. 70.

(6) *Id. m.* *ibid.*

Scorpions, &c.

SCORPIONS (P) are called *Hal*. The *Tsingalaba Huravou*, or water-scorpion, resides constantly in marshes and dead waters, destroys cattle, attacks dogs, and sucks their blood when killed. The scorpion *Vancobo*, or spider, has a large, round, and black belly, and is extremely dangerous. Its bite occasions an instantaneous swooning, which sometimes lasts two days, attended with a coldness like ice. The usual method of cure is giving the remedies for poison, and placing the person by the fire. *Anacalife* is a creeping animal, that breeds between the barks of rotten and worm-eaten trees, as long as the palm of the hand, having many legs, like a caterpillar, flat and thin, with a hard skin; its bite is exceeding venomous, and causes the same disorder as the bite of a scorpion, and death, if the same remedies are not administered. There are moth-worms, earwigs, bugs, and many insects troublesome to mankind. *Acolalan* is a little insect, not so offensive in smell, but like a bug, and increases in a short time to the size of a man's thumb, when it becomes winged, and flies away; the young ones remaining in the houses, huts, and furniture, and gnawing every thing, particularly apparel. *Vombare* is a butterfly, variegated with different colours, intermixed with that of gold and silver. Others are known by the name of *Sacondre*, which proceed from beetles, and keep to the bark of a particular small shrub, appearing like white flowers, and afterwards changed into various colours, chequered with green and red, and make the sweetest honey on the leaves of the *Tentele Sacondre*. There are many sorts of snails particularly denominated, but are in general called *Caracora*. *Herechereche* is a sparkling beetle that gives light, and shines in the woods, and on the houses, in the night, with a surprising flame. Caterpillars also abound here, of several kinds, called *Tsingoulou Voulou*. Ants, or *Vitsic*, and worms of various kinds, are found in this island. Silk-worms are quadruped; some called *Landeve* produce one prickly cod; others, called *Landeferaba*, make small cods, inclosed in a large one, frequently containing five hundred young; the third kind, *Landeanacau*, make the silk on the tree *Anacau*, that, like cypress, grows by the sea-side; the cods hang in strings, separated from each other, and the silk is the finest, strongest, and best; the fourth sort, *Landevontagua*, make their silk on the tree *Vontonquier*, which is also very fine. There is an ant amongst the rice, that gnaws and eats it, called *Sicourencourou*. The land-tortoises are of two kinds, called *Hilinstoca* and *Fanou*.

River-birds, &c.

THE island produces in like manner several kinds of river and other birds, known by the general name of *Vourou* in the language of the country; but of a less size than those of *Europe*. Hens eggs are no larger than those of pigeons. There are ordinary pheasants, and a kind with violet feathers and red beak; small black paroquets, and some of a dark red, but scarce; small green finches, that whistle and imitate the songs of other birds; wild turkeys; black, white, and grey eagles, with fine plumage; wild storks with crests on their heads; common teal, and a particular kind with red legs and claws, called *Halives*; pelicans, and black and white herons, water-wag-tails, &c. *Samba* is a bird whose feathers are as red as fire. *Vourouchontsi* are white birds, that follow the cattle, and feed upon the flies and beetles found on them; and are generally lean. *Voula* is a river-bird, like the great pelican, with a long and white beak. *Tabia* is a bird whose wings, feet, and beak, are black; and its note is always *Tabia*. *Taliva* is a river-bird of the size of a hen, with violet plumage, and red beak and feet. *Haretac* is a bird with a red crest on the head, with black feathers and feet like a teal.

Character of the inhabitants.

THE inhabitants of most provinces are whites or negroes: the whites are the *Robandrians*, *Anacandrians*, or *Ondzatfi*; the negroes are the *Voadziri*, *Lobavobits*, *Ontsoa*, and *Ondwes*, as before-mentioned in the account of the province of *Anossi*, like the natives of *Mozambique*, and resembling the whites in long hanging hown hair.

IN many places (Q) are found real wild men, with their wives and children, called by the natives *Ompizees*, who let their hair and beards grow, go naked, excepting the noble parts, which are covered with leaves, inhabit thick and unfrequented woods, avoid meeting their fellow-natives, and live upon fish, wild beasts, fruit, roots, honey, and locusts. The island of *Ontsayfattrouba*, situated between *Anachimoussi* and the river *Ranoumene*, was formerly inhabited by a people without communication, and in continual war with their neighbours, who fought with bows and arrows, eat their enemies and all travellers, reserving the hands always

(P) There is an insect of the scorpion kind, which is the only venomous creature seen in the island, says *Drury* *.

(Q) There are some people in the remote parts of this country, whose inhabitants are in secret recesses in the woods; they live easy, indolent lives, never come near a town, nor concern themselves with any affairs, with peace or war, foreign or domestic; they keep no cattle,

lest the lowing of their herds or flocks might possibly betray them, and induce evil-minded men to disturb their peace, by plundering them of their treasure; but content themselves with small plantations, and the product of nature; never concerning themselves who is lord of any particular place, or sovereign of the whole dominions †.

* *Drury*, p. 460.† *Idem*, p. 189.

a for the king's table. They fed great numbers of cows for their milk only; never killed bulls, goats, rams, or cocks, which they buried when dead: they devour their dogs with great appetite and greediness, when unfit for hunting; but cultivate their lands in the same manner as the inhabitants of *Madagascar* (R). These deformed and ugly people, small-eyed, with broad foreheads, painted teeth, flat-nosed, thick-lipped, with short curled hair, reddish skin, without beards, large bellies, and thin legs, nimble and good runners, preyed upon and consumed each other, till reduced to a small number, who were intirely destroyed by their neighbouring enemies, and neither man nor woman remained.

THESE islanders are esteemed the most deceitful, dissembling, flattering, and false people in the world (S), particularly the inhabitants along the coast of *Manghabei* to the end of the island southward. The *Manghabei* are less cruel and treacherous, speak little, are better observers of promises, follow other laws and customs, and glory in being descended from *Abraham*: the rest are treacherous and false; fulfil no engagements, unless compelled; must be governed with rigour, the chiefs as well as inferiors, and treated, when faulty, with great severity: those who are freed and set at liberty by those whom they had injured, are extremely ungrateful, and attribute every success to their *Auli*, or fortune, becoming more mischievous than before; revenge and treachery being held as capital virtues, and forgiving and compassionate men looked upon as cowards. They never delay, if in their power, the cruel executions on prisoners of war; and their greatest pleasure is to cut and mince the children taken alive, to rip open the women's bellies, and then leave them in the pangs of death.

c They have no pleasure in exercise or walking, either for health or diversion, except in singing and dancing, of which they are fond, believing the least fatigue, even walking, to give more trouble than pleasure: on this account they ridicule *European* exercises of diversion, and pronounce them fools for fatiguing themselves without occasion.

THE inhabitants generally apply themselves with great diligence to agriculture, have scarce any knowledge of commerce, and no improvement in invention of arts and trades, like *Europeans*, or in discovering the natural produce, that might invite strangers to their country; they even neglect making silk, and preserving the worms they have such plenty of. Their labour extends only to the necessities of living, provisions, apparel, and habitations; for they condemn superfluities. Their chief employment is in buildings, gold and iron works, and in polishing, making earthen ware, spinning, weaving, cordage, fishing, hunting, and chiefly in agriculture. Some make all sorts of iron and steel implements, hatchets, hammers, shovels, razors, nippers, gridirons, forks, javelins, darts, and butchers knives.

d

THE goldsmiths, mostly natives of *Voamaro*, make ear-rings, bracelets, necklaces, and other gold ornaments, from their own mines. Potters make great and small plates and pots (T) from a clay and thorn boughs, which, being rubbed with a kind of black earth, shine like looking-glasses. They have carpenters and turners, who make wooden plates and chests, called *Voa*, wooden and horn spoons, and other household goods. The *Zaferamini*, *Robandrians*, and *Anacandrians*, are remarkable for the wood-work of houses; their tools are a plane, wedge, and rule, with some other implements.

e THEY fish with draw-nets, well-baskets, hooks, and harpoons, in the same manner at sea as in the lakes and rivers, and exchange the fish in adjacent countries for rice, yams, roots, cotton, and other necessities of life, or dry them for keeping, and fish in canoes at a great distance from the shore.

THE rope-makers make cordage of all sizes and lengths, to 130 fathoms long; the small ropes for netting and baskets are made from the bark of different trees, and the best at *Aviau* and *Fautastranou*. Women are only employed in spinning, who make various sorts of stuffs from flax and threads from the barks of trees.

AGRICULTURE is practised in a different manner, and with less trouble, than in *Europe*. No plough or oxen are employed in the tillage of land: an ax for felling great trees, a bill for lopping off the branches, and an implement, called *Faugali*, for grubbing the roots and weeds, are their sole instruments. The arms and branches of trees, when dry, are burnt to ashes, which are used in planting yams, rice, &c. when properly wetted by rain. Near and round about the province of *Manghabei* rice is planted grain after grain, and the ears

f

(R) These people are almost of a different species from the others; their heads are of a peculiar shape, and their hair is neither so long nor woolly; their religion is different, they paying an awful regard to the new moon, and several animals*.

(S) They are very treacherous, persuaded that the *Europeans* have cruel designs upon them; and are therefore on their guard, dreading their audacity and superior

skill in war; and, if credit may be given to half they say, the conduct of the *French* sailors, who were once masters, and our countrymen the pirates, hath been barbarous to the last degree †.

(T) They make very curious earthen ware, such as pots, dishes, and jugs, glazing them both within and without, and are very ingenious artificers in many other particulars ‡.

* *Drury*, p. 406.† *Idem*, p. 278.‡ *Idem*, p. 407.

are cut off in the same manner ; but in the province, and adjoining parts, of *Anossi*, after another method: the ground is prepared for grubbing by being trampled upon and turned up by oxen ; and when the weeds are rotten the rice is sowed, which grows with great ease, and in a short time becomes extremely fine. The fields for rice are marshes, or marshy lands, called *Horracs*. Every *Horrac*, or field of rice, is the property of a particular chief, which occasions great differences, from their pretensions of right to the best and most fertile soils. The poor negroes cultivate and plant yams on the sides of mountains, and are obliged to continual hunting of boars, and other wild animals, to preserve their plants from destruction ; an exercise that is much practised on this account by the *Ontsoa*, or slaves, who are the only hunters, the chiefs thinking it below their dignity.

Dancing and
singing.

THE islanders are greatly addicted to singing and dancing ; the women chiefly to singing ; and are very ready in composition, upon the slightest occasion. Their songs are generally reprehensive of both sexes, or encomiums on the remarkable actions of their ancestors. Dancing and singing accompany each other. They make use of three musical instruments ; the *Valiban*, strung with some chords, the *Voule*, made of bamboos, and the *Herraovou*, played upon with a bow. The performers on this last instrument are the most esteemed, and receive the greatest applause in public assemblies.

Houses.

THEIR houses have no upper chambers or garrets, nor cellars underneath ; they consist of one floor only called *Varerarai* ; the tops are shelving, and covered with leaves of rates and bamboos ; the walls are made of two inch planks ; the hearth upon the ground, about four feet square, raised upon sand, with three stones to place the pot on, and without chimnies, which makes them scarce habitable, on account of the continual smoke, their fires being kept up in the hottest weather. Their rice-barns are at a distance from their houses, raised upon wooden pillars, to preserve it from rats.

Furniture.

THE furniture chiefly consists in red and yellow rush mats, well made and convenient ; those of *Manghabei* are soft and strong. The floors on which they lie are covered with these mats, without bed, bolster, pillowbier, or any sort of covering, with a piece of wood under the head (excepting the *Robandrians*, who make use of pillowbiers stuffed with cotton-seed), being from their infancy accustomed to lie hard. Their cloaths, girdles, or *Saravobits*, cotton, effects, and all ornaments, are kept in baskets ; and oils for the body and hair in earthen pitchers. Their kitchen-furniture consists of earthen pots, called *Villangues*, *Louvies*, *Hafes*, *Monhonges*, and *Sines*, wooden dishes and spoons, dried gourds for water, knives, grid-irons, and forks, mortars to pound rice, troughs, and winnowing fans, with large vessels for honey-wine. The leaves of rates, twelve feet long and four broad, serve for table-napkins and plates, and are laid upon mats, spread upon the floor, without table or chairs.

Negroes go
naked.

THE negroes go naked, excepting the *pudenda*, which are covered with a linen called *Lamba*, and *Saravobits*, or drawers, by the women, with an *Acazan*, or long robe, without sleeves, hanging down to the ancles, and a piece of linen before, sewed at both ends like an apron.

Different dresses
of the
whites.

THE white men and women go bare-headed and bare-footed, excepting those of *Manghabei*, where the men wear a square cap, and the women a hood, pointed at top, and hanging down upon the shoulders. The dresses are of different colours and names ; some of red silk, called *Soatfinifili* ; others of cotton, called *Varo*. These are of reddish and other colours, interwoven with fine cotton in white stripes. Others are made from the barks of trees, either from that of the *Fautastranou*, *Try*, *Mouffia*, *Avo*, *Courava*, or threads of *Banana*. The cotton cloths made by the whites, or *Zaseramini*, in the province of *Anossi*, are the finest and best, much sought after by the inhabitants of *Vobitsbang*, and others, who buy up great quantities ; but the most esteemed are the cottons, with silk borders about a foot deep, the ground white, with black stripes, and black and red silk lace. The chiefs only, and *Robandrians*, wear this upon great formalities, and are preserved for the funerals of the chiefs, whose bodies are wrapped up therein. The garments for slaves are made of the bark of trees ; which is first beat to a hemp, then boiled twice in strong lye, afterwards washed, and twisted upon spindles in different sizes, and worked up for apparel : the cloth resembles European linen, is strong, and more lasting than cotton. Those made of the bark of *Try* are extremely fine and soft, but not durable ; as are those of *Atfouche*, in the province of *Mata-tane*, from the bark of the tree *Avo* ; of which also paper is made in the provinces of *Galem-boule*, *Manghabei*, and round the bay of *Antongil* ; the bark or thin skin of small leaves shooting from the middle of the tree *Mouffia*, which, in other places, produces only large leaves, twelve or fifteen feet in length, supplies them with wearing apparel. The fruit of this tree is like a pine-apple. The stuffs made from *Banana*, chiefly in the province of *Eringdrana*, are fine, light, and equal in beauty to the silken manufacture, and are woven in the same manner. Their ornaments, called *Firauach*, are different kinds of chains, worn round the neck, arms, and legs, ear-rings, bracelets, rings, and other toys, with necklaces

of

a of different names, *Salantes*, *Saraves*, and *Endachs*, consisting of three or four, and even twelve, rows of pearls, corals, beads of gold, glass of all colours, rock-chrystal, agats, cornelian and sardonian stones. These ornaments of gold are only wore by the *Zaferamini*, who are the chiefs of the island, and the *Voadziri* and *Lobavokits* amongst the negroes.

POLYGAMY is practised throughout the island, every man enjoying a plurality of wives, *Polygamy allowed.* in proportion to his fortune; and the women, equally incontinent, are never destitute of friends to soften and alleviate their cares, in the gratification of their prevailing passions, and whom they never fail of having recourse to, upon any discovery or ill-treatment from their husbands, in return to their perfidious love. Unmarried women give themselves up in the same manner to several pleasures, are ready to every purchaser, but extremely venal in the
 b surrender of their persons, their gallants, in failure of payment, being constantly abused and stripped, to make satisfaction. This is one of the most abominable crimes amongst the indigent negroes, who even satiate, with impunity, their brutal passions by the most shocking pollutions in presence of their parents, who, ashamed to be interrogated with regard to the number and beauty of their wives, yet, through amazing blindness, have the greatest satisfaction in seeking inviting objects, and glory in the licentious manners of their children. Sodomy, notwithstanding, has never crept into this island.

FREEDOM between unmarried persons is not esteemed sinful in respect to God, or scandalous amongst mankind; the women chusing only to marry those with whom they have cohabited; nor is any dishonour fixed by the married upon adultery; but theft or injustice is commonly
 c punished with retaliation.

THEIR marriage ceremonies are called *Miracheibei*: the negroes practise none; and the whites, or *Zaferamini*, observe them only on the wedding-day of their chief wife. *Marriage ceremonies.*

AT funerals, the nearest relations wash the body of the deceased, which they adorn with bracelets, rings, and chains of gold, set with coral and other ornaments, and wrap in several exceeding fine cloths, and carry in a mat to the tomb. The hair and beards of the chiefs are shaved, and a cap is placed on the heads of women. Antecedent to this, the parents, friends, and slaves, assemble round the corpse, at whose feet a light is burned day and night, and bemoan the deceased with great lamentations; women, at the same time, attend, alternately bewailing and dancing, whilst men perform exercises of arms; the mourners within doors
 d extol the praises, and proclaim the public loss of the deceased, speak to him as if living, and, having the power of life and death, ask the reason of his dying; whether he had not gold, silver, iron, cattle, slaves, or riches, sufficient? The day is spent in this burlesque interchange of grief and mirth, and the whole company is entertained at night. Next morning the corpse is carried to the *Amounouque*, or burial-place, in a coffin made of hollow trunks closed together, and deposited six feet deep, under a strong house, with rice, tobacco, earthen and perfume plates, a gown, and sack; the house is afterwards shut up, and a stone ten or twelve feet high placed before it. Beasts are sacrificed, and the parts are left for the deceased, the devil, and God; and, in fifteen days, the relations send provisions and greetings, as if yet alive, and fix upon poles round the monument the heads of the immolated victims. The
 e children likewise make frequent sacrifices of oxen, and beg the assistance of the deceased, crying aloud, *Thou, who art now in heaven, give us advice in our troubles.*

THE nearest relations of sick and mad persons, as is related, immediately send for the *Ombiaffe*, or priest, in order to fetch *understanding* from the *Amounouque*. The *Ombiaffe* repairs in the night to the tomb, opens the monument, and, placing a cap on the aperture, invokes the soul of the father to the person disordered, and demands *understanding* for his helpless child. The aperture is instantly closed by the *Ombiaffe*, who returns immediately, declares his success, and places the cap on the head of the sick persons, who are believed to be silly and weak enough to ascribe the recovery of their senses to these impostors, and to order forthwith presents to the *Ombiaffes*. *Custom in regard to sick and mad people.*

f UPON the demise of persons of rank, at a distance from this country, the heads are cut off, and brought home; the remainder is buried upon the spot; and, in the same manner, the bodies of those slain in war, which are dug up in time of peace, and translated to the tombs of their ancestors, whose memory is held in such veneration and esteem, that their greatest and most solemn oath is to swear by the souls of their predecessors. *Custom at the death of persons of rank.*

THE custom of exposing their children to a certain, though indeterminate, manner of death, appears to be the most dreadful of all the barbarous and execrable superstitions practised by the natives of *Madagascar*; and is the true reason why this island, the largest and most fertile in the world, is so thin of inhabitants. *Barbarous custom of exposing children.*

g THEY are under an obligation of exposing new-born children, according to the fatal observation of the *Ombiaffes*, who, for private emolument, contemplate the aspects of the planets at the time of their birth, and arbitrarily pronounce them inauspicious and unfortunate. Life or death depend on these sentences, and an interested decree executes, in a manner before
Arbitrary sentences of the priests.

birth, and deprives them of the light, created in the beginning, and designed from eternity, a for their use and enjoyment.

Unfortunate
days, &c.

THE unfortunate months are *April*, or *Safard*, *March*, or *Ramahara*. The eighth day and last week of every month are equally inauspicious; the first is called *Affarontor*, the last *Alacossi*. *Wednesday* and *Friday* in each week are unhappy days; and hours even are influenced by a bad *Vitang*, or aspect of an unlucky planet. Half the year, by these ominous predictions, becomes really such to the unfortunate offspring of this inhuman race.

Sacrifices of-
fered for the
lives of young
children.

YET powerful nature breaks the chains with which she is fettered by pagan education, and exhibits the compassionate and tender impressions of her own potent Creator, in the frequent opposition given to these sanguinary precepts, by preventing the cruel destruction of innocent babes, in the preservation of the life which their parents had been instruments of giving, b and in reversing the sentences of the cruel and avaricious *Ombiaffes*. Slaves are often employed to suckle and bring up the children born in unfortunate times. Sacrifices, denominated *Falis*, of beasts and cocks have been immolated, whilst they were confined in places pointed out by pagan superstition, to take off the malignity of the predominant star, which would certainly take effect, were these customary and superstitious practices neglected.

Diet.

THEIR ordinary food is rice, beans, or peas, various sorts of yams, *Sonzes*, or cabbages, and *Tarvates*, beef, mutton, goat, poultry, capons, turkies, ducks, and porcupines. Hogs flesh is only eaten by hunters and their families. Different sorts of river and sea fish, *Sesame* and *Ouiveau* oils, variety of fruits, as *Vontacas*, *Alamoutous*, *Voarots*, *Voanotes*, *Lotfes*, *Sacols*, *Sacra*, *Co*, and *Banana* sugar-canes; and ginger, green leaves, garlick, and white pepper, c compose their sauces.

Drink.

HOT water, or broth, is the common drink; honey-wine and sugar-wine, sometimes intermixed, are reserved for the *Missavatsi*, or religious ceremonies.

Language.

THE same language is spoke throughout the island, but differently pronounced in different provinces, long and short, of great affinity with the oriental, chiefly *Arabic*, and agreeable to the *Greek* in the manner of speaking, in the order and conjunction of the nouns and verbs active, and extremely copious. The characters in use among the *Ombiaffes* are the *Arabic*, in number twenty-four, written from the right to the left, though the pronunciation of some differs from the *Arabic*. These characters were introduced about two hundred and fifty years since by the *Arabs* sent by the Khalif of *Mecca*, who landed at *Matatana*, and intermarried d with the women of the country, and taught the *Arabic* language, with the *Koran*, to those who embraced the doctrine; in which they continue to this day.

Manner of
making paper.

MADAGASCAR paper is made with fewer instruments and engines than the *European*. The bark of the tree *Avo* is boiled two days in good lye, made of the ashes of the same tree, till it becomes soft and supple, then washed in clear water, beat to a proper consistency, and poured afterwards on mats made of exquisitely fine reeds, twisted and regularly joined together, in order to be drained and become paper; then placed on a leaf of *Balifier*, oiled with *Menachil*, to dry in the sun: each dried leaf is dipped afterwards in a thick decoction of rice, to hinder the sinking, and dried over again; and in this manner the paper becomes smooth and even. e

Ink how made.

THEIR ink is made of a decoction of the wood *Arandranto*, made use of by the chiefs in the construction of houses, and from which the *Karabe* is drawn, is dried to a proper consistency and thickness, and becomes as black as *European* ink, by an addition of verdigrise. Their writing-pens are made of pieces of *Bamboo*, of the size of *European* quills, and are cut and rendered transparent in the same manner.

Manner of
accounting.

THESE islanders have the same method of notation with the *Arabians* and *Europeans*, and reckon from one to ten, and, after ten, add the number one as far as twenty, and proceed accordingly; *Issa*, or *Iraiche*, implies one; *Rou*, two; *Telou*, three; *Efats*, four; *Juvi*, five; *Enem*, six; *Fitou*, seven; *Valou*, eight; *Sivi*, nine; *Foulo*, ten; *Irac foulo ambi*, or *Iraiche amanifoulo*, eleven; *Rou foulo pambi*, twelve; *Roupoulo*, twenty; *Telou ambi*, thirty; *Efats poulo*, forty; *Zatou*, one hundred; *Armou*, one thousand; *Alen*, one hundred thousand. Many have affirmed, without foundation, these islanders were ignorant of numbers; but these accounts are only true with respect to the negroes of *Machicore*, and the inhabitants of the mountains. f

Weights.

THEY make use of the same weights as high as a drachm; ounces, half-pounds, and pounds, are useless, except for gold and silver: other merchandize not being bartered by weight. A drachm is denominated *Sompi*; half a drachm, *Vari*; a grain, *Sacare*; half a grain, *Nanqui*; six grains, *Nangue*.

Measures.

TROUBAHOVACHE, or king's measure, is for rice; *Moucha*, or *Monca*, is a measure of six pounds of cleansed rice; *Voule* is a measure of half a pound; *Zatou*, implying one hundred, is a measure of one hundred *Voules* of rice, and is made use of to measure uncleansed rice. Stuffs of all sorts, and cordage, are measured by *Refé*, or a measure six feet long. The marshes, g

- a marshes, or rice fields, called *Horracs*, are valued by the quantity of rice that may be sowed, not by roods, acres, or half-acres.

THE inhabitants of this great island have but little knowledge of commerce; they exchange amongst themselves goods for goods; gold and silver coins imported by *Europeans* are immediately melted down for bracelets, ear-rings, and other ornaments, and no currency of coin is established; those in want of cotton carry rice and cattle into the cotton countries; and others, in want of rice and cattle, bring cotton into the plentiful provinces: their traffick chiefly consists in the exchange of the produce of one province for that of another; and sometimes they exchange gold and silver for copper and iron. *Commerce.*

- b CORAL of any size or colour, pierced through for stringing, sells well amongst these islanders: *Coral.*
yellow wires and small wares of all sorts are sold to great advantage, and may be exchanged for sapphires, rubies, emeralds, cornelians, and other stones found in that country.

FLACOURT esteemed this island of great importance for advancing and establishing commerce towards *Ethiopia*, the *Red Sea*, gulph of *Arabia*, and other *Indian* countries; that great advantage might be made from the conveniency of wood for building ships, which might be carried on and exchanged for other commodities in the preceding countries; and from iron, steel, rice, the different kinds of dyes and gums; and might serve as a security to the *East India* trade and navigation.

- c THEIR riches consist in these wares, and also in bills, knives, hatchets, iron and steel spades, *Merchandise.*
apparel, cattle, plantations of yams, in marshes for cultivating rice, and in the number of subjects and slaves. The *Zaferamini* are the richest in gold, which they conceal with great care from the *Europeans*; and it is remarkable that every person of distinction preserves some remains of their ancestors gold, which they hold in great esteem and veneration. In the province of *Manghabei* the gold is deposited in the tombs of their predecessors, from whence the natives dare not take it, superstitiously believing themselves unworthy.

- d THEIR manner of war is by surprise and ambuscade: when an advantageous opportunity *Manner of going to war.*
presents, they assemble privately, and, having rested the army in the night, endeavour, at break of day, to attack the enemy on a sudden; and sometimes the word is given eight days before for meeting on the day appointed, by different and unknown roads, to attack and storm the towns of their enemies, which they surround and advance to with most dreadful shouts, and, if with success, massacre all they meet, not sparing the children at their mothers breasts, whom, like wild beasts, they cut into pieces. When the heat of fury is over, they make slaves of all they take; but put to death the children of the chiefs, in order to extirpate the race of their enemies; fearing, in case they survive, they will one time or other revenge the injury, and make reprisals.

- e IN war-time, spies are sent out to observe the condition and countenance of the enemy, *Policy in war.*
and to discover the situation of the largest towns, and number of cattle, change their own residence, and drive their cattle to the mountains and places the most inaccessible; and parties of twenty, thirty, and forty men, are dispatched to plunder the lesser villages, and bring away the inhabitants and cattle: these parties are called *Souvove*. The villages are generally reduced to ashes, and sometimes spared, through fear of the neighbouring inhabitants being exasperated at the sight of the flames and smoke of these fires, and, falling immediately on, pursue and cut off their retreat. These expeditions are named *Tafichamanthi*, or black or secret war. These marauders are generally provided with *Aulis* and *Mossanes*, or witchcraft, and billets writ in *Arabic* characters, and march into the enemies country, in full confidence that these billets will draw on them the greatest misfortunes, take away their strength and courage to defend themselves, occasion mortal distempers, and prove in the end the principal cause of their loss and defeat; and that, on the contrary, they are favourable to themselves, by inspiring courage, and procuring a happy issue to their wars. These people who make use of, and those against whom they are used; are equally strong in the belief of these enchantments; and in case sickness or other misfortunes take place ten years afterwards, they attribute all to the witchcraft of their enemies.

- f THEIR arms are different in every province: the people of *Androbeizaba* make use of a *Arms.*
great dart with an iron point, long and thick, and carry fifteen lesser darts, called *Fitorach*, besides the great *Renelefo*, or mother-dart. The inhabitants of *Mangbafia*, and of the countries as far as *Manghabei*, make use of a shield and great dart, called *Coubahi*. The people of *Ampatre*, *Mahafalle*, *Machicore*, and *Androbeizaba*, use the same arms, with a buckler, long and large dart, and five or six of a lesser size. Those northward of *Mangbafia* to the end of the island, cover themselves with shields, and enter with one dart into close engagement with their enemies, and wait their arrival without stirring, are much feared by those who throw their darts at a distance; and, having discharged their darts, avoid closer engagement, and immediately take to flight. The people of *Manamboule* are esteemed the most resolute and stoutest soldiers; many of them marching with five or six large darts, which they carry in their shields.

Fighting without order.

No rank or order of battle is observed ; they engage only by hundreds, each endeavouring to do his best by jumps and contorsions of face and body, and vexing their enemies with injurious language and threatnings, in order to strike a panic. When an enemy falls, they cut his throat, and make the most hideous noise ; and the most sneaking and pitiful slaves never fail of piercing with darts through and through the inanimate corpse extended on the ground.

Employment of women.

The women, in time of war, keep up continual dancing by day and night, never sleep or eat in their town-houses ; and, however addicted to incontinency, upon no account whatever suffer the company of another man, whilst their husbands are exposed to danger ; persuaded that they would be killed or wounded by infidelity in their absence ; and believe them to be animated by their continual dancing, and their strength and courage increased ; wherefore they keep up their dancings during the war by the most superstitious observation of the custom.

Method of suing for peace.

When the chiefs find themselves too weak, or chuse not to protract the war, envoys are dispatched with presents, to induce the enemy to peace, and to agree upon a day of conference, in order to an accommodation ; and the enemy likewise returns presents by other envoys, who are to give information of his condition and disposition. They repair, on the day appointed, with their whole army, as if going to battle, to the banks of a river. Each kills a bull, and presents each other with part of the liver, which they eat in the presence of the respective envoys, with authentic protestations and solemn oaths, attended with imprecations, that the liver which they eat may burst them, that God would withdraw his hand from amongst them, that they may be destroyed by their enemies, and their race finish in themselves, if they think of carrying on the war, or carrying off their respective cattle, or killing each others subjects, or have any design of sending witchcraft or poisons into the enemy's country. If any chief sues for peace from a disability of supporting himself, he must humble himself before the enemy ; and, having procured from another chief a protection for the security of his person, must go himself. In this case, the conqueror presents the liver to the subdued, who, by eating it, engages to be faithful to him. Wars are concluded, and peace is restored, in this manner ; though these oaths are generally taken, in order to surprize one another with more facility and conveniency, and is the reason why, notwithstanding their oaths, they are always on their guard.

Astronomy.

These islanders have some knowlege of the motion of the heavens, of the course of the stars, and the zodiac, which, like Europeans, they divide into twelve signs ; and are denominated by the *Ombiaffes*, or priests, *Vintang*s, in the following manner :

	In the spring,	
<i>Alimiza,</i> <i>Alicarobo,</i> <i>Alacossi,</i>	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \} \\ \text{or} \\ \} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>Libra,</i> <i>Scorpio,</i> <i>Sagittarius.</i>
	In summer,	
<i>Alizadi,</i> <i>Adalou,</i> <i>Alobotfi,</i>	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \} \\ \text{or} \\ \} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>Capricorn,</i> <i>Aquarius,</i> <i>Pisces.</i>
	In autumn,	
<i>Alabemali,</i> <i>Azorou,</i> <i>Alizozo,</i>	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \} \\ \text{or} \\ \} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>Aries,</i> <i>Taurus,</i> <i>Gemini.</i>
	In winter,	
<i>Afarata,</i> <i>Alaafade,</i> <i>Afamboulo,</i>	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \} \\ \text{or} \\ \} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>Cancer,</i> <i>Leo,</i> <i>Virgo.</i>
The year is likewise divided into twelve months,		
<i>Vatrevate,</i> <i>Safard,</i> <i>Atsifi, or à Soutri,</i> <i>Valascira,</i> <i>Fossa,</i> <i>Maca,</i> <i>Hiabia,</i> <i>Sacamasseh,</i> <i>Sacave,</i> <i>Voulambitou,</i> <i>Afarmangbits,</i> <i>Afarabe,</i>	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \} \\ \text{or} \\ \} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>March,</i> <i>April,</i> <i>May,</i> <i>June,</i> <i>July,</i> <i>August,</i> <i>September,</i> <i>October,</i> <i>November,</i> <i>December,</i> <i>January,</i> <i>February.</i>

- a The first day of the year begins with the new moon in *March*: they have no certain and regular account of time and seasons, but compute the years by the days of the weeks, beginning the year of circumcision on *Friday*.

THE whole religion of those islanders, who observe circumcision, consists, amongst the whites *Religion.* and blacks, of a gross and idolatrous superstition, without churches and prayers.

THEY believe there is a God, who created heaven and earth, all creatures, and an innumerable host of angels, in seven days; but they neither honour nor serve, but live fearless of him, according to the law of nature, at the same time acknowledging and confessing their sins, and every action of life; especially the most advanced in age, and on the brink of eternity.

- b THEY likewise believe there is a demon, whom they fear exceedingly, and call *Taiuadey*, with many adherents, whom he torments in the most cruel manner, and particularly mankind: they hold God to be the author of all good, never of evil; that he gives existence and life to every thing, and recalls them at pleasure; that the devil is the author of all kind of evil and misfortune; that he sends into the world all wickedness, distempers, and misfortunes, occasions all quarrels, robberies, and death, and is the source of every evil; therefore they appease him with offerings, adore and name him before God in their invocations: they likewise invoke a third power by the name of *Dian Manang*, or lord or god of riches, which they acknowledge to be gold; when they see or have it in possession, it is lifted above their heads, and kissed with the most profound veneration. Many believe even a remission of sins is to be obtained by drinking water in which ear-rings or bracelets of gold have been dipped. They believe the angels and servants of God to be infinite in number; that they move the heavens, the fixed and wandering stars, and are governors of rain, air, wind, water, and earth, the protectors also of the dwellings and life of mankind, whom they screen from all troublesome accidents in their enterprizes.
- c

- THEY hold seven kinds of good and evil spirits; the angels already mentioned to be the first order, and called *Malaingha*, always doing good: they denominate and know them by particular appellations; viz. *Ramichail*, *Ragi-bourail*, *Ranail*, *Rafil*, &c. or *Michael*, *Gabriel*, &c. the spirits of the second order, called *Coucoulanpou*, are inferior to angels, and, though corporeal, are invisible to mankind, inhabit the most solitary places, and become visible to those they intend to favour; are of both sexes, marry, beget children, die after a long life, and, like mankind, expect, according to their good and bad actions, after death, an eternal felicity or condemnation; they eat, without distinction, all kinds of animals and insects, without fear of being injured in body or corporal essence; are subject to no distempers, being protected almost from every accident; yet die, their life being limited to a certain number of years; those whose parents appear after death, immediately dispatch persons to destroy and bury them again. It is remarkable that children even are ashamed and give no credit to these apparitions of parents; which is an unanswerable argument and proof of the superiority of reason over the senseless and narrow dictates of religious superstition. The spirits of the fifth order are called *Angats*, or skeletons: this kind is more imaginary than real, and seems to have some conformity with *European* spectres and phantoms. Those of the sixth order are denominated *Sacara*, and are demons, or evil spirits, that torment, attack, and possess, men, women, and children; they see them coming like fiery dragons, and perceive themselves seized and possessed sometimes for fifteen days. A dart is put into the hands of these unfortunate people, who dance and sing without intermission, exhibiting surprising postures both of their bodies and countenances. Men and women attend on these occasions, imitating their gestures and grimaces, to tire out, as they relate, their patience. Cattle, sheep, and cocks, are immolated, to appease *Sacara* by the number of victims. The spirits of the seventh order are called *Bilis*; their number is affirmed to be infinite, all subject to a commanding spirit, who, with his adherents, is the author of all evil, and is *Lucifer* with his imps.
- d
- e
- f

- THEY believe that God, having created heaven, earth, and all creatures, placed *Adam*, whom he had formed out of the earth, in paradise, which they fix in the sun or moon; who, having no necessity, was prohibited eating and drinking: they add, that paradise was watered by four rivers, one of milk, another of wine, the third of honey, and the fourth of oil, and with great plenty of all sorts of fruit. Their account of his fall is extraordinary, and points out the extravagancy of corrupted nature, destitute of the lights intended to preserve mankind in the knowledge of truth from falsehood. The devil, by cunning and craft, finding *Adam* in paradise, asked the reason why he eat not of those fine fruits and oil, and why he drank not of that fine wine and milk? *Adam* answered, he had been prohibited by God, and had no necessity of nourishment to support life. The devil retired with this answer, and remained two hours; when he returned, and acquainted *Adam*, that he came from God to give him leave to eat what he pleased: that *Adam*, thus courted, eat, and, upon digestion, was guilty of an indecency in paradise; that the devil complained to God of his insolence
- g

and filthiness, who immediately drove him out of paradise, and sent him into a country, a where an imposthume grew in the calf of his leg, which burst in six months, and produced a girl; that, being perplexed on this account, he sent the angel *Gabriel* to God, to know what he should do; that God answered by the same angel, that he should bring her up, and marry her, when come to a certain age; which he did, and called her *Rabouna*, or *Eve*, who was delivered afterwards of two sons, *Cain* and *Abel*, who, when grown up, destroyed each other by an artifice of the devil. They add, that *Adam* had many children, who increased greatly, became wicked, and refused to acknowledge God; that God sent a deluge upon the earth, after he had commanded *Noah* to build a ship, and retire to it with his wife and children, relations, and domestics, with male and female of every species; that they had no sooner entered than the earth, with the remaining animals, was buried under the waters of the deluge, b excepting the four following mountains, *Zabalicaf* in the north, *Zabalicatoure* in the south, *Zabaliraf* in the west, and *Zabalibazani* in the east; but that no persons could save themselves from death; that, after the deluge, *Noah* went out of the ship to live at *Jerusalem*, and from thence to *Mecca*; that he received from God four sorts of writings, which contained his law; the first, *Alifurcan*, or *Al Koran*, was for *Noah*; the second, or *Soratfi*, for *Moses*; the third, *Zonboura*, in favour of *David*; and the fourth, *Alindzi*, for *Christ*, whom they name *Rabiffa*. They say likewise, that *Jesus Christ* came into the world, and was sent by God; that he was begotten by no man, but born of the virgin *Mary*, who was delivered without pain, and remained a virgin; that *Christ* was God and man, and a great prophet; c that he was crucified by the *Jews*, but that God would not permit him to die, and was pleased to substitute the body of a malefactor in its place. They observe *Saturday* with the *Jews*, not *Friday* with the *Mohammedans*; and keep fast-days with great ceremony, though not on fixed and established days, but according to the disposition and quality of the year.

Circumcision.

CIRCUMCISION, or *Valascira*, is celebrated with great solemnity, and generally in the month of *May*: the parents and relations repair to the village where the ceremony is to be performed, and present an ox or bull for each child; but less is taken from the poor: the men perform exercises with their darts, and the women make rings, and dance round the performers: when these exercises are over, the master of the village, who is the circumciser, makes an entertainment, and those who have drank the most are thought to have done the greatest honour to the feast: two hundred head are frequently killed and eat, together with d their hides, on these occasions. The next morning, being the festival, all observe silence, and every person is in his duty: the parents are taken up in preparing their children; the mothers sleep with them the night before the circumcision in the *Lapa*, or church, built a month before by the fathers and uncles of the children which are to be circumcised; and that night the men never approach their wives, or other women, neither of them being permitted to be present at that ceremony after communication with each other, persuaded, from superstitious prejudices, that the blood would not stop when the prepuce is cut off; and that the child must die on that account. The circumciser also pronounces the following words in a high voice: *Salama, Zahanbare, Zabomissabots, Anaubanau, Nambovatsi tangbo, amini Tombouc, Zabomitoulou bouzonhaminau, &c.* or, *I respect thee, my God; I unite myself to you by prayer; I ask e you pardon for my sins; thou hast created feet and hands; I prostrate myself before thee; I this day circumcise this infant, &c.* They go afterwards to the *Lapa*, or church, where the children are brought, and dressed by their mothers with baubles of coral, precious stones, and other ornaments, round their necks, and have every thing in readiness by ten o'clock; the ceremony is to be performed fasting, and they are governed by the shadow of a man, who stands upright before the sun, to observe the critical minute for the execution of this mystery. On these occasions they measure by feet, called *Liba*, or *Pas*; and the precise time for circumcision is when the shadow is nine feet long; then the drums begin beating, and the circumciser puts on his richest garment, and hangs a large skain of white cotton round his arm, to wipe the knife which he carries in his hand. The fathers walk in procession cross the *Lapa*, f with their children under their arms, entering at the west, and going out at the east door; and then walk twice round the cattle which are to be sacrificed, make the children lie a little on their backs, and touch with their left hand the right horn of each ox or bull, which lie on the ground, with their feet tied ready for immolation. The people are afterwards commanded to withdraw and make room, when the circumciser appears with the knife in his hand to cut off the prepuce of every infant; and when done, gives it to the uncle of the boy, who puts it into the yolk and white of an egg, which he holds in his hand for that purpose, and at the same time the attendant *Robandrian* or *Anacandrian*, for butchering the victims, kills a cock for each boy, and drops the blood on the wound, whilst another squeezes the juice of the plant *Hota*, a kind of clover, upon it. If the boy is a slave, and hath no uncle, the prepuce is g flung away. No noise is made; and on this day, which is esteemed holy and sacred by every individual, all refrain from drinking. The *Robandrians* observe the same ceremonies, but with greater preparations, expence, pomp, and magnificence.

- a THE priests, or *Ombiaffes*, are of two orders; the *Ombiaffes Ompanorats* and *Ombiaffes Omptisiquili*; the *Ompanorats* are writers, and generally masters and teachers of the *Arabic* language, practise physic, and compose the *Ziridfi*, or *Massafferrebes*, or small billets, written in *Arabic* characters, which relate to those who are educated in the public schools at *Matatane*. These sly impostors make great profit, and live at their own ease; the people deeming them conjurors and wizards, and living in the greatest fear and dread of them imaginable. The *Omptisiquili* are commonly blacks, of the *Anacandrian* race, who study geomancy, or the art of divination; and although rarely, and then fortuitously, successful in prediction, yet are approved and live in esteem with these islanders. There is another set of *Ombiaffes* amongst the negroes, who likewise visit the sick, but can neither read nor write, and make geomantic figures only, with chrystal, topazes, eagle-stones, and amethysts; and others, called by the common name of *Filaba*, who persuade the people that God sends them in thunder. In making the figures, one of these is placed at the corner of the table, which, they say, exercises the virtue and efficacy of their figures.

- b VINCENTIUS ALBUS and *Gaspar de San Bernardino* have wrote, that this island was divided into six kingdoms; and that the kings were in continual war; and *Marco Paulo*, the *Venetian*, relates, that in his time it was governed by four sovereigns; yet, by later accounts, it is certain that every province has a particular lord, called *Dian*, who appoints a *Filoubei*, or governor, over every village of his dominions; and that the opinion, that any one might appropriate to himself and family what lands he pleased and thought proper, is an erroneous and groundless opinion; not a foot of land to be found in the island, but what belongs to, and is cultivated by, the respective owners.

- c THE subjects are not governed by laws or edicts, nor is there a written law to be found throughout the island; natural law is the sole rule of their deportment. *Massindili*, or law of the prince, is one; *Massinpoh*, or law of private men, is the second; and *Massintane*, the law or custom of the country, is the third. *Massindili*, or law of the prince, is a word compounded of *Massin*, law or custom, and of *Hadili*, or command, is the prince's will founded upon reason, and consists in administering justice to every individual, adjusting differences, and of punishing delinquents in their property or persons. A thief, by this law, must return the quadruple value of the theft, if able, or has a friend to pay the forfeiture: if deficient in these, his life is at stake, and particularly in an affair of importance, or he must become the slave of the party he robbed. *Massinpoh* is the behaviour in life of private persons, in their employment, trade, conversation, support of their families, and manner of living and undertakings. *Massintane* is the general and particular custom of the country, the solid foundation and standard of their conduct on all occasions, as their manner of planting and sowing, building villages, making war, or public rejoicings, dancing, and exercise of arms. The prince's law is founded on this ancient custom, which admits of no alteration. Should a chief command any thing contrary to the received custom, the subjects would immediately oppose the custom of their ancestors, which princes have not the power of setting aside; nor would they obey the order, as having no right to impose it: and they are so tenacious of whatever descends from their ancestors, that nothing in the world could induce a change; which is the reason why the primitive method of agriculture and apparel is esteemed amongst them.

e AN injured person, who has suffered considerably, may execute justice without sending the criminal to, or waiting the sentence of, the lord of the country; and a thief, caught in the act, is killed with as little ceremony as a serpent. Adultery is punished with severe penalties; and many send away and kill their wives on this account: and if a married woman, separated from her husband, should have children by another man, the children are the property of the husband, till the woman is married again with his consent; but which is never obtained till the *Tacq*, or fortune, is returned, which is, according to the custom of the country, paid to the woman's father upon their marriage.

S E C T. IV.

- f BETWEEN the north end of *Madagascar* and the coast of *Zanguebar* lie the islands of *Gormoro*, *Comorro*, or *Comaro*, from ten to fifteen degrees south latitude. Authors differ greatly with respect to their number. *Linschoten* speaks only of one, *Pyrard* and *Vincent de Vil* mention five, *Sanutus* three, and *Sir Thomas Roe* ^a no less than eight, though he only specifies four by name; viz. *Malalia*, *Angazya*, *Johanna*, or *Juanny*, and *Majoke*; the three last standing under the same parallel, and almost in a line from east to west, only

Comorro Islands.

^a PURCHAS, t. v. l. vii. c. 12. OSSOR, l. iv. DE BRUE, p. iii. MAFFÆI Hist. l. iii. c. 37. RAMUS. fol. 116. p. i. & 222, p. ii.

that *Angazya* projects a little towards the north. *Malalia* lies directly under the eleventh a degree and twentieth minute of south latitude, from which the last-mentioned island is distant about five leagues to the north-west, under eleven degrees and five minutes. *Johanna* is the most easterly of the whole, and has good roads for shipping, but no harbours on any side. All these islands, and especially *Malalia*, abound in horned cattle, sheep, hogs, and fowls of different kinds, as well as sweet and four oranges, great and small citrons, coco-nuts, bananas, honey, betel, sugar-canes, rice, which turns to a violet colour when boiled, and ginger, if we may rely on the authority of *Sanutus* ^b.

ANGAZYA is inhabited by *Moors*, who trade with divers parts of the continent, and all the islands to the eastward, in cattle, fruits, and other commodities of the island, exchanging them for calicoes, and other cotton cloths, for their own wear. The bread mostly used in b all these islands is made of the kernel of the coco-nut, boiled or broiled, and spread over with honey: their drink is palm-wine, a juice extracted from the sugar-cane, and suffered to ferment, or the milk of the coco-nut. They never presume to let their women be seen by strangers, without permission from the sultan, or an order to see them, which the stranger brings with him. Many of them write and read *Arabic* with great facility, and some there are who understand the *Portuguese*, which they learn by means of their intercourse with *Mozambique*, whither they trade in vessels of forty tons burden. The houses are built of stone and lime, made of calcined oyster-shells, with which the walls and roof are plaistered in a very elegant manner, and the roofs and windows covered with palm-leaves, which serve equally as a defence against the rain and the sun-beams.

THE island of *Angazya* is under the government of ten lords, the constitution being a c pure aristocracy; while *Johanna* and *Malalia* acknowledge but one sovereign. Only the children of the sultan of *Malalia* participate in his authority, whether male or female, who govern in quality of viceroys in different provinces of the island: all, however, bear the title of sultans, though they are in some respects subordinate to the authority of the father: each has his guards, his crown, sceptre, and all the ensigns and pageantry of majesty, together with a brilliant crown and numerous household. The sultan never stirs abroad but he is attended by twenty of the principal persons in the kingdom; upon which occasion his dress is a long robe hanging down to the heels, of striped callico, with a turban on his head. The people in general wear loose callico banians, and are continually chewing *Areka*, or betel, in the d manner of the *East Indians*, to whom, in their customs, they have a near affinity ^e.

Johanna.

THE island of *Johanna* is the most frequented, and best known to *Europeans*, of all the *Comorro* islands; for here they touch for refreshments in their passage to *Bombay* and the *Malabar* coasts of *India*. This island lies in 11 degrees 50 minutes, according to some writers; but is placed in most of the modern maps in 12 degrees 20 minutes south latitude. It is thirty miles long and fifteen broad. The natives are negroes, who profess *Mohammedism*, live hospitably, and express a particular friendship for the *English*. Their government is a pure monarchy, and their females are not excluded from the throne. The island is fertile in rice, potatoes, yams, bananas, tamarinds, oranges, lemons, pine-apples, coco-nuts, honey, and wax, as well as in black cattle and goats. Their women, as is usual in most negro e countries, are employed in husbandry, and other laborious occupations; whilst the men indulge in ease, sloth, and luxury, smoking their pipes, or chewing betel, or *Areka*. They are, in general, a plain, simple, well-meaning, inoffensive people, hospitable beyond their wealth, void of ambition, and totally ignorant of the art of war and arms, the instruments of ambition and destruction. Their kings, though the fountains of justice, assume no state or dignity, which sets them at great distance from their subjects, but converse familiarly both with them and foreigners, gaining the affections of both by their affability, without diminishing their authority, or taking off from the respect of their inferiors. They have but two towns, to one of which voyagers have given the appellation of *King's Town*, from its being the residence of their princes. Another they have called *Queen's Town*, some of their princesses f having chose to hold their court there, and make it the seat of their government. These towns are built with timber and stone; but the rest of their houses, and the habitations of the peasants, are mean huts, dispersed over the face of the island. The ordinary fare of the people is boiled rice, roots, flesh, milk, and fruits, particularly the coco-nut, the milky part of which is a common drink amongst them, and the shells are generally used for cups. They hate and dread the devil so much, that they burn him commonly in effigy; intimating by that their detestation of this enemy to the human species. They also have a strong abhorrence of that spot where any one happens to die, looking upon the ground either to be unlucky, or dreading departed spirits, the universal foible of the vulgar; or at least, as others suggest, believing this place to be polluted by the dead carcase; which wears off in time, g

^b Vide apud PURCHAS, t. v. ibid.

^c LA CROIX, t. iv. p. 580. Vide etiam Auct. supra citat. ibid.

a and they return to the house, and live in the chambers, where their friends breathed their last, with the same unconcern as other people. In general, the religion and manners of all the *Comorro* islands have a strong affinity; they vary in particular modes, but the fundamentals of both are nearly the same in all ^d.

EAST of *Madagascar*, and from the fifth to the fortieth degree of latitude, we find a *Desert islands*. number of islands, laid down in most modern maps, but no-where described. These are the islands called the *Settos Hermannos*, *Tres Hermannos*, near the line. The island of *Diego Garcia* lies under the latitude of eight, and longitude ninety east. Near two degrees south of this stand three small islands, called in *De Lisle's* maps *Brandons*; and directly south of them, about three degrees, stands the island *Rodrique*, or *Roderigo*, placed erroneously, as
 b we have observed, between the continent and *Madagascar*, not very far distant from the *Comorro* islands. Under the 29th degree of south latitude stands the island of *Ramareiros*, about nine degrees east and south-east of *Mauritius*. Then appears the island of *John of Lisbon*, in the same longitude with the isle of *Bourbon*, and in latitude of 26 degrees south. In latitude 32, and longitude 76, lies an island discovered by the *Dutch*, to which they have given no name; and south of it, under latitude 37, 38, stand the islands of *Amsterdam* and *St. Paul*; but of neither of these can we any where find a tolerable description, or indeed any thing that merits the attention of the reader. North of the *Cape of Good Hope* there are, besides, three small desert islands, called in the *Dutch*, *Roben Eiland*, *Dassen Eiland*, and *Frans Eiland*. The first of these is likewise called *Rabbit Island*, from the prodigious number
 c of those animals which burrow about the shore; and the second has its name from the deer it is found to produce, or rather harbour; for it is believed they have been carried thither by some *European* ships; some think by *Spitzbergen*, in the year 1611. It is incredible how they have since multiplied, or in what manner they procure pasture on so small an island, the whole of which is covered over with deer. The *English* and *Dutch* have also planted some sheep here, which have grown to an amazing bulk, but did not multiply in proportion to the deer; their tails have measured twenty-nine inches in diameter, and weighed thirty-four pounds; nor did the fat taken from the loins weigh much less. What could induce *Spitzbergen* to plant deer and sheep here, we cannot conjecture, as the island, which is sandy, producing nothing besides flowers and briars, had a most unpromising appearance for the
 d breeding or fattening cattle, though the event has answered his expectations. What still increases our astonishment is, that it wants fresh water; which circumstance alone, we should imagine, would destroy his whole project. *Rabbit Island* is about two leagues only in circumference; and *Deer Island* still less. As to the *Isle of France*, it stands north of these, and is much the same in extent and qualities of soil and climate, though we are not informed of the nature of the produce, if any it has.

TURNING the *Cape of Good Hope*, and steering north north-west, we fall in with the island of *St. Helena*, lying in the 16th degree of south latitude; which we have already described in our account of the settlements belonging to the *English East India* company ^e. Next comes *Ascension* island, so called by the *Portuguese*, who discovered it upon that day, in the *Ascension* latitude of eight degrees south, and two hundred leagues and upwards north of the island of *St. Helena*; but neither they nor any other nation have hitherto thought it worthy of a colony. Mr. *Ovington* tells us, that *Tristan de Cunha*, the *Portuguese* admiral, first fell in with it on his return from the *East Indies*, anno 1508. It is about eight leagues in circumference; some of it high land, or rather mountainous, but all of it barren, without a drop of water, a blade of grass, or shrub, to refresh and restore the languid spirits of the fatigued mariner, loaded with the most nauseous of all disorders, the sea-scurvy. On the contrary, it is, says *La Croix*, sandy, dry, barren, and burnt up by the heat of the sun to a cinder; though some are of opinion there had been formerly a volcano here, now exhausted. In some places, however, Mr. *Ovington* says, it is fit for tillage; but it is chiefly valuable to the homeward-bound shipping, on account of its excellent harbour, and the vast quantities of sea-fowl, fish, and turtle, which are found in it, as well as some goats, whose flesh is not inferior to mutton in sweetness and delicacy (A). In the crevice of a rock there is a place called by the sailors the *Post-office*,
 f where

^d SANUT. l. xii. PYRARD, t. i. c. 4. DAVITY, t. v. fol. 651. LA CROIX, t. iv. p. 580.

^e Vol. iv.

(A) *Linschoten* makes mention of a cluster of small islands north and north-east of *Ascension*, which he calls the islands of *Martin Vaaz* and of *Tristan da Cunha*. The same writer observes, that *Spitzbergen* discovered an island in the year 1601, opposite the bay of *St. Helena*, on the north coast of the *Cape of Good Hope*, which he called, and the *Dutch* still call, *Elizabeth Isle*. It lies under 30 deg. 30 min. south longitude, is fenney and marshy on the west end, but fertile in the east, and in-

deed in every other part. The situation is exceeding low, almost upon a level with the ocean, which, in tempestuous seasons, threatens to overwhelm it; the surface all covered over with herbs, plants, and flowers, of an odoriferous flavour; but without those two great conveniences of life, wood and water. It is chiefly inhabited by an animal of the size of a hare, whose parts of generation and claws denote it a bear, but the head is smaller and more pointed, the tusks different, and it generally

where ships leave letters for each other, shut up in a well-corked bottle, which the next that comes breaks open, and leaves another in its stead ^f.

St. Matthew
island.

ST. MATTHEW island had its name given by the *Portuguese*, the first discoverers, because on that saint's day they first fell in with it. According to *La Croix*, it lies in one degree fifty minutes south latitude, about an hundred leagues north-east of *Ascension* island. It is about eight leagues in circumference, desert, but finely watered by a rivulet of clear fresh water, that branches out into a number of lesser streams; yet would it seem to have been once cultivated, as the *Portuguese* kept possession of it for some time ^g. *La Martiniere* observes, that *Garcias de Louisa*, a gentleman of *Biscay*, who commanded the fleet which the emperor *Charles V.* fitted out at the *Groyne* for the conquest of the *Moluccas*, landed at the island of *St. Matthew*, found it uncultivated, but covered with orange and other fruit-trees. He also found some poultry there, and *Portuguese* inscriptions on the barks of the trees, which proved that the island was not then unknown to this nation. Where *Martiniere* picked up this anecdote, we cannot say; though the reader will easily perceive the little credit to be given it, from the strange anachronisms with which it is pregnant; yet has it been inconsiderately retained by modern geographers, whom, out of tenderness, we avoid mentioning.

Annobon
island.

WE now come to the islands nearer to the continent, and lying off the coasts of *Loango*, *Mojamba*, and the kingdom of *Benin*. Of these the first which we meet with in our course to the northward is the island of *Annobon*, or *Happy Year*, a name given it by the discoverers, the *Portuguese*, who fell in with it on *New-year's* day. *Annobon* lies to the east of *St. Matthew*, in the latitude of two degrees south, or, according to *La Croix*, in one degree twenty minutes, and in the fifth degree and tenth minute of east longitude from *London*, twenty-five leagues south of *St. Thomas* island, and forty-five from *Cape Lopez Gonsalvo*. It is, according to *Pyrard*, about five or six *French* leagues in circuit; but *Baudrand* calls it ten leagues in compass. There are two high mountains, the tops of which being continually covered with clouds, occasion frequent rain, if we follow the philosophy now so much in vogue, with respect to meteors and the atmosphere. *Annobon* has a number of fertile vallies, prolific in *Turkey* corn, rice, millet, potatoes, yams, bananas, pine-apples, citrons, oranges, lemons, figs, tamarinds, and other delicious fruits. Here also are oxen, hogs, sheep, goats, pigeons, and other poultry, in great plenty, with an equal abundance of fish; but the only mercantile production of the island is cotton, which is esteemed equal to any produced in *India*, were the quantity but in any degree proportioned to its quality.

THE governor is a *Portuguese*, with a few *European* servants about him; all the rest are natives, who pay him an implicit obedience, and are bigotted in their attachment to the *Roman* catholic faith. On the south-east end of the island are two rocks, one of which is low, and upon a level with the surface of the sea, the other higher and larger, but both dangerous in the night to shipping. These rocks are inhabited by a prodigious number of birds, so tame that the sailors frequently feed and catch them with their hands. Between those rocks the chanel is so deep and clear, that ships may safely pass. On the same side of the island there is a convenient watering-place, at the foot of a rivulet, which tumbles from the mountains down to a valley covered with oranges, citrons, &c. and affording a pleasant and refreshing shade; but the road on the north-west side is difficult and dangerous, though most frequented by ships who have no intention of touching upon the continent. In either place it is no easy matter to take in a sufficient quantity of water, on account of the violent breakings of the sea, and a stone intrenchment which the negroes have erected, from which they annoy all strangers who attempt to land. The true road for large shipping is on the north-east side, where they may anchor in seven, ten, thirteen, or sixteen fathoms, on a fine sand close to the land, opposite to the village where the negroes have thrown up their intrenchment.

THE climate is wholesome, and the air clear and serene for the greater part of the year. Every part of the island is watered by pleasant brooks, and fresh-water springs, which, however, at the new and full moon, or in all high tides, acquire a brackishness and saltiness, that seems to prove the contrary of the modern system, that fountains and springs have their origin from the sea, and are rendered fresh by percolation. The banks of every rivulet are covered with palms, whence the inhabitants extract their wine by incision; all sorts of other fruits and roots, as well as a species of black nut of a purgative quality.

^f SANUT. lib. vii. LINSCH. c. 95. LA CROIX, p. 589, ibid. PURCH. t. v. l. vii. c. 12. LA CROIX, t. iv. p. 588.

^g SANUT. l. vii.

nerally walks erect on the hind feet, which exactly resemble those of a bear, with this difference, that all the joints are more yielding and flexible. It is a most hideous animal, fierce and strong as it is ugly, insomuch that it

was with difficulty three armed men could master it *. Whether this be an animal bred in the brains of our author, we shall leave the reader to determine; we thinking it our business to mention a creature so peculiar.

* *Linschot. c. iii. Davity, fol. 644.*

- a MERCATOR, and some other voyagers, affirm that this island is uncultivated and uninhabited; which might be true when they lived, though there are now above sixty negro families, besides *Portuguese*, who live by the product of their own hands, their agriculture, fishing, and grazing or breeding cattle. In the year 1605 the *Dutch* admiral *Matelief* found two hundred negroes, and two *Portuguese*, on *Annobon*, most of them able to bear arms, expert in the use of them, and trained up in military discipline. *La Croix* says, it has a town opposite to the road that contains above an hundred houses, the whole surrounded by a parapet. Most of their dwellings are cane huts, and in the whole island there is not a single house built of stone, and only two of wood, which belong to the *Portuguese*. All the inhabitants are meanly clothed; the women go bare-headed, and have also the upper part of the body
- b naked, modesty being defended by a piece of linen wrapt under their stomach, and falling down in the form of a petticoat, or wide apron, to the knees. As to the men, they wear only a linen girdle round the loins, with a small flap before. The women carry their children on their backs, and suckle them over the shoulder; whence one may conceive the beauteous dimensions of those parts which constitute the most engaging ornaments of a fine person. All the inhabitants are subject to the *Portuguese* governor, who is the chief person in the island; at the same time that the negroes have their own chief, subordinate to him. They are all rigid catholics, having been either compelled or persuaded by the arguments of the *Portuguese* to embrace, and, like all other converts, they are bigotted in proportion to the novelty of the belief, and their ignorance of the true tenets ^a.
- c SOUTH of *St. Thomas*, and between it and the former, is situated a small island, called by the *Portuguese* *Ilha Rolles*, and by the *Hollanders* *Rolletjes*; between which and *St. Thomas* stands the *Ilha del Cabres*, or *Goat Island*. Both are mountainous, and covered with wild lemon-trees. Next in order comes the island of *St. Thomas*, the head possession of the *Portuguese* upon this coast, called by the natives *Poncas*, but by the *Europeans* *St. Thomas*, from its being discovered upon the day dedicated to that saint. The equinoctial line passes directly over it, dividing the town, and even the church, into south and north latitudes, between the sixth and seventh degrees of east longitude from *London*. It stands in the *Ethiopic* gulph, commonly called the *Gulph of Benin*, and sometimes that of *St. Thomas*, is of a circular form, some say forty, and others sixty, miles in diameter; but, according to *La Croix*, no more
- d than twelve leagues ¹. The climate is hot, moist, and unwholesome, especially to *Europeans*, few of whom ever arrive at the age of fifty, though many of the natural inhabitants live to complete a full century. It is observed of the natives, that they are generally of a lean habit, and dry, hard, atrabilious temperament; that the climate impedes growth; and that *Europeans*, who promised an extraordinary size, were immediately checked in their stature upon coming to *St. Thomas*, where they never grew a hair's breadth taller; a phenomenon we think by no means reconcileable with that moist hot climate, and, if true, the result probably of some other adventitious cause. Dead bodies putrefy here so suddenly, that they are forced to lay them under ground the moment that life is extinct. But the atmosphere
- e seems to have acquired a peculiar malignancy in the town; though we should imagine that fires would, in some measure, correct its bad qualities, particularly with respect to its moisture. The town, indeed, is situated upon a low marshy ground; but the objection holds in every other part of the island, where-ever there happens to be a groupe of houses, the situation being more or less healthy in proportion to the number of dwellings and inhabitants, yet without any particular slovenliness in their manner of living, or any closeness or default in their buildings. This is a fact attested by such a number of writers, that we have no room to question its veracity, though we must leave the explication of it to philosophers, and the faculty.
- f AT certain seasons of the year the sky is quite darkened by thick fogs, which are dispelled by the fresh winds that blow in the months of *July* and *August*. During the foggy season, the *Portuguese* have found, by experience, that their only defence against its malign influence is keeping close shut up in their houses till the air is purified and refreshed by the north-east winds which blow from *Ethiopia* and *Abissinia* across the continent, and give vigour to the limbs of foreigners, relaxed by the moist warmth of those continued mists, which may be compared to a warm bath. It is observed, that these winds, so invigorating to the *Portuguese*, have a quite contrary effect upon the rigid and hard solids of the natives, who fall into a greater number of diseases during their continuance than the whole year besides. Thus those seasons, which give vigour, spirits, and life, to the *Portuguese*, occasion the death of a great part of the negroes, and are equally wished for by the one and dreaded by
- g the others.

^a LA CROIX, tom. iv. p. 6. c. 6. §. 3. RAMUSIO, ubi supra.¹ Auſt. citat. ibid.

AT *St. Thomas* they have two winters, like all other places under the same parallels, but without the cold which distinguishes that season of the year in *Europe*. What they here call winter is the rainy, or rather foggy, season, which is by far the most sultry, hot, and intolerable, of the whole year. They both begin with the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, or in the months of *March* and *September*, when the sun's rays are directly vertical. The rains continue from *December* to *February*, and their spring begins with our summer in the month of *May*, or when the sun is in *Capricorn*, and continues till it enters the *Ram*; that is, three months of spring, and an equal number of summer. For the three first months of this period the moist heat is altogether insupportable to persons necessarily exposed to it; we mean *Europeans*; for, as to the natives, it is life to them; though, when it comes to its height, even they begin to relax, grow faint and sickly under it, are scarce able to drag themselves along, or to touch the earth with their feet, unless defended by thick shoes. Now it is that ardent and putrid fevers break out with incredible fury, sweeping off the *Europeans* with all the violence and rapidity of a pestilence, beginning with a freezing chillness, which changes into a burning intolerable heat, parched tongue, and tense skin, that commonly carries off the patient on the third, seventh, or fourteenth day, though generally on the third. If they survive the fourteenth day, they almost always recover, unless they have been guilty of some irregularity in the regimen prescribed them. *La Croix* observes, that, in both fevers, bleeding proves fatal, as the constant experience of the *Portuguese* surgeons shews; yet we cannot help ascribing this to their ignorance of the time or manner of performing the operation, which could not possibly fail of mitigating the symptoms, were the pulse properly understood. Another extraordinary part of their practice consists, not only in permitting, but encouraging, the patient to drink large draughts of cold water, which, *La Croix* affirms, is always attended with happy consequences, although he does not condescend to specify them, or in what manner they appear. The disease called *Bitios de Cas*, indigenous to many parts of *Africa*, is more frequent and dangerous in the island of *St. Thomas* than any-where else; for which the only cure is large quantities of lemon-juice. Venereal diseases are also common, especially that species of it known among the negroes by the name of *Yaws*, which they have now the method of curing by mercurial unctions and salivation; though we are assured by a number of authors, that certain plants, which all the *African* countries afford, known only to the negroes, have in them the most specific virtues against this uncleanly distemper. It is now observable, that, since the use of mercury has been introduced among them, more die of the *Yaws* than before: so that we may fairly say of the *European* practice at *St. Thomas*, that it is a cure worse than the disease. The last disease we shall mention, which has the appearance of being endemial here, is the dropsy, to which almost all men, both *Portuguese* and negroes, are subject; a disease this, which may easily be explained from the nature of the climate. We are told, that the negroes cure it in a few days, by mixing the juice of a certain plant, known only to themselves, with the oil of coco-nuts, which they rub all over the abdomen and legs, if they happen to swell. It is possible, indeed, that the virtue of the medicine may be chiefly owing to the deterfive quality of the oil, as some experiments made by *Dr. Oliver*, of our own country, seem to confirm.

WHEN the court of *Portugal* first thought of settling a colony in this island, they sent a number of persons, whom they supposed capable of so important a trust; every man of which died in a short time, by the intemperance of the climate. Those who succeeded them had the precaution to make some stay in *Guiney*, and afterwards at *Angola*; thus, by approaching gradually, to render the effects of the change less sudden and fatal: the consequence was, that they supported the climate of *St. Thomas* without any great diminution of their number, or inconvenience to those who survived. We are informed likewise, that *John* of *Portugal* sold for slaves all those *Jews* who refused to embrace Christianity; and that, after ordering their children to be baptized, they were transported thither, from whom are descended the present race of inhabitants, who are a kind of mixed descent between the swarthiness and atrabilious temperament of the *Jews*, and the more sanguine plethoric habit and jet-black complexion of the negroes. When the *Dutch* admiral *Houtabeau* took the island in 1641, he lost the greater part of his crew in a very short time, and fell himself a sacrifice to the unwholsomeness of the climate; by which most of the officers were carried off. In a word, with such fury did almost all the diseases of the place rage among the *Dutch*, that, in less than a month, scarce hands enough remained of the crews of four ships to work one back to *Europe*; and they were forced to write to prince *Maurice*, then in the *Brazils*, to assist them with sailors, fresh provisions, and wine. The diseases that made the greatest havock among them, were dysenteries, which carried them off in a week, and acute pains in the head, terminating in deliriums, that destroyed life, and inflamed the brain, nay mortified it, as some writers affirm, in the space of two days. The former they attributed to the milk of the coco-nuts, of which the sailors drank to excess, and

a and the latter to colds caught by the night-damps, after the excessive heat of the day; tho' both might, perhaps, be accounted for from this cause.

THE same mortality seized the crew of admiral *Verdoes* in the year 1610, who lost above a thousand men by the epidemic disorders of the country in five days. *Verdoes* himself, his vice-admiral *Storm*, seventeen captains of ships, all the land-forces, and the greater part of the sailors, died like infected sheep. It was not therefore without reason, that prince *Maurice* recommended to the *Dutch*, while they were in possession of this island, the same policy used by the court of *Portugal*; namely, the sending none but condemned criminals thither, where they met with a fate no less certain than if they had been punished on the gibbet.

b THE soil of the island of *St. Thomas* is clammy, viscous, clayey, high-coloured, frequently coarse, and mixed with chalk. It does not easily crumble into dust, on account of the moisture it receives from the heavy dews that fall at night, which at the same time water plants, and render the soil prolific. The excellency and fertility of the earth appears from hence, that if a negro leaves a plantation uncultivated or fallow but the shortest time, trees, plants, and shrubs, sprout forth with amazing vigour. These they convert immediately to use, by burning them to ashes, which proves the strongest and best manure for sugar-canes. This plant grows in all the vallies to a prodigious height, but is less juicy, and produces a smaller quantity of sugar, than might be expected, either from some natural defect, or a default in the manner of squeezing the cane, which is different here from the method used in the *Brazils* and *West India* islands. After the cane is planted in a soil manured with vegetable
c ashes, it arrives at maturity in less than five months, and those set about the end of *January* are ripe for cutting in *June*, those in *February* in *July*; and thus they have fresh crops the year round. As soon as they are cut down, they squeeze them in water-mills, or mills turned round by negroes or cattle, which the *Portuguese* call *Ingenbis*; the sugar is boiled and formed into lumps, no more of it being refined or purified than is wanted for use; and the squeezed canes are given to the hogs, who fatten extremely upon this diet, get a firm, solid, and sweet flesh, and are often cured by it in their most desperate diseases. Formerly seven ships used to be freighted in the sugar-trade, four for *Portugal*, two for *Madeira* and the *Canaries*, and one for *England*; but since this production hath been brought to such perfection in the *American* colonies, the trade of *St. Thomas* is fallen low, and perhaps the soil may be impoverished by
d too frequent culture. The *Portuguese* have omitted nothing to render their sugars white and solid; they have had refiners and boilers from every nation in *Europe*; but all to no purpose, the soil communicating a certain flavour and fatness that is incapable of being purged off. Perhaps too, something may be owing to the moisture of the climate, which keeping the cane from drying, gives a particular flavour to the juice, which may grow rancid before it can be boiled and concocted. This occasions their drying them over a slow wood-fire, whence likewise the quality of the fluid parts may be affected, and acquire that viscosity and fatness, by exhaling a proportion of the aqueous part.

THIS island produced neither sugar-canes nor ginger, before the *Portuguese* planted and cultivated them with great care and labour. In 1645, there were upwards of fifty-four sugar-
e mills in constant employment, each of them furnishing yearly about six or seven hundred loads of coarse sugar, or rather of the juice unprepared; the whole being computed by *Mandesloe*, tho' we have reckoned much less, at forty ship-loads. Probable it is, indeed, that there had formerly been a greater number of mills than in *La Croix's* time, since the account of the *Dutch* expedition to *St. Thomas*, in 1610, mentions their having destroyed upwards of sixty or seventy sugar-mills.

THE *Portuguese* have been no less assiduous in bringing wheat to perfection, which they imagined must flourish extremely in so rich a soil. Experience, however, has disappointed their expectation, and proved the climate to be too moist, and the earth too viscous, for bringing that precious vegetable to its full perfection. Nothing can be more beautiful than
f the first appearance of a crop, which springs up to an amazing height in an incredibly short time; but the ears are observed never to fill well, or produce any thing equivalent to the trouble of the husbandman. Rice and millet flourish here, and perhaps for the same causes that obstruct the maturity of wheat. Vines of the richest kind, melons, cucumbers, figs, ginger, all sorts of roots, pulse, and pot-herbs, together with the fruits of every denomination of the warmer climates, are reared in the utmost perfection, with little labour or expence. From their vines they make excellent wine, but in a small quantity; their attention to the sugar-trade diverting them from improving their vineyards to all the advantage of which they are capable. In a word, the experiments they have made abundantly prove the fallacy of that maxim which prevailed among naturalists, that vines could not be raised to any perfection in
g the torrid or frigid zones, or even in countries more moderate than either of these extremes.

THE scarcity of wheat obliges the inhabitants to use rice, millet, and roots, and chiefly the last, for bread. Yams, in particular, are found congenial to the negroes, and prove to them a most delicious and wholesome diet. They have it here of four different kinds, which
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they distinguish by the names of *Benin*, *Maniconga*, *Acherevi*, and *Sasvanec*, intimating the places from whence they were transplanted. The two first are the sweetest, if eat fresh; but the latter keep the best. They have also a root they call *Mandchacku*, which they make into bread; but the natives are not fond of it, and export it chiefly to *Angola*, where it is in high estimation. This root is much used in *Brazil*, where it never arrives to the same perfection or size as at *St. Thomas*; and has particularly this essential difference, that there they press it under a great weight before it is used, in order to express a thin juice and moisture, said to be of a malignant and poisonous quality. Without this previous operation, it produces violent vomitings, and all the symptoms of a true poison. Here is a species of bean they call *Jojoos*, and a fruit to which they give the name of *Pefigos*, having this peculiarity, that it grows immediately out of the trunk to which it adheres, like round vials, or large globules of water, which it resembles in transparency, while the leaves hang like fruit from the extremities of the twigs and branches. The fruit incloses a small stone, and eats deliciously, if it has been separated from a thin rind that envelopes it. Here also is a fruit called *Cola*, the production of a tree of an extraordinary size. The fruit is inclosed in a hard shell, divided into separate parts by thin partitions of the rind, esteemed pleasant and wholesome, and eat by the negroes raw, and by the *Europeans* roasted, in the manner of chestnuts. It has a kind of agreeable bitterness, that adds a pungency to the taste, but is changed into sweet by drinking a glass of water. A great trade is carried on by the negroes in this fruit, which they export to all the neighbouring coasts of the continent. They also trade largely in palm-wine and oil; but their chief trade consists in cotton, from whence arises a very considerable revenue to the *Portuguese*. In the island some part of it is manufactured into blue and white, or red and white, striped cloth, for the use of the natives, and also for exportation to *Angola*, *Loango*, *Congo*, and *Benin*. Here also is found the cabbage-tree, called *Abellame* by the islanders, which grows to a prodigious height in the space of one year.

THE island of *St. Thomas* is well-watered with fresh rivers and rivulets, of a clear, light, wholesome water, that greatly fertilize the soil, says *La Croix*; tho' we are inclined to believe that the length of the rainy and foggy seasons, together with the heavy dews which fall the rest of the year, would afford sufficient moisture, perhaps too much, to the earth, without the addition of fountains, springs, rivulets, and rivers; many of which, after innumerable windings and branchings, discharge themselves into the sea. In the center it has a high mountain, covered with wood and fruit-trees, the top always crowned with snow, in such quantities that it forms a number of rivulets, which water the sugar-cane plantations in the vallies at the bottom of the mountain. It abounds with a variety of animals tame and wild, as hogs, black cattle, sheep, goats, and a small species of little, red, or high-coloured bay-horse, geese, *Guiney* hens, ducks, turtle doves, barn fowls, thrushes, partridges, starlings, sea gulls, paroquets, with an infinity of the feathered kind, some valuable for their plumage, some for their flesh, and others for their voices and the melody of their song. In the surrounding sea are found incredible variety of fish, from the whale down to the smallest fish that swims; nor are the rivers less plentifully stocked. In a word, this island might equal any spot on the globe, did the temperature of the climate correspond in any measure to the abundance of its fruits, plants, and animals, as well as the diversity and beauty of the landscape.

PAVAOASAN, or *Pavaoste*, the capital, is divided into four parts, by two rivers that intersect each other in the very center of the town. It stands on the middle of the gulph, in a plain on the north side of the island; it is of an oval form, and about half a league in compass, containing within this space about five hundred houses, each one storey high; the method of building in all the warmer climates. Towards the sea it is fortified by stone ramparts, which the *Portuguese* governor erected in the year 1607, by publishing an edict, that every person who entered the town should bring with him a stone, to contribute to the defence and security of the place. All the houses are built of a durable white timber, as hard as oak, and the growth of the island, except the governor's, and two other houses belonging to the *Portuguese*, which are built of stone. Here are three churches; the largest, called *Conception*, in honour of the Virgin *Mary*, is a stately building, that passes for a cathedral; the second is the *Santa Izabella*, to which adjoins an hospital; and the third, which is no more than a chapel belonging to the castle, is called *St. Sebastian*. There are several other places of worship without the walls of less note; such as *St. Antonio*, about half a mile from the town, the *Matre Dios*, about a league to the south-east, the *Holy Trinity*, two leagues to the eastward, and *St. Ann's* church, about the same distance to the south-east.

THE castle, or citadel, of *St. Sebastian*, composed of four salient bastions, stands upon a point of land on the north side of the town and gulph. It is neatly built with free-stone, hard as flint, the walls 25 feet high, and so thick and strong, that it may be deemed impregnable on that side, provided the garrison consists at least of an hundred men, with ammunition, stores, and every thing necessary for an obstinate defence.

- a THE inhabitants are of two sorts, the outlawed and banished *Portuguese*, who inhabited it on its discovery, whose descendants still preserve their fair complexion, with no very considerable alteration; and the negroes retained in the service of the *Europeans*, and such as chuse to reside here from *Angola*. The former are distinguished from the *Portuguese*, who go thither to trade, to accept of posts, and to raise their fortunes. They are, however, allowed the honour of calling themselves *Portuguese*, tho' they and their ancestors, for a series of ages, have been born in the island. Perhaps, indeed, another distinction ought to be made of that mixed progeny, the fruits of the embraces of a negro and a white person, who are in fact true mulattoes. It is customary, besides, to import about five thousand young negroes from *Lovando St. Paolo*, to be trained in the art of planting sugar-canes, and all the various operations of this manufacture, who afterwards are sent or sold to the *West India* colonies: at least this was formerly customary, and no late author mentions its being abolished.

THE *Portuguese* inhabitants dress in the manner of their mother-country, and many of the negroes, and their children, imitate them, where their circumstances will permit it; but the slaves, as well male as female, go naked, except an apron of palm-leaves, or a bit of cloth, which their masters oblige them to wear out of decency.

- As for the common diet of the country, it consists chiefly of bread made of potatoes, yams, and other roots, we mean with respect to the negroes, and palm-wine, mixed with water, or simple water only, and sometimes goats milk. In the hot seasons, five or six families agree to eat together, in caverns under-ground, to avoid the scorching sun-beams, whither each carries his provision, which he has dressed at home. This method is likewise customary among the *Portuguese*, but, at different seasons of the year.

- THE trade of the island consists in sugar, of which they export in the lump about an hundred *Arobs*, by some writers called *Auropes*, yearly; each *Arob* weighing thirty-two pounds; that which is sent into *Europe* being wrapt up in leaves. *La Croix* calls this black sugar, probably meaning that made up in rolls. The carriage from the interior parts of the island is down the river in canoes, or in sledges or carts drawn by oxen; which last method greatly raises the price of the sugar; and indeed that trade is of late years much diminished. Their cotton and stuffs, manufactured in the island, constitute the next material articles of the *Portuguese* trade at *St. Thomas*, together with the fruit *Cola*, of which we have spoken. The exports made from *Portugal*, and formerly from *Holland*, are *Flemish*, *Roan*, and other cloths, threads of all colours, serges, camblets of *Liege*, serge de *Nimes*, hatchets, saws, iron bars, salt, copper and brass utensils, with a variety of hard-ware and mechanical instruments, together with *Canary* wine, olives, raisins, *Lisbon* wine, flour, beer, and such like articles.

- As to the revenue which the crown raises from this trade, it is inconsiderable, the duties upon imports and exports being extremely low, in order to encourage the trade so visibly upon the decline, and particularly the exportation of home-manufactures. What is chiefly collected is in the island, and paid into the hands of the *Portuguese* governor. This arises from a slight duty upon fishing, planting, and all manufactures, which, by being laid on gradually, from the meanest artisan or husbandman to the merchant, is thought to fall easier by passing through so many hands, than if the whole duty was exacted at the port or warehouse on shipping or unshipping goods. Upon fish a tax is laid in the following manner, for the support of the insular government: those who fish with nets on the sea-shore pay a tribute of every fifth fish they catch; and those who are so rich as to keep canoes, pay three *Sols* weekly for their privilege; and in the same manner are the manufactures and mechanic arts taxed.

- ALL the inhabitants, except a few negroes and slaves, are of the *Roman* catholic religion, but full of bigotry, superstition, and ignorance. The ecclesiastical government is in the hands of a bishop, who resides in the capital, has his see there, though his jurisdiction extends over the whole island, and is a suffragan of the archbishoprick of *Lisbon*.

- THE island of *St. Thomas* is the unalienable property of the crown, governed by a viceroy or governor appointed by the king, who is obliged to reside at *Pavaasan*, with his *Corregidor*, who takes cognizance, under the governor, of all civil, and, under the bishop, of all ecclesiastical crimes. *La Croix* affirms, that all differences between the townsmen and the peasants, or inhabitants of the country, come in the first instance before the governor, but have an appeal, in the *derniere resort*, to the government of *Lovando Santa Paolo*: tho' we are assured, upon good authority, that they are first tried before the *Corregidor*, the parties appealing in the last instance to the decision of the governor. The inhabitants are obliged to keep guard upon the governor's house, the citadel, and the ramparts; also to repair the governor's house at their own expence, to keep in good condition all the bridges over the rivers, for facilitating trade and travelling. This is a charge that falls extremely heavy, as the rainy seasons make continual devastations, and occasion the necessity of their being almost

almost intirely rebuilt every year. Hence we see at how small an expence to the public a this colony is kept, the only one indeed being the governor's appointment, which is paid out of the royal treasury at *Lisbon*, but much less than the revenue produced by the trade, besides the advantage to the nation from the consumption of its manufactures.

WHILE a treaty between the court of *Lisbon* and the States General was on foot, respecting this island and some other circumstances of commercial interest, *St. Thomas* was taken, as we have mentioned, by admiral *Jol*, who sailed with a squadron from the *Brazils* in 1641. *Jol* landed his men about two miles from the town, at a sugar-mill near *St. Anne's*; where he passed the night under arms, ordering the ships to draw up in the morning under the cannon of the citadel, but without firing a shot, unless the enemy first commenced hostilities. In the mean time, the land-forces begun their march towards the town, unprovided with every thing necessary to its defence, and the citadel mounted only with six pieces of large cannon and some small ordnance. After making themselves masters of the out-works, they gave the assault to the citadel, and were briskly received and drove down from the walls, by cutting their scaling-ladders, with considerable loss. They, however, entered the town without resistance, which they found destitute of provisions, the principal citizens; and of a single man in arms. Here they begun regular approaches against the citadel, which was soon forced to capitulate, notwithstanding the spirit and courage of the governor and his slender garison, but upon honourable terms, the *Dutch* permitting them to march out with their arms and baggage, engaging to transport them to *Europe*, and signing favourable conditions for the negro inhabitants, and *Portuguese* long established in the island (A). *Jol* becoming master of the citadel and town, did not rigidly adhere to the articles of capitulation; for he assembled the inhabitants, and exhorted them to pay him in a fortnight a contribution for the security of their privileges, property, and sugar-mills. which he threatened otherwise to demolish, tho' he pretended the strictest regard to justice and equity. Two of the chief merchants agreed to pay him a considerable sum, and two thousand *Arobs* of sugar, for the preservation of their mills and plantations, the privileges of their religion and antient customs, and the protection of the government; but the majority petitioned for passports to leave the island, which he accordingly granted. We have taken notice that this island had before been taken in 1610, by the *Dutch*, and the city and citadel rased to the ground, because the inhabitants refused, or were unable, to pay a contribution of two thousand ducats imposed by the *Dutch* admiral *Verdoes*. The *Portuguese*, however, had their revenge, by the epidemic distemper that soon swept off such numbers of the conquerors, and obliged them to relinquish the island ^a.

Island of Caracombo.

AT a short distance north-west of *St. Thomas* stands the island of *Caracombo*, situated about 15 minutes north of the line, a little above the mouth of the river *Gabon*. It produces a variety of fruits and plants unknown in *Europe*, and some peculiar to itself, besides birds and other animals. It is no uncommon thing to find an hundred nests of birds floating in the water upon one branch of a tree, or supported upon a slender twig; an admirable contrivance, pointed out by instinct against the attacks of serpents and lizards, as we are assured by that accurate observer *Linschoten*. The island is inhabited, and by a race of the most abandoned, profligate, and lewd wretches, at least as to the women, upon the face of the globe. They make nothing of prostituting their bodies to whoever comes in their way, and in the most public manner in the open air. The other particulars related of those islanders favour so much of fiction, that the reader will not be displeased if we refer him to *La Croix* and *Davity* for a more minute account ^b. Sufficient it is that they make their bodies no less deformed than their minds, and are monsters, who resemble humanity in nothing but their speaking articulately, and in walking erect upon two legs.

Princes Island.

PRINCES *Island*, called by the *Portuguese* *Ilha del Principe*, because under the conduct of a prince of that nation it was first discovered, or, according to *Davity*, because it is annexed to the crown, and a revenue drawn from it, is situated in the second degree of north latitude, thirty-eight miles from the continent, and about twenty-four miles to the northward of *St. Thomas*, says *La Croix*. This, however, appears to be a mistake, as either the distance must be necessarily greater, or the latitude he supposes erroneous, as *St. Thomas*, it is agreed

^a SANUT. l. vii. LINSCHOT. c. iii. THEVET, l. iii. CARDAN. in Hispan. p. 97. DAVITY, t. v. p. 629, & seq. LA CROIX, t. iv. p. 4. c. vi. §. 6. ^b SANUT. l. vii. LINSCHOT. descrip. Guin. c. ii. DAVITY, t. v. p. 642. LA CROIX, t. iv. p. 594.

(A) Here the *Dutch* found thirty-six pieces of large cannon, six only of which were mounted upon carriages, and fit for use, and some ammunition, but hardly sufficient for a week; so negligent had the court of *Lisbon* been of the security of this important colony *.

* *La Croix*, tom. iv. p. 624.

- a by all geographers, lies immediately under the equinoctial. The distance indeed between these two islands is about forty miles in the best maps we have consulted; so the latitude will be about fifty minutes north, allowing for that part of *St. Thomas* which lies on this side the line. Although the intervening space be so small, yet no places can differ more widely in the nature and temperature of the climate, it being here no less healthy, tho' hot, than it is destructively malignant at the island of *St. Thomas*. The face of the country is wholly covered with the finest oranges, lemons, bananas, coco-nuts, sugar-canes, and other fruits and plants of the warmer climates; besides a particular species of tree, the trunk whereof frequently measures twenty-four yards in circumference; but no writer mentions the name, or gives any description, of it. They have also palms, of which the natives make
- b wine; vines, but in no great quantity; cotton, which women manufacture into pretty cloths; and *Mandiboca*, that serves the natives for bread; besides black cattle, hogs, sheep, rabbits, and fish both in the sea and rivers. We are told by the *Dutch* voyagers, that the natives, whom they found there, went intirely naked, except the chief and his women. He wore a cotton robe, and trowsers of the same stuff, and the women a kind of apron, fastened round the waist by a girdle, and hanging down to the knee. In their hands they held a crooked spear, like the descendants of the *Amazons*, a crown of flowers upon their heads, and a cross hanging upon their breasts, intimating their religious belief. The king, or chief, never appeared without a little shield on his left arm, and with a sword, dart, or pike in his right hand; while the common people, probably the king's guards, appeared
- c constantly with a long dart in their hands, or upon their shoulders. All the inhabitants they found there were *Portuguese* or mulattoes, all of them acknowledging the sovereignty of his *Portuguese* majesty, although they had likewise their own chief. The *Portuguese* bore no proportion in number to the mulattoes or negroes, and did not exceed 40 or 50; whereas the others, besides slaves, amounted at least to 3000, men, women, and children, and slaves almost to an equal number; all of whom were employed in the plantations and sugar-mills, in cultivating rice, millet, and several other productions necessary to life, or useful in commerce. It is probable that the Christian religion has been first brought hither by the *Portuguese*.

- In the gulph of *Benin* are five islands, ranged in a line from south to north; viz. the
- d islands of *Annobon*, *Saint Thomas*, *Caracombo*, and the islands of *Prince* and *Fernando Poo*; Fernando Poo's Island. this last forming the northern extreme of the chain. It was discovered by the famous *Fernando Lopez*, and for a while called *Ilhas das Formosas*, a name which was afterwards lost in that of *Fernando Poo*. It lies in nine degrees thirty minutes north latitude, between the high country of *Amboses* and the river *Camerone*, about four leagues and a half from the continent, the intervening gut being safe and navigable. In extent it is more considerable than *St. Thomas*, but greatly inferior in point of fertility, altho' it produces rice, millet, tobacco, fruits, and the sugar-cane. The natives are perfect savages, fierce, treacherous, and inhospitable, governed by seven different princes, who waste the blood of their subjects in perpetual civil wars. Neither the *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, or any other *European* nation,
- e have been able to enter upon trade with them, or hardly permitted to water upon the coast, and never without a strong guard of the natives upon them; so jealous are they of their liberty.

- We come now to the *Cape Verd Islands*, so called from their proximity to the cape of that Cape Verd name on the continent of Africa, to which they are directly opposite. The *Portuguese* call Islands. them *Ilhas Verdas*, or the *Green Islands*, because the surrounding sea is deeply tinged with that colour, or rather filled with a weed of an exquisite fine green, and lying so thick that ships are scarce able to make their way through. Others, and particularly the *French* writers, have called them the *Salt Islands*, from the quantity of salt made in them, and transported to all parts of the continent of *Africa*; but the general name by which they are
- f known to all *Europe*, is *Cape Verd*. It is the opinion of some writers, that the *Cape de Verd Islands* are the same as *Mela* has described under the name of *Gorgones*, in the *Atlantic Ocean*, and *Pliny* by that of *Gorgades*, the residence of the three daughters of *Phorcus*, known by the fabulous names of *Miedusa*, *Sthenio*, and *Euryale*. Others again believe them to be the *Hesperides* of *Ptolemy*, situated near the cape or promontory of that name; tho' most probable it is that they were utterly unknown before the *Portuguese* paved the way for discoveries of new worlds.

THEY are situate opposite to *Cape de Verd*, or rather between it and *Cape Blanco*, about forty-two leagues from the continent, and stretching into the sea, till the farthest is 70 leagues

^c Navig. Holland 1598, 1599. SANUT. *ibid.* LA CROIX, p. 626.
p. 642. LA CROIX, p. 628.

^e LA MARTINIERE, *ibid.*

^f SANUT. l. vii. DAVITY, t. v.

^b LA CROIX, t. iv. p. 631. DAVITY,

from shore. In general they lie between 13 degrees 50 minutes and 17 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and between the 22d and 25th degrees of longitude west from *London* (B). With respect to their number, there is no agreement among writers or voyagers, some reckoning 12, some 11, and others no more than nine, perhaps because some take into their account islands which others think too inconsiderable to be mentioned; or possibly two islands which lie so contiguous as to be separated only by a small gut, may have been described as one. The names of the ten agreed upon are as follow; viz. *Ilha del Sal*, *Ilha Buena vista*, *Ilha Mayo*, *Ilha de Sant Jago*, *Ilha del Fogo*, *Ilha del Bracca*, *Ilha del Sant Nicholas*, *Ilha del Sant Lucia*, *Ilha del Sant Vincent*, *Ilha del Sant Antonio*, besides others of less note, to which no names have been assigned (C).

It is affirmed, that these islands, if not absolutely discovered for the first time, were at least unknown to the moderns till the year 1440, when *Antonio Nolli*, a *Genoese*, fell in with them. According to *Jurin* †, the *Portuguese* were the first discoverers, about six years after this period^s; and *Sanutus* asserts, that the honour is due to a *Venetian*, of the family of *Cadamosto*^h, sent by the prince of *Portugal* upon the discovery of unknown countries.

At present they are almost all well-peopled, tho' in some the climate is extremely unhealthy, but in general wholesome, pure, and serene (D). They were peopled originally by *Europeans*, some say by criminals banished out of *Portugal*; at least it is certain, that they were uninhabited when first discovered, whatever they might have been in the days of *Pliny* and *Mela*, if they had any knowledge at all of these islands. We shall describe them in the order in which they occur.

Mayo Island. ILHA MAYO, or the island of *Mayo*, lies in the 15th degree of north latitude, and 22d of longitude from *London*, about nine leagues south south-west of *Buena-vista*. It is but small, having no more than seven leagues in circumference, its form oval, with a variety of sharp rocks and points projecting into the sea above a mile. *La Croix*, *Davity*, and *Linschoten*, describe it with dangerous shoals and sand-banks round the coast; notwithstanding which *Dampier* affirms, that he has coasted it almost in a circle, and yet could never discover any thing dangerous, besides the promontories, which render it hazardous to fall in at night too close with the land. *Mayo* is raised considerably above the sea, but level and plain, except two mountains of considerable height. The shore, according to the last-mentioned writer, is clear, with sandy bays between the promontories, which afford good anchorage. On the west side of the island, where ships generally drop anchor, there is a large sandy bay, and a sand-bank forty paces wide, running near three miles along the shore, within which is a large salt-pond contained between the rising shore and the opposite sand-bank. The whole salt-pond is full two miles in length, and half a mile in breadth, but seldom filled with water. It is the north end which chiefly produces salt, that being never dry, tho' the water evaporates, and the salts form themselves for the whole dry season; that is, from *November* to the month of *May*. The waters yielding this salt run in from the sea through a natural sluice, or perforation of the sand-bank, in all spring-tides, by which the pond is filled with a greater or smaller quantity of water, in proportion to the height of these tides. Whatever salt happens to remain in the pond, is dissolved by the additional water pouring in at the sluice; but then they begin to settle again in two or three days, and continue forming into crystals as long as any water remains, or till the next high tide again dissolves them. We are assured by *Dampier*, who had it from the inhabitants, that the water enters at no other passage than the sluice we have mentioned, nor at any other season but high tides at the new moon; but why that should be, he says, he cannot conjecture; and we will not spend time in resolving the difficulty. Those who come to load salt, and carry it away for exportation, lay it up in houses on the dry land, before the waters break in; they observe, that, contrary

† JURIN, c. 6. ^s THEVET, *Cosm.* l. iii. LIN. p. 695. PYRARD. l. i. JARRIC. l. v. c. 44. HERRERA c. v. ^h MAN. Hist. Venet. l. v. DANDOLO, l. vii. c. 3.

(B) *St. Anthony Island* is the most northward, *Brava* the southermost; to the west lies *St. Lucia*, and to the east *Buena vista*. This, at least, is the manner in which they are placed in all modern maps, as well as in the writings of *Herrera*, *Sanutus*, *Davity*, *Linschoten*, *La Croix*, and all the authors which the reader will find cited in the margin.

(C) *Davity* indeed alleges, that no particular island is called by the name of *Salt Island*; but that this is a

term applicable to *Buena-vista*, *Mayo*, and *St. Jago*, on account of their producing a greater abundance of this commodity than any of the others*.

(D) The endemial diseases in these islands, in general, are ardent fevers, fluxes, and dysenteries, all of which are frequently fatal; and indeed they are not peculiar to the *Cape Verds*, but general in all countries lying between or near the *Tropics*, and subject to violent heats in the day, and cold winds and damps at night.

* Vol. v. p. 625, *ad fin.*

a to what is remarked of the salt-ponds in the *West Indies*, the salt chryftallizes here in the dry season only; whereas, at *Tortuga*, they always form in the rainy season, and never before some heavy showers have fallen. Be this as it will, the difficulty seems to be on the side of the *West India* ponds, as we are unable to comprehend how salt should chryftallize best in wet weather, or require the admixture of fresh water to make them form. To speak our sentiments freely, we greatly doubt the fact, notwithstanding it is attested by such a number of writers.

FORMERLY the *English* drove so great a trade in this commodity, that a man of war was continually stationed for the protection of the ships employed in this article; but we have reason to believe that either this trade has since diminished, or that the legislature are less b regardful of the interest of commerce than they have been; for this guard-ship has been laid aside for a number of years. In *Dampier's* time, no less than an hundred *English* vessels used to frequent the *Cape de Verd* ports, and chiefly upon the account of this article, which required no other expence than a little labour, and the mere taking it up and conveying it on board, without we except the pittance bestowed on the natives for their assistance, and the use of their asses in conveying the salt into boats. As the pond is not above a mile from the shore, the price of a load is stated, or rather an ass's labour for a day, at little more than a penny.

THE island of *Mayo* is a dry soil, consisting chiefly of sand, or a loose crumbling stone, without rivulets, springs, or any natural moisture, except the dews of the night, and the c showers in the wet season, which run off as fast as they fall. In the whole island there is but one spring, and that in the very center, running off in a small stream through a valley confined by the hills. Hence it is that we may account for the barrenness of the island, and why it produces no large trees, which can neither fix their roots in so loose, or draw the necessary nourishment in so dry, a soil. The sand-bank, that forms the salt-pond, produces a species of silk-cotton, that grows on a tender shrub, about four feet high, in pods of the size of a small cucumber or bean-pod. This pod, when ripe, opens at one end, and easily separates into four pieces, the cotton bursting forth at the first aperture that appears; but however beautiful this production may be to the eye, it is of too delicate a texture, and short, to be manufactured or converted into any other use than stuffing pillows, or some d such trifling purposes. The genuine cotton-shrub grows here likewise, but not in so large quantities as to make an article of foreign trade; the whole being manufactured and consumed by the inhabitants.

In *Mayo* are three small towns, in which all the inhabitants of the island are contained. They are incommodiously situated, at the distance of five or six miles from the road, on the opposite side of the island; each having its church and *Padre*, or priest, with a certain stipend assigned him. The metropolis is said to be *Pinofo*, which has two churches and priests, and a considerable number of mean, small, and low huts, but very little superior to the negro hamlets on the continent. The name of the second town is *St. John*, and of the third, *Loango*; both contemptible for their size, the poverty of the people, and despicable meanness e of the buildings, which are formed of fig-trees (for the island produces no others of any tolerable dimensions), and the rafters of wild cane.

THE chief fruits of *Mayo* are figs, water-melons, a few citrons and oranges, all of them bad in their kinds, and pumpkins, which serve the natives for their ordinary diet, together with *Calavanas*, or a species of bean, of which they are very fond. *Dampier* takes notice of no quadrupeds, besides goats, of which he says a few are bred; and yet we are told by *Jurin*, *Linschoten*, and others, that this animal is so abundant, that flocks of above a thousand together may be seen; besides asses, small horses, monkeys, and apes; nay, some cows and bullocks of a small stature. Of fowls, it produces the *Flamingo*, in shape resembling a heron, but larger, and of a reddish colour. They delight in society, and keep constantly f together in flocks, feeding amidst the mud on the shore, or by the sides of salt-water ponds. These birds are shy, difficult to shoot, build their nests in ponds, of mud, which they collect into a hillock a foot and a half above the surface of the stagnated water. This little mount they form with a broad base, leaving a hollow at the top, in which they lay their eggs, and hatch their young. They sit upon the eggs in a very extraordinary manner, with their long legs upon the ground, and their rumps over the nest, leaning against the hillock; an ingenious dictate of nature, by which they avoid destroying the eggs in the nest with their weight. The *Flamingo* never lays more than two eggs, and seldom fewer; the young ones are not able to fly till they are almost full-grown; a defect which they supply by the rapidity with which they run. Their flesh, whether old or young, is lean and black, but g sweet and delicious, without the least taste of fish, though they live upon them and worms. Their tongues are large, with a piece of fat at the root, that is reckoned luxurious eating, and makes a dish of *Flamingoes* tongues be deemed the most elegant and delicious of all dishes.

dishes. Besides the *Flamingo*, *Mayo* produces a variety of other birds; partridges, curleus, a *Guiney* hens, pigeons, and *Michotas*, a species of land-fowl of the size of a crow, a green plumage, and sweet flesh. *Crusia's* are another kind of fowl, nearly of the same size, seen only in the night, and thence esteemed a kind of owl. The flesh of this animal is reckoned excellent for consumptive patients, after every other remedy has failed, and the apothecary's shop been drained. *Rabeks*, a large grey fowl, esteemed good eating, with a grey plumage, and long legs, resembling a heron, is another fowl common here. *Dampier* concludes this article with observing, that the pirates, who had, for years before his time, greatly infested these islands, had diminished the number of all animals, and especially of the tame quadrupeds, which they killed for sea-store.

THE sea is plentifully stocked with a variety of fish, mullets, dolphins, bonettos, snappers, b silver fish, porpusses, and a small species of whale that commonly visits the road every day in quest of their prey, during the season that the green turtles lay their eggs.

ALL the inhabitants of this island are negroes, if we may credit *Dampier*; tho' *Sanutus*, *Linschoten*, and *La Croix* ^k, affirm, that the natives of the *Cape Verds* in general were descended of *Portuguese* parents in their time. At present they are subject to the *Portuguese*, acknowledge their government, and profess their religion. They are a stout, robust, well-limbed, and active people, tho' both males and females are rather gross and bulky, notwithstanding the simplicity of their diet, which is wholly vegetable, and the poverty of the island. *Dampier* was told by one of the *Padres*, that the inhabitants amounted to two hundred and thirty souls, who, in general, appeared a good-natured civil people. They c have a negro governor, who holds his commission of the *Portuguese* governor of *St. Jago*, and exacts a small duty from every captain of a ship that loads at his salt-pits. The seasons when the shipping arrive are this officer's harvest; he is often treated on board, and spends his whole time with the sailors, in whose conversation he delights. As no *European* nation, besides the *English*, used to frequent this port, *Dampier* says, that their arrival was always expected with impatience, and welcomed with joy, it being the only means the natives had of procuring a little money and necessaries, or of living merrily; for, besides their hire for loading the ships, they likewise made a kind of trade of asses, which the seamen bought to sell again at a high price in *Barbadoes* and other islands of the *West Indies*.

Buena-vista. BUENA-VISTA lies north of *Mayo*, under 15 degrees 56 minutes north latitude. It is also d called *Bonvista* and *Bonnevue*; but the first is the true appellation, the others being only abbreviations and corruptions of the original name, which signifies a good prospect; intimating the beautiful appearance it makes to ships at sea. This island is reckoned near twenty leagues in circumference, and is distinguished on the north side by a ridge of white rocks that bound it. The eastern coast, that stretches east and north-west, is terminated with sundry banks to the sea, tho' the interior part is chiefly mountainous. From the northern point there is a large chain of rocks, projecting near a whole league into the sea; against which the waves break with incredible fury. Another point of rocks stretches into the sea, on the southern point of the island eastward, a league and a half beyond that point; and in this bay is the best road for shipping ¹.

Ilha del. Sal. UNDER the parallel of 17 degrees north, and in the 22d of longitude, lies the island called by the *Spaniards* *Ilha del Sal*, or salt-island, stretching from north to south about nine leagues, but not above half a league broad. This whole island is full of salt-ponds, where the water chrySTALLIZES into a beautiful salt, the chief production to be met with here, where land is so barren as to bear no trees, no verdure, except a few inconsiderable shrubs. *Dampier* saw hardly a blade of grass, and no other animals than a few small lean goats, which bore all the marks of the poverty of the country; and yet *Davity* affirms, that, notwithstanding the apparent barrenness of this island, it produces incredible numbers of goats, some asses, a few small horses, and a great variety of sea-fowls. Perhaps the ravages of the buccaneers might have occasioned their present scarcity. *La Croix* observes, that a prodigious number f of tortoises lay their eggs on this island, which alone would be sufficient to maintain a number of inhabitants; yet all authors agree that it is a desolate and desert island.

Saint Nicholas. ABOUT seventeen leagues to the east of *Salt Island* lies *St. Nicholas*, under 17 degrees 20 minutes north, say our *English* geographers; but, according to *La Croix*, *De Lisle*, and others, in the latitude of 16 degrees 20 min. It is in length seven or eight leagues, and in breadth at some places, particularly at the west end, about three leagues. The road for shipping is about a league from the eastern point, where is a fine bay. The harbour, called by the *Portuguese* *Porto de Penguin*, is on the south side, and the entrance to it filled with small islands, but with a good chanel between. Going thence north-west, there is another port, called *Fuor Rol*, where ships may always be supplied with good fresh water ^m. g

^k LIHSCH. vol. iv. c. 95. SANUT. & LA CROIX, loc. citat. DAMP. voy. 2d, passim, t. iv. ubi supra, p. 95.

^m DAPPER, ibid. DAVITY, t. v. p. 627. LA CROIX, t. iv. p. 645.

¹ DAPPER,

a SAINT VINCENT *Island* is about forty-three leagues distant from the *Ilha del Sal*, inclining a little to the northward, under the 18th degree, says *Bowen*, and 17th, according to *La Croix*, of north latitude. It is five leagues in length, extending itself west south-west. On the north-west side lies a bay, a league and a half broad at the mouth, surrounded with high mountains, and stretching to the middle of the island, being securely sheltered by the mountains from the westerly and north-west winds; whence it is deemed the safest harbour in all the *Cape Verd Islands*; yet it is difficult of access, by reason of the impetuous winds that blow off the mountains along the coast with so much fury as greatly to endanger shipping, before they can arrive at this place of tranquil security. Besides this, there are several other bays on the south side, in which ships may anchor; and of these the *Portuguese* generally make choice to load their hides. *St. Vincent* has also good fresh-water, which is seen to spring up upon digging a little way into the soil of a valley; but the hills afford not a single drop; and this it is that makes the island improper for cattle ⁿ.

THE island of *St. Lucia*, which is high and mountainous, and about nine leagues long, lies under 16 degrees 18 minutes north latitude, according to most writers; and yet here too our *English* geographers differ from the *Portuguese*, *French*, *Dutch*, and all other nations, placing it in 17 degrees 18 minutes north. What the cause of this variation in the situation of islands, so much frequented, may be, is what we are not able to conjecture. On the east south-east side is a harbour, with a bottom and shore of white sand, its mouth defended by two small islands, which afford good shelter and anchorage; but its best road is opposite to *St. Vincent*, to the south west, where there are at least twenty fathoms water, the latter found in springs at the feet of the mountains. On the west side there is no water; and here it is uninhabited, says *La Croix*; an expression which implies its being peopled in the other quarters, tho' we do not find this expressly affirmed by writers; but it abounds with goats, sea and land fowl, tortoises ^o, &c.

THE most northerly of all the *Cape Verd Islands* is *St. Anthony*, lying in 17 degrees north latitude; but the *English* geographers make it one degree further north of the equinoctial. It is divided from *St. Vincent* by a chanel of two leagues in breadth, clear and navigable. The island stretches from north-east to south-west, and is filled with mountains, one of which is of so extraordinary a height as to be compared with the *Peak of Teneriffe*; of which we shall have occasion to speak in this section. The top is constantly covered with snow; but, notwithstanding the clearness of the sky, generally hid in the clouds. On the north side it has a good road for shipping, with a collection of fresh water rising from springs, which, however, scarcely merits the name of a pond. The inhabitants amount to about five hundred, chiefly negroes, under the protection of the *Portuguese*. To the north-west stands a village, containing about twenty huts, and at least fifty families, negroes and whites, under the government of a governor, or, as they call him, a captain, a priest, and a schoolmaster, who trains up the children in the principles of the Christian religion, and the first elements of knowledge, though that seldom exceeds being able to read the bible in a bungling manner. They all speak *Portuguese*, copy the manners of that nation, but live in the most miserable poverty, although the island produces a variety of fruits, oranges, lemons, palms, melons, bacoas, pomegranates, and the sugar-cane. Here is a large orchard, distinguished at sea by a high palm-tree, where the sailors come to gather the fruits of the season, in which they never meet with any obstruction from the natives. At a greater distance from the sea there is another orchard, from whence the natives bring fruit upon asses to the ships, which they sell at a very low price. The potatoes and melons of *St. Anthony* are particularly excellent, having a richness and delicacy of flavour peculiar to them; these are therefore eagerly sought after by the mariners ^p.

IN the latitude of fourteen degrees twenty minutes north, as foreign geographers have it, or directly in 15 degrees, as it is placed in our *English* maps, lies *Ilha del Fogo*, or the island of fire, so called from a volcano, or burning mountain, that discovers it at a great distance in the night. On the west side stands a small castle at the foot of a mountain, before which there is a large road, but inconvenient, on account of the high surges which continually roll against the shore. All round the island the wind blows impetuously, and the shore being steep, the water is not fathomable, except near the castle. We are told of no production of this *Ilha del Fogo* besides vines; though, as it is inhabited, it is probable that other fruits must have been cultivated, as well as grain; and that it is not destitute of quadrupeds and sea-fowls ^q.

THE *Ilha del Brava*, or the savage and desert island, is about four leagues in circuit, and as much south-west of *Del Fogo*, together with two or three small desolate islands to the north of it. On the west side there is a commodious road for watering; but the safest port is on the south-east side, where ships may anchor in fifteen fathom water, close to the shore; and, for

ⁿ DAVITY, DAPP. ubi supra.
LA CROIX, ibid. 644.

^o LA CROIX, ubi supra.

^q DAVITY, t. v. p. 617. etiam Auct. sup. cit.

^p JURIN, l. v. Voy. Holland. c. 40.

this reason, frequented by the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* *East-India* men. Immediately above this a harbour stands a hermitage and hamlet, occupied by a few contemptible negroes. *Brava* produces figs, water melons, with a variety of other fruits, millet, rice, and roots, and has also a good number of goats, which the wretched inhabitants are neither permitted to consume or sell without permission from the governor of *St. Jago*; the island of which we are now to give an account ^a.

Saint Jago.

ST. JAGO, or *St. James's Island*, is the most considerable of all the *Cape Verds*; extending about twelve leagues from north-east to south-east, at the distance of five leagues to the westward of *Mayo*, and lying between the 15th and 16th degrees of north latitude, and 23d of longitude west from *London*. It is the most important, best cultivated, and most fruitful, of any we have described in this latitude. The people in general are black, or at best of a mixed b colour, except a few of the better rank; the governor, the bishop, some gentlemen who trade or live upon their plantations, and the *Padres*, though many of the latter are blacks. On the east side of the island is a town called *Praya*, with a good port, which is seldom destitute of a considerable number of shipping, unless the crown of *Portugal* happens to be at war with some other power. It has long been a place where the outward-bound *Guiney* and *India* men have been accustomed to touch at for water and refreshments, whether *English*, *French*, or *Dutch*; but few of them call on their return to *Europe*. The natives bring down to the shore the produce of the country for sale to the mariners and passengers; and the whole coast resembles a fair, every place being filled with hogs, bullocks, fowls, goats, figs, plantanes, and coco-nuts, which they exchange for shirts, drawers, handkerchiefs, breeches, hats, waist-coats, and all manner of cloathing, especially linen; for woollen cloths are in no great repute c at *St. Jago*. It is unwillingly, however, they part with their cattle of any kind, but for money or linen, of which the mariners must be cautious: for, like almost all the negroes, the natives here lie in watch for all occasions of filching, being perhaps the most expert thieves in *Africa*. This vice, indeed, is almost peculiar to the inhabitants of *Praya*; for, at *St. Jago* town, where they are more immediately under the eye of the governor, their natural propensity is suppressed by the fear of punishment, and perhaps honesty become as habitual to them as theft is to the *Prayans*. We cannot imagine that, at so short a distance, and where the blood is constantly intermingled, there should be any constitutional difference, and would rather attribute the distinction to the force of education and wholesome well-executed laws. d

At *Praya* there is a fort on the summit of a hill, that intirely commands the harbour; and were it properly mounted with cannon, and garrisoned, would be a place of great strength.

THE town of *St. Jago* is the capital of the island, and indeed of the whole *Cape de Verd* islands; for they all acknowledge the authority of the *Portuguese* governor, whose residence is fixed here, as well as the bishop's. It stands dispersed upon the declivity of two hills, between which there is a deep valley, two hundred yards wide towards the sea, but gradually decreasing in breadth as it retires from the shore, in a triangular form, the coast making the base. In this valley, close by the sea, there is a kind of street that runs parallel with the sea across the valley, and houses on both sides, that are watered by a rivulet which falls into a fine sandy e bay, where the sea is always smooth and even as glass. This forms a convenient watering-place for ships, though the entrance be in a manner blocked up, except to good pilots, by a chain of rocks. Near the landing-place stands a small fort, almost level with the sea, in which is kept a constant guard, regularly relieved. On the very summit of the hill, behind the town, is erected another fort, which, by the walls seen from the road, seems to be a fortification of some extent, method, and strength; for no writer pretends particularly to describe it; and possibly the *Portuguese* may be jealous of permitting foreigners to examine the works. *Dampier* says, indeed, that he is unable to comprehend the utility of this fort, though it is apparently well garrisoned, and mounted with heavy cannon. The town consists of about three hundred houses, a church, and a convent, all built of rough stone, and greatly superior in f architecture and convenience to those of the other islands. Besides the accidental ships of other nations which touch here, there are two *Portuguese* vessels which take it yearly in their way to *Brazil*. These vend among the inhabitants all kind of *European* commodities, and take in exchange the principal manufacture of the island, striped cotton, which they again sell to good advantage in the *Brazils*. Besides this, one ship comes directly from *Portugal*, to take in a cargo of sugar, in exchange for the manufactures of *Europe*; for there is exported to *Lisbon* no less than 100 tons of sugar annually.

COTTON is produced in such abundance in *St. Jago*, that, besides the quantities sent to the *Brazils*, and sold to other *European* nations, almost all the natives are cloathed with this manufacture. Here are vines, of which the natives make a wine that is not contemptible; g but as they are supplied with better by the *European* shipping, it has fallen into disrepute. The

* LA CROIX, *ibid.* Navig. Vert. 1607. LINSCH. Voy. c. 95.

- a chief fruits of the island, besides a profusion of plantanes, are citrons, lemons, oranges, musk, and water-melons, limes, guavas, pomgranates, quinces, custard-apples, papas; of which we shall only describe the two last. The custard-apple is a fruit of the size of a pomgranate, and much of that colour; the husk, shell, or rind, being, for substance and thickness, a kind of medium between the shell of a pomgranate and the peel of an orange; softer than the one, and less tough than the other. This coat is remarkably set round with a variety of small regular knobs or excrescences, within which, or rather within the whole coat, is a soft white pulp, sweet and very pleasant, greatly resembling a custard in colour and taste; whence probably it had this name given it by the *English*. In the middle are a few black stones, or kernels, but no core, the whole inside besides consisting of pulp. The custard-tree is of the size of a
- b. quince-tree, with long, slender, and thick-set branches, spreading all round. At the extremity of these the fruit grows, upon a stalk ten inches long, slender and tough, hanging down in a beautiful manner with the weight of the fruit. As to the papa, it is found in most of the countries within the tropics; and so indeed is the custard-apple. It is a fruit of the size of a water-melon, hollow as that, and having a strong resemblance to it in shape and colour, both internally and externally; but, instead of the flat kernels of the melon, the papas have a handful of small blackish seeds like pepper-corns, and, like these, hot and pungent to the tongue: When ripe, the fruit is soft, sweet, and luscious, but hard and unfavoury before it has arrived at full maturity; though even then it supplies, when boiled, the place of turnips, or other vegetables, with beef or pork, and is much esteemed by sailors for this purpose. The tree bearing
- c. this fruit is about ten or twelve feet high, the trunk at the bottom about two feet in diameter, and lessening gradually to the top. It has no small branches, but leaves shooting out immediately by a stalk from the body of the tree, amidst which the fruit grows. The leaves are serrated, and of an oval form; but we have before given a description of this curious tree.

THE chief animals bred in this island are cows, horses, asses, mules, deer, hogs, goats, and black-faced monkies with long tails. Of the feathered kind there are found cocks, hens, ducks, *Guiney* hens, both tame and wild, paroquets, parrots, pigeons, turtle-doves, crab-catchers, curleus, and a variety of others, valuable only for their plumage. Such is the account of these islands given by the authors the reader will find cited in the margin; to which we may add what *Jarric* affirms, that so numerous are horses in the island of *St. Jago*, that

d upwards of three thousand, fit for a campaign, can be raised here. The same writer adds, that, in all the *Cape de Verd Islands*, the *Padres* officiate as physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, uniting in their own persons the cure of soul and body; but their medical skill consists chiefly in magic, sorcery, and a correspondence with the devil, or rather in fraud, hypocrisy, and imposture*.

WITHOUT entering upon a dispute of little consequence to our readers, whether the *Canary Islands* be the same which the antients called the *Fortunate Islands*, and are particularly described by *Ptolemy* and the elder *Pliny*, we shall think it sufficient that we give the reader a just account of them. These are speculative points, for which he may consult our antient history, and the *Greek* and *Latin* geographers; though we cannot avoid observing, that, if *Ptolemy* describes

e the same islands, he has certainly placed them near 11 degrees too near the equinoctial, under the 16th degree; from which circumstance some geographers have thought that the *Cape de Verd Islands* had formerly bore this appellation. We are now well assured by the most accurate observations, that the *Canary Islands* lie between 27 degrees 10 minutes and 29 degrees 50 minutes north latitude, and between the 12th and 17th degrees 50 minutes longitude west from *London*. *Thevet* affirms, that, by the *Africans* in general, they are called *Elbard*; and *Gomara* asserts, that they had the name *Canary* given by the *Spaniards*, on account of the number of large dogs which they found on one of these islands. *Hernius*, however, and Dr. *Harris* agree, that the word *Canary* is not borrowed from the *Latin* term for that animal, according to *Pliny*, nor from the number of dogs with which they abound, as *Gomara* conjectures, but from the *Cannanites*, or *Phœnicians*, who, as *Scylax Cariandenus* observes, used to sail often from the continent to *Carne*, which others think is only a contraction of *Canary*.

f But these are all conjectures, which serve only to shew the erudition, the ingenuity, and talents of historians for hypotheses, which add nothing to truth, or the improvement of their readers (A).

NOR are writers less divided with respect to their number, than about their situation and name. *Gramaye* asserts, that six were only known to *Ptolemy* and *Pliny*; and that, even in this number, the island of *Madeira* was included; whereas modern travellers and geographers reckon no less than twelve, exclusive of *Madeira*; but of these seven only have been

* Navig. Holland. A. 1598, 99. SANUT. l. vii. PURCH. l. vii. c. 12. LINSCH. c. 95. THEVET, Cosm. l. iii. DAVITY, t. v. p. 627. LA CROIX, p. iv. p. 630, & seq. JARRIC, l. v.

(A) It may deserve notice, that *Abulfeda*, *Ulug Beg*, or *Beigh*, and other *Arabian* geographers, have called these islands *Jazair Alcha A'el* or *Happy Islands*.

thought to merit any description. These are *Lancerota*, *Fuerte Ventura*, *Gran-Canaria*, *Ferro*, ^a *Palma*, *Teneriffe*, and *Gomara*. To these *Purchas* adds certain small islands, by the names of *Lobos*, *Roca*, *Graciosa*, *Santa Clara*, *Allegrança*, and *Inferno*; the proper names of which, according to *Sanutus*, are *Vecchio Marino*, *Sainte Claire*, *Rocha*, *Graciosa*, and *Allegrança*; omitting likewise two of the number mentioned by the former compiler.

WHETHER or not the *Canaries* were known in the days of *Ptolemy* and *Pliny*, certain we are, that, before the year 1402, or, according to some *Spanish* historians, 1405, the moderns were entirely ignorant of them, though they were peopled by Christians, and even catholics, who must have had some communication with *Europe*, by their acknowledging the supremacy of the see of *Rome*, as it is allowed on all hands they did. By what chanel this communication was carried on, or how Christianity came to be planted there, history is intirely silent. ^b This, however, is affirmed, that *John* king of *Castile* having invested a *Frenchman*, called *John de Belancourt*, with the property of these islands (which had been seen by some mariners, but whose existence only was known) if he could conquer them. This adventurer immediately set to work in providing for his expedition; and he had the good fortune to make himself master of *Lancerota*, with its citadel, and *Fuerte Ventura*, after storming a convent of the order of *St. Francis*. His right he made over, according to *Gramaye*, five years afterwards to *Diego Herrera*, by whom it was that *Fuerte Ventura* was conquered. *Sanutus* says, that *Belancourt* undertook this expedition by the permission of the queen of *Castile*; and that he dying, the property of the two islands was sold by his heirs to *Herrera*, or rather to the infant *Don Henry*, who sent *Herrera* to make farther conquests, in which he succeeded, by reducing *Ferro* and *Gomara*. ^c In process of time, the other islands were conquered in the same manner; but it would not be worth while to dwell upon a subject so variously related (B). This much only is certain, that in the peace between *Ferdinand* of *Castile* and *Alphonso V.* of *Portugal*, after a bloody war in which these monarchs had been engaged, it was stipulated, that they should reciprocally renounce all pretensions prior to the date of this treaty; that henceforward the *Canary Islands* should inseparably belong to the crown of *Castile*; and that, as an equivalent, the commerce and navigation of *Guiney* should belong to *Portugal*, exclusive of the *Castilians* (C). This was the treaty signed on the 4th of *November*, 1479, at *Alcobazas* ^u.

^u PURCH. Pilg. l. vii. c. 12. CADAMOST. l. vii. SANUT. l. iii. GRAMAYE Afrique, l. ix. c. 3.

(B) The reader may chuse to have a short view of the progress of the *Spanish* conquests according to the best authorities. *Gramaye* affirms, that *Herrera*, not having the same success in his attempts on the other islands, was so disgusted, that he sold his right to king *Ferdinand* (for he supposes that he had a right), just before a bloody battle with the natives put him in possession of *Gran-Canaria*. Afterwards *Bartholomew* and *Alphonso Lugo* were sent to reduce *Teneriffe*, of which they made themselves masters in 1512; and as to *Palma*, it had been reduced about four years before. *Sanutus*, on the contrary, expressly affirms, that *Gomara* and *Ferro* were discovered by *Ferdinand Dorias*, and the three others, viz. *Teneriffe*, *Palma*, and *Gran-Canaria*, by *Alphonso Lugo* and *Pietro da Vera*, and that these were subdued by order of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*; *Teneriffe* and *Palma* by *Lugo*, and the rest by *Vera*, a gentleman of *Xeres*. In *Cadamosto's* days, there were only four; viz. *Fuerte Ventura*, *Lancerota*, *Gomara*, and *Ferro*, inhabited by Christians, or annexed to the crown of *Castile* *.

(C) The following account of the *Canary Islands* is given by *Mandefloe*: The wholesomeness of the air, and the fertility of the soil, procured them, says he, the name of *Insulæ Fortunatæ*, among the antients; tho' one of them is also called *Canaria* by *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Ptolemy*; which contradicts the opinion of those who discovered them in the year 1342, and gave them this name from the number of canes they produced. They are seven in number, extending almost in a direct line from east to west. *Lewis Count Clermont* having, in the year 1348, obtained a grant of these islands from the pope, fitted out a fleet, in order to subdue them; which was accordingly accomplished, under the protection of

the king of *Arragon*. These conquests, however, being afterwards relinquished by *Don Lewis de la Cerda*, the *Biscayans* and *Andalusians* equipped a squadron, with which they surprised the island of *Lancerota*, where they acquired so rich a booty, as inflamed the king of *Castile* with an eager desire to subdue islands, which would add so valuable a jewel to his crown. Doubtless, says *Mandefloe*, he would have succeeded in this purpose, had he not been diverted by other wars with his neighbours, with whom he had been entangled in a series of wars and bloodshed. Not many years after this, *John de Belancourt* obtained a commission from *Henry III.* of *Castile*, for the conquest of the *Canaries*; with this proviso, that he and his posterity should acknowledge the sovereignty of the crown of *Castile*. In consequence of which, he had the good fortune soon to render himself master of the five lesser islands, but failed in the reduction of the larger. The king of *Castile*, as sovereign, having sent a bishop to preside over the new-acquired flock, the prelate's arrival brought on such quarrels with the nephew and successor of *Belancourt*, that the king was forced to send thither one *Pietro Barba*, with a force sufficient to expel the *French*. *Barba* gave the islands in dowry with his daughter to one *Pereira*, who assumed the title of king of the *Canaries*, and used every measure to subdue all the islands; but unsuccessfully: upon which he sold four of them to *Ferdinand the Catholic*; reserving only *Gomara* to himself, with the title of earl. *Ferdinand* conquered the great islands; and the whole have since continued to the *Spanish* crown †. Such is the relation of *Mandefloe*; but upon what authority we are not informed.

* Vide Auct. citat.

† Mandefloe, apud Harris, t. i. p. 806.

a THE *Canary Islands* lie east to the coast of *Biledulgerid*, between the 27th degree 10 min. and the 29th degree 50 minutes north latitude, and between the 12th and 17th, 50 minutes longitude west from *London*. *La Croix*, however, asserts this geography: insisting, that they include all that space between the 26th degree 30 minutes, and 29th degree 30 minutes north latitude, opposite to *Cape Nun*, about 70 or 80 leagues from the *Barbary* coast, and about nine or ten leagues distant from each other.

If we attend to the nature of these islands, we shall find that, their situation being so near the tropic of *Cancer*, the climate must necessarily be hot, as they lie greatly exposed to the strongest heat of the sun, as is sufficiently proved by their early harvests, which happen generally in the months of *March* and *April*. The soil, indeed, is every-where admirably rich and fruitful, but particularly famous for the production of that grape of which the *Canary* wine, so much esteemed all over *Europe*, is made, and exported in so large quantities.

According to *Sanutus*, there was formerly but one island so remarkably fertile either in corn or wine, though, at present, they all produce every necessary of life. Here wheat, barley, honey, wax, sugar-canes, oranges, figs, pomgranates, citrons, peaches, pine-apples, with a variety of other fruits, spring up in the utmost abundance and perfection. Here also grows a large quantity of a plant called *Orisell*, which several botanists affirm to be the *Phalaris* of *Dioscorides* (D), and which *Delechamp*, upon *Pliny*, calls the second genus of the *Barba*, or, more properly, grain of *Theophrastus*. This plant they cultivate with great care, for the nourishment of those little birds so valuable for their beautiful plumage and sweet voices, well known by the name of *Canary Birds*. In these islands there is likewise produced a great quantity of a gum or resin, called *Bre*, which is an exudation from the pine by the means of fire; different, however, from the method practised in *Norway*, and the northern countries of *Europe*. Nor are the *Canary Islands* less abundantly supplied with cattle, such as cows, sheep, goats, and wild asses, which run about the mountains in droves; and perhaps their most valuable article of commerce are the skins and hides, in which they deal largely with all the maritime *European* powers. Their woods are stored with a variety of the feathered kind, and the surrounding seas stocked with shoals of fish, particularly sturgeon, which forms the chief sustenance of the poor. All the islands have ditches and marshes, filled with sea-water at spring-tides, and afterwards evaporated by the heat of the sun, till a fine sea-salt is formed.

As to the original inhabitants of these islands, there are a variety of opinions: but what is advanced by the greater number of writers as the most probable, is the following, though it likewise labours under difficulties, which are too obvious to require a formal refutation.

They are said to have been exiles from *Africa*, banished hither by the *Romans*, after having cut out their tongues, for having blasphemed against their gods, or the *Roman* divinities: it is, however, confessed, by persons perfectly acquainted with their language, that it has not the least resemblance or affinity either to the *Latin* or *Arabic*; nor indeed would it be easy to conceive how parents, deprived of the organ of speech, should be able to transmit the language to posterity; for writing, and the orthography, could never teach the sound of the elements, or be able to annex any certain and fixed ideas to the different characters. *Nicols* says, that all the descendants of the ancient inhabitants speak the same language; which, however, is diversified into a variety of different dialects. They were clothed, says the same author, in hides and skins, without any particular cut or fashion. Amidst caves and rocks, their only dwellings, they lived in the most intimate friendship and happy union. Their language varied but little from what is now spoken by their posterity. Their food was the flesh of horned cattle, dogs, and the milk of goats. They made also a kind of pudding, or bread, of milk, and grinded or triturated corn, which they called *Goffia*, and now common in the island under the same name. *Nicols* has frequently eat of it, and praises it as nourishing and pleasant to the palate.

F WHEN *Cadamosto* made his voyage to the *Canaries*, Anno 1445, the *Spaniards* were then only in possession of the four smaller islands; the rest being inhabited, as he says, by a race of idolaters, whom the *Spaniards* called *Guanchas*, or *Guanches*; a name which *Linschoten*, and other writers, apply to their descendants. In number, the inhabitants of *Canaria-Gran* amounted to 9000, and of *Teneriffe* to 5000, men, women, and children, of a barbarous nature and gigantic stature. Polygamy was permitted among them, every man keeping as many women as he could afford to maintain, without any restriction of law or custom; and they suckled their children with the milk of goats. All their property was in common; that is, their food was so, for all other property and riches they were strangers to. The earth was cultivated and ploughed with the horns of bullocks; and the sheep shorn, and their beards cut with whetted flints instead of iron instruments, of which they had no knowledge. So much

(D) This is a genus of the *Triandria-Dygynia*, with a bivalve corolla, and only a single seed contained in the corolla, in which it perfectly resembles the *Orisell*.

did they detest the notion of shedding human blood, that, notwithstanding they are called a barbarous, no people on earth shewed more humanity in this particular; for having taken a *Spanish* vessel, the crew of which had grossly insulted them, their hatred could not inspire them with a more rigorous punishment than setting their prisoners to watch their flocks; an employment which they esteemed ignominious and mean. But this excess of rudeness, says our author, did not prevent their having notions of futurity; for each community, or little society, had always two chiefs or kings, one dead and the other living. As soon as any of their princes died, they washed his body with the greatest care, and, placing it erect in a cave, they put a sceptre in his hand, with two jars by his side, the one filled with milk, the other with wine, as the necessary provision for his journey ^w.

At the time when *Cadamosto* visited the *Canaries*, each island was divided into a number of different kingdoms, or rather lordships, of which *Teneriffe* alone contained nine. The wars which were frequently kindled among those little states, made them forget the natural sentiments of humanity and tenderness peculiar to this people, and sometimes to carry the fury of revenge to the utmost excess, till the face of the country was overspread with carnage and blood. Yet were their weapons the most simple in the world, consisting of stones, and two kinds of lances; the one armed with horn, the other unarmed wood, but pointed and hardened in the fire. To protect them against the scorching beams of the sun in the hot seasons, and against the inclemency of the cold in their winters, they anointed their bodies with a mixture of tallow and the juice of certain plants, which tinged their skins with all manner of colours, red, yellow, and green; and women, as well as men, made use of this extraordinary defence and ornament. ^c

It appeared likewise, that each island had its particular mode of worship; nay, that the different little states within the precincts of the same island differed both in the form of their religion and government; although within the same societies every thing was in common, religion, customs, language, manners, and property itself. In the island of *Teneriffe* alone there were no less than ten different sorts of idolaters or pagans, some worshipping the sun, some the moon, and the rest of the heavenly bodies. Polygamy, as we have said, was permitted; but the virginity of the bride belonged of right to the chief; and both she and the bridegroom thought themselves highly honoured, if he condescended to confer upon them this mark of his regard, and to claim his right. They continued long after the conquests of the *Spaniards*, who suffered them to have their own lords and chiefs. A barbarous custom, which was always practised upon the accession of a new prince, was the sacrificing a certain number of young persons of both sexes, in honour of him, and to procure blessings upon his reign. The manner of performing this inhuman ceremony was this: a great feast was given, at the close of which, all those who were desirous of proving their affection and loyalty, were conducted to the summit of a steep rock, whence, after pronouncing certain mysterious words, and going through a number of absurd ceremonies, they flung themselves over into a deep valley below, and were dashed in pieces by the violence of the fall. In reward of their loyalty, the prince thought himself bound in duty and gratitude to bestow all possible marks of kindness and favour on the parents of the infatuated victims; a circumstance which renders it doubtful, whether these young persons did not devote their lives as proofs rather of filial affection than of fidelity to their sovereign. Many of these customs still remain among the posterity of the *Guanches*, which will best appear by relating what modern travellers have observed upon their manners. ^e

THE natural inhabitants of the *Canaries*, say they, are stout and robust, but inferior in size and strength to their ancestors. Their complexion is neither absolutely white nor black, but a kind of mixed colour, or tawny, with large flat noses. They are of a lively and quick genius, alert, active, brave, and cunning; much addicted to war, in which particular they differ from the natural disposition of their ancestors; who, however, from circumstances of policy, were often engaged in war. They are still distinguished by the *Spaniards* by the name of *Guanches*; which indeed they merit from their strict adherence to many of the customs and manners of the antients. One quality they have in particular, in common with their gigantic predecessors; that is, a most voracious appetite, and a stomach so devouring, that it is usual for one man to eat up at a meal a dozen of rabbits and a kid; a fact we are scarce able to credit, upon the authority of all those writers whom the reader will find cited in the margin ^x.

THEY speak but little, and with great deliberation, uttering their words between their teeth and lips; and, besides the language of the country, talk *Spanish* fluently. Doctor *Sprat*

^w HERBERT, p. 4. SPRAT's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 212, & seq. PETER MARTYR, d. i. p. 9. Voy. de CADAMOSTO, apud Ramus. t. i. p. 98. DAVITY, p. 72. ^x Doctor SPRAT, p. 213. DURETTE, p. 74. Voyage de HERBERT, p. 5. LA CROIX, t. iv. p. 670. PREVOST, t. iii. p. 6. CADAMOSTO, apud Ramus. v. i. p. 99. cum multis aliis.

a relates, that, in *Teneriffe*, the descendants of the antient *Guanches* live upon grain formed into cakes with milk and honey; and that they keep their food in skin-pouches, suspended to their belts and girdles; in which they likewise bake them in the smoke. Some of them rigidly abstain from wine, and cannot be prevailed on to taste animal food. So active and light they are, that they run up and down mountains, and skip from rock to rock with an amazing, but hazardous, facility, that often proves fatal to the unexperienced. In all those kind of exploits, they use a pole nine or ten feet long, with which they assist themselves in leaping or sliding from one precipice to another, and in breaking off the sharp angles of rocks, frequently trusting themselves to a step not three inches wide, in which they fix their toes, and seem to hang over frightful heights and precipices. Sir *Richard Hawkins* had seen them

b climb and descend steep and high rocks in this manner, and by a method equally astonishing and frightful to the beholder; and Doctor *Sprat* relates a story of twenty-eight natives, whom the *Spanish* governor committed prisoners to a castle of a prodigious height, where it was thought impossible but they were perfectly secure. However, they found means to get over the walls, and descended the steep and rugged precipices with a boldness and activity altogether amazing to such as have seen the situation of the citadel. The same writer adds, that the *Canarians* have a very extraordinary method of whistling, which may be heard at the distance of five miles; a fact that is asserted by a number of other writers likewise, who assure us, that if a *Guanch* whistles in your ear, it will be some days before you recover the use of that organ, so piercingly loud is the noise.

c THE learned Dr. *Sprat* has favoured the world with a variety of curious anecdotes concerning this people: among others, he relates, that the *Guanches* use stones in all their fights, and throw them with a power equal to the force of a musket-ball. *Cadamosto*, as we have said, makes the same remark; and both writers agree, that they have seen these barbarians fling stones with so certain an aim as to hit the smallest mark at a great distance, and with such force as, with a few blows, to penetrate and break in pieces a strong shield. Upon the first reduction of these islands, the inhabitants were so expert in this exercise, that a fellow undertook to give twelve oranges to three men, and keep an equal number, with which he would hit one of them at the distance of one hundred paces, at every throw, at the same time parrying off their oranges with his hand, though they pelted him as thick a hail. The trial

d was made by order of the *Spanish* governor; and succeeded beyond the fellow's promises, to the great admiration of all the spectators^y.

THE chief and most considerable of all these islands is *Gran-Canaria*, which is honoured with the residence of a bishop, and has an inquisition established in it. Here also the governor of the *Canaries* has his palace, where he holds courts of justice for the deciding of differences, redressing of grievances, and punishing crimes. At present, we are told, all the inhabitants, both *Spaniards* and natives of this island, are of the *Roman* catholic religion. At first, indeed, many of them fled to the mountains, to avoid the persecution of the inquisition, and preserve the liberty of their ancient religion; but they are now all dispersed, or obliged to embrace those notions with which the holy fathers chuse to impress their

e minds. They are, it must be owned, but sorry proselytes; for the inquisition gives itself but very little trouble about the sincerity of their professions, as long as they are implicitly obedient to their oppressive authority. But we will not enlarge here upon their general manners and customs, as we shall find frequent occasion of mentioning them in our description of the several islands, which go under the general name of the *Canaries*. We shall only add, that the government is composed of a viceroy, or governor, with three auditors, who form what is called a royal audience^z.

WE come now to a particular description of each island; and shall begin with *Palma*, Palma Island. the most westward and distant from the continent of *Africa*; taking them in a regular course as they lie eastward. This island, which, according to *Barbot* and *Davity*, was antiently

f called *Capraria*, lies to the north north-west of *Ferro*, in the latitude of 28 degrees 30 minutes north, or by the maps of some *English* geographers, under 29 degrees north latitude, and 18 degrees west longitude from *London*. The same writers call it ten leagues in length, seven in breadth, and about twenty-six in circuit; though some other geographers describe it of a circular form nearly, except the projection of one angle at the north-east end, which forms a kind of horn. In this island stands the burning mountain *Capraria*, whence the island had its name; though other writers conjecture, that both the island and mountain were so called from the great number of goats bred here. It is agreed on all hands, that the soil is fertile in corn, wine, and sugar-canes, as well as in fruits, quadrupeds, and birds of all kinds. *Nuno de Penna* relates, in his *Historical Memoirs*, that, on the 13th of *November*

g 1677, a little after sun-set, there was a violent earthquake felt for thirteen leagues round

^y DURETTE, p. 17. Vide etiam Auct. citat. ibid. citat. in loc. citat.

^z DAVITY, t. v. p. 609. SPRAT, ubi supra, & Auct.

the island, attended with a dreadful noise, that continued without intermission for five days; a during which the earth was opened in horrible gaps in several places, but chiefly upon the mountain of *Goats*, or *Capraria*, a mile and a half from the sea, from whence issued a violent fire and fierce flames, which vomited up great stones and large pieces of rocks. The same thing happened in several of the adjacent places; and, in the space of fifteen minutes, no less than twenty-eight dreadful gulphs opened round the foot of the mountain; each of them spewing up flames, smoke, and liquid fire. The same author adds, that, on the 20th of *November* following, there was a second eruption of the mountain, which, in the same manner, poured forth torrents of melted stones and minerals, which run for the distance of seven leagues, where, at this day, large heaps of cinders are to be seen. All the neighbouring lands were intirely wasted, and the inhabitants forced to quit their habitations. b

THIS island has a handsome town of its own name, and a safe harbour, well-frequented by the shipping of different nations, which come hither for wines; these being reckoned equal to *Malmsey*, and by some thought the best of any produced in the *Canaries*. These wines, and particularly what is made at a place called *Brenin*, are bought up with avidity; and of this last there is exported to the *West-Indies*, and else-where, at least 12,000 pipes a year.

Ferro.

THE next island is *Ferro*, situated about two leagues, says *Prevost*, but six, according to other writers, south south-east of *Palma*. *Barbot* and *Davity* affirm, that this is the same island which the antient geographers called *Pluvialia*, and which goes under the name of *Hiero* by the *Spaniards*, *Fiero* by the *Portuguese*, *Ferro* by the *Italians* and *English*, and c *L'Isle de Fer* by the *French*. *Barbot* likewise calls it, but mistakenly, the most westward of the *Canary Islands*, later observations have proved *Palma* to be the furthest west. It lies under 27 degrees north latitude, and is about ten leagues in circuit (E). This island, according to *Thevet*, is without doubt the *Ombra Pluvialia* of *Pliny* and *Solinus*. It has some towns, and the capital is adorned with a church and monastery dedicated to *St. Francis*. The soil is dry and barren, attributed to the scarcity of water, of which there is not a drop, except what is found in some crevices of rocks near the shore. But this deficiency the islanders supply by a strange and miraculous tree, of which stories greatly exceeding all credit are related. As they are told with much the same circumstances by almost all voyagers, it would be an injustice to our readers intirely to omit them, though the credit they deserve must d rest upon their own judgment, as it is not the business of historians absolutely to deny facts, which appear supernatural, if they stand attested by undoubted and universal authority and assent. This tree the *Spaniards* call *Santo*, from its extraordinary qualities, and the natives *Gawe*. The top of it is always covered with a thick cloud, except in the heat of the day, when it seems to be dispelled, which drops a dew that distills down the leaves and branches of the tree in drops of clear water, to the quantity of twenty tons a day. This water is received in a cistern of stone, about six feet deep and twenty feet square, standing on the north side of the tree. So precious is the *Santo* tree to the inhabitants, that they have secured it with a high wall. If this cloud should sometimes fail, as happens occasionally in the month of *August*, then Providence supplies the loss of it by a thick vapour that rises e from the sea, and, spreading itself over the *Arbor Santo*, is received in form of a dew upon the leaves, and discharged in a clear sweet water by the bark and branches into the cistern. When the *Spaniards* first arrived here, not finding a drop of water upon the island, they asked the natives in what manner they supplied the want of so essential an article of living; and were told, that they dressed all their provisions in the rainy seasons, and kept as much of the water as they possibly could. They had covered the tree with canes, earth, and other materials, hoping to oblige the *Spaniards* to relinquish their conquest, when they found it wanted water. But an accident destroyed the effects of their artifice; for a woman, who had granted some favours to a *Spaniard*, revealed the secret to her lover, who immediately gave notice of it to the commanding officer. In a word, this marvellous tree supplies not only f the inhabitants, and the animals wild and tame, of the island with a sufficiency of fresh water, but likewise the shipping, which put in here for that purpose^a. It is described to be of a middling stature; and *Lewis Jackson*, who affirms that he had often seen it, compares it to a full-grown oak. *Purchas* says it is of the thickness of an oak, with a prodigious strong bark,

^a LA CROIX, t. iv. p. 702. P. MART. d. i. p. 12. HAWKINS, ubi supra. DURETTE, p. 71. DELLEN, p. 67. LINSCH. p. 177. BUKMAN, p. 7. PURCH. l. vii. c. 12. PREVOST, t. iii. p. 22. NICOLS, ibid.

(E) This island is rendered famous by the *French* navigators, who fix their first meridian in the center of it, as the *Dutch* have done theirs through the peak of *Teneriffe*. At present, however, it is customary among geographers to reckon the first meridian from the capital of their own country; though this leads to confusion in general histories and geographical works, where there ought to be one fixed and established meridian.

a and leaves resembling those of the laurel, but smaller. It bears a fruit, or kernel, inclosed in a hard shell, of a delicious taste and high aromatic flavour; but whether there be in reality such a tree or not, is what we must leave the reader to determine, after he has perused what we shall subjoin in a note (F). To these particulars we shall add, that, whether water be obtained from one or more of these trees, certain it is, that about 8000 souls, and at least 100,000 head of quadrupeds, are supplied by some means with this element; though all writers agree, that the island affords not a single drop in the natural way, except what the inhabitants preserve in cisterns after the rainy season, and what is lodged in the crevices and chinks of rocks after heavy rains ^b.

b ALTHOUGH the generality of writers, and particularly *Linschoten*, describe this island as perfectly dry and barren, yet there are not wanting some who affirm, that it produces corn, sugar-canes, and a great abundance of fruits and plants; and this relation is corroborated from the great number of inhabitants, and the large flocks of cattle which cover the face of the country, and could not be supported in a barren island.

c THE next island in our course eastward is *Gomara*, lying under the 28th degree of north latitude, and south-east of *Palma*. Formerly the island was barren, and the inhabitants barbarous; at present it is well cultivated, producing great abundance of sugar-canes and wine. *Heylin* makes it 22 leagues in compass, and eight only in length; adding, that only one barbarous custom remains among the natives, which is the having women in common; for though every man marries a certain woman, whom he is obliged to maintain, yet he cheerfully lets her out to his neighbour, in exchange for his wife; and refusing this good-natured action would be reckoned uncivil and selfish: whence it is that the sister's son always is esteemed heir at law, there never being any certainty of the father. *Barbot* says, that it has a good haven, and a town of the same name, though the island was antiently called *Theode*. Here the *West India Spanish* flota stops for wines, fruits, and the other productions of the country; among which the *Sanfons* reckon the tree that produces the *Sanguis Draconis*. The whole country is mountainous, but easy enough to travellers, on account of made roads, which, we are told, are exceeding deep and wide ^c.

d WE come now to the famous island of *Teneriffe*, which, tho' only the second in dignity, *Island of Teneriffe* may be looked upon as the first of the *Canaries* in point of extent, wealth, and fertility. Formerly it was called *Nivaria*, and is supposed to be the island of that name mentioned by *Pliny* the elder; but this opinion is disputed. *Sir Edmund Scorey* says, that it derived the appellation *Nivaria* from the circle or collar of snow that surrounds the peak of *Tenda*, now called the peak of *Teneriffe*. This last name, he alleges, was imposed by the inhabitants of *Palma* island; for *Tener*, in their language, signifies snow, and *Effe* a mountain. It lies under 27 deg. 30 min. north latitude. *Prevost*, indeed, says, that the south-end of the island stands almost in 28 deg. and the northern extremity in 28 deg. 40 min. which makes more than the difference of a degree in the situation. The form is triangular, extending itself into three capes, the nearest being about eighty leagues or more from the coast of *Africa*. What renders this island so famous in history, is the celebrated peak, of whose

^b Antient History, vol. vii. p. 147. LINSCH. & AUCT. citat. ubi supra.
supra, & AUCT. citat.

^c Vide LA CROIX, ubi

(F) There is not a voyager who has been in the *Canaries*, a geographer that describes them, or a naturalist who gives a philosophical account of the production of these islands, but asserts the existence of the *Santo* tree, except *Le Maire*. It is true, that their relations vary in particulars; some describing more than one tree of this genus, others giving a different account of its stature, and the quantity of water obtained from it; but no one, besides the above writer, pretends to question the reality of the fact. *Le Maire*, indeed, treats the whole as a fiction; yet his own relation is so contradictory, that very little regard is to be paid to a writer, who is a philosopher in nothing besides his incredulity. When this gentleman was in the *Canaries*, in 1628, he made all possible inquiry into the truth of the facts we have related. In one place he asserts, that all the natives he had talked to assured him it was a mere vulgar error; but soon after he speaks a different language, and relates, that several of the *Canarians* believed the fact, and assured him that the tree had all the qualities ascribed to it. Now, besides the inconsistency in this account of *Le Maire's*, it may be objected, that he took the whole of his relation from the natives of *Teneriffe*; for he acknowledges his never having been at *Ferro*, or

conversed with one of the natives; whereas many of the preceding writers had been eye-witnesses of what they assert; and, in particular, *Jackson*, whose relation is uniform, sensible, and consistent; which is more than can be said of *Le Maire's*. *Sir Richard Hawkins* had likewise seen the *Santo* tree, tho' he differs in some circumstances from *Jackson* and *Linschoten*. Upon the whole, we cannot reasonably reject the accounts of those persons who assert facts from their own knowledge, unless they are absurd, or that we have detected them in falsehoods. The present fact may be embarrassed with some difficulties; but there is no proving its impossibility; nor is there any thing in it supernatural or absurd, tho' *Le Maire* has been pleased to call it so. However, we shall leave it to the reader to judge for himself, after he has consulted all the above authorities.

We must add, in support of *Le Maire's* conjecture, that *Barbot* has some doubts about the truth of the fact, though he pretends to determine nothing. One *English* compiler there is, we mean *Bowen* the geographer, who absolutely rejects it, tho' he seems to have consulted but few authorities, and is indeed a servile copier from *Le Maire* and *Barbot*.

height so many marvellous stories have been related, and which *Scaliger* is not ashamed to a call 60 miles, *Panicius*, who lived in the island, 70, *Thevet*, 54, *Nicolls*, an *Englishman*, who resided some years here, 47, and *Varenius*, four miles and five furlongs in its perpendicular height. All the other writers, it is probable, compute by the oblique ascent of a person journeying to the summit; and even then their relations seem extravagant. Sir *Thomas Herbert* affirms, that the top is seen at the distance of 120 miles at sea, provided the weather is clear; but Sir *Edmund Scorey* says, that, from the base, beginning at the town of *Gara Chico*, to the very summit, is but two days journey and a half; which in fact is not equal to one day's journey, if we consider that travellers lie by during the heat, and have also to combat with so many steep ascents, that their pace must be exceeding slow. Although the vertex appears sharp, and the exact resemblance of a cone, yet it is flat for the extent of an acre of b ground, in the centre of which is a dreadful volcano, which frequently breaks out into flames, so violent as to shake the whole island with an incredible force. In the year 1704, there happened the most alarming instance of this that had ever been known. The earthquake began the 24th of *December*, and, in the space of three hours, twenty-nine shocks were felt. After this, they became so violent as to rock all the houses on their foundations, and oblige the inhabitants to abandon them. The consternation became universal, and the people, headed by the bishop, made processions and public prayers in the open fields. On the 31st, a great light was observed on *Manja*, towards the white mountains. Here the earth opened, and two volcanos were formed, which vomited up such heaps of stones as formed two considerable c mountains; and the combustible matter, which still continued to be thrown up, kindled above fifty fires in the neighbourhood. In this situation things remained till the fifth of *January*, when the sun was totally obscured by the clouds of smoke and flame, which renewed and augmented the consternation and terror of the people. Before night, the whole country, for three leagues round, was laid in flames by the flowing of liquid fire, with the rapidity of a torrent, into all quarters, the effects of another volcano, which had burst open at least in thirty different gulphs, within the circumference of half a mile, towards *Oratavia*. What greatly increased the horror of the scene, was the violence of the earthquake, which never once remitted, but shook with its force some houses into ruins, and kept others tottering upon their foundations, while the miserable inhabitants were driven defenceless and dismayed into the open fields, where they every moment expected to be swallowed up by d some new gulph. The noise of the volcano was heard twenty leagues at sea; and it is credibly attested, that the sea shook at that distance with such violence, as alarmed the mariners, who imagined the ship had struck upon a rock, till the continuance of the motion gave them the first intimation of what it really was. A torrent of sulphur, and the melted ore of minerals, rushed forth from this last volcano towards *Guimar*; the houses and public buildings of this town were thrown down by the violence of the accompanying earthquake. On the second of *February*, another volcano broke out in the town of *Guimar*, which swallowed up, and intirely annihilated a large church. Thus, from the 24th of *December* to the 23d of *February*, the inhabitants were kept in constant alarms by continued shocks of earthquakes, and by terrible volcanos breaking out in different quarters of the island. The e late unhappy catastrophe at *Lisbon* renders such accounts more familiar, but not less curious; we have therefore extracted it, as we find it explicitly related by *Martiniere*.

To return to the peak of *Teneriffe*, the following relation, which we find in *Sprat's History of the Royal Society*, may not be unentertaining. It consists of the journal and remarks of some *English* merchants, who had resolved to examine this prodigious mountain to the very summit. These gentlemen having provided themselves with all the necessaries for such a journey, set out on horseback from *Oratavia*, a sea-port on the west side of the peak. "After passing over several bare mountains and barren sandy plains, they arrived at the "foot of the peak, where all the ground is rugged, and filled with large stones, that seem "to have tumbled from some higher situation. When they ascended the peak about a mile, f "they were forced to quit their horses, and, tho' the air was mild in the day, yet was it "so sharp and cold after sun-set, that they were under the necessity of keeping great fires "all the night. From thence, that is, from the black rocks, which stand at the distance "of a mile from the bottom, they proceeded to the *Sugar-Loaf*, or the conical part of the "mountain, travelling in a white sand, extremely disagreeable from the reflection of the sun "upon the eyes. When they mounted the top of the peak, they found a strong wind, and "continual breathing of a hot sulphureous vapour, which scorched their faces, and rendered "respiration difficult; tho' this last effect might possibly be owing to the rarefaction of the "atmosphere in so great a height. The place on which they stood was about a yard wide, "and formed the brink of a volcano called the *Devil's Cauldron*, which they judged to be a g "musket-shot over, and about forty yards deep, of a conical form, hollow within, and "covered above with small loose stones, mixed with sand and sulphur, from which issued "a hot suffocating steam. They descended about five yards into this gulph; but, finding "their

- a “ their feet slipped, they were afraid of venturing further; tho’ some travellers, we are told, have gone quite to the bottom. All round the mouth of the volcano, they observed a pure sulphur adhering to the stones, in chrystals like salt. From the top of the peak they could easily discern the islands of *Gomara*, *Palma*, *Grand-Canaria*, and *Ferro*; tho’ this last be above twenty leagues distant; the chanel separating them, tho’ more than ten leagues over, appearing about the breadth of an ordinary river: When the sun appeared, the shadow of the mountain seemed to cover not only the islands *Teneriffe* and *Grand Canary*, but even the sea to the very horizon, where the summit of the shadow had the appearance of turning up, and casting its disk into the air. Sometimes, especially during the north-west winds, the clouds hang over and wrap themselves about the peak; whence
- b “ the natives certainly prognosticate an approaching storm. On the top are several excellent springs of water;” but the authors probably mean on the tops of the other mountains; for all writers agree that the top or summit of the peak produces none. “ The sandy path to the foot of the peak is steep, almost to a perpendicular. Here also is a cave ten yards deep and eight wide, into which they swung down by a rope held by their servants at the mouth, till they came to a bank of snow. This expedient they were forced to use, because, in the center of the bottom of this cave, was a well, the surface of which was sunk about a yard lower than the snow;” but we do not see the necessity or use of this expedient, on account of the well at the bottom, unless it was to prevent their plunging in. “ They were of opinion that this well did not rise from a spring, but consisted
- c “ of melted snow, which was gently distilled down the rock. From their observation, the whole height of the mountain, from the base to the summit of the peak, was two leagues and a half;” which agrees partly with Sir *Edmund Scorey*’s relation. “ In many of the paths they took, no trees, shrubs, or plants, except pines, met the eye, and a kind of plant resembling broom, which now and then shot up among the white sands. On the other side of the mountain, where they passed the night, they found another plant, the trunk of which was about half a foot thick; the stem shoots out to the height of eight feet, growing in regular squares, and rising from the ground like the tufts of rushes, on the edge of which grow small red berries, containing a poisonous juice, resembling milk, with this extraordinary quality of making the hair drop off the body. It is said that
- d “ this plant is spread over the island; and that the natives have ineffectually attempted to exterminate it. (H).”

SUCH is the account inserted in our *Philosophical Transactions*, that has been quoted, transcribed, and translated by so many compilers and historians, tho’, in our opinion, to very little purpose, as it is scarce intelligible, and, as far as it can be understood, extremely imperfect in all those particulars which ought to gain the attention of a speculative reader. We have quoted it at large, that the reader may see what degree of credit is due to those writers who have praised this as a curious and complete account.

- As it is presumed few persons will remain satisfied with the above relation, we will subjoin some particulars from the truly curious account of Sir *Edmund Scorey*. This gentleman observes,
- e that almost the whole mountain, to that part of it distinguished by the name of the *Peak*, is beautifully adorned with trees of various kinds, and the tallest perhaps that any country on the globe can produce. Amidst these, little rivulets come tumbling down the rocks, which add to the beauty of the landscape. He observes, that, at the very summit of the peak, and near the bottom of the mountain, the air is insupportably hot; but extremely temperate, if not cold, about the middle of the height. The proper seasons for making this journey are the summer-months; for, in the winter, the torrents of melted snow and rain so swell the rivulets as to render it impracticable. He says likewise, that the best hours for travelling are from midnight to sun-rise. To a spectator on the top of the peak, the sun, when rising, appears scarce half the dimensions it seems to have to a spectator placed on the lower grounds.
- f It likewise appears to the eye as forming a fiery circle, like that made by a coal of fire whirled round. Nothing can be more serene, clear, and beautiful, than the morning sky, while the plains below seemed to be fringed with snow, which, in fact, is nothing more than the white clouds, above which you are mounted several furlongs. All the top of the mountain is perfectly barren, owing perhaps to the quantity of vitrified stones and flints vomited out by the volcano, and spread over all this part of the peak. What merits notice is, that veins of brimstone can be traced amidst the congealed snow, as if the two most opposite elements in nature were here combined. If a great stone be thrown into the volcano, it tumbles down with a hollow and dreadful noise like thunder. This is the gulph described by the correspondents of the Royal Society, called by the *Spaniards* the *Devil’s Cauldron*.
- g Sir *Edmund Scorey* says, that the *Guanches* looked upon this as the future residence of the wicked, where they received the punishment of their crimes, by being steeped in liquid

(H) We have reason to believe this plant to be a species of the *Euphorbium*.

burning

burning sulphur; while the good men passed into the pleasant valley of *Laguna* beneath, to add, by their felicity, to the torments of the others; there being no greater punishment to vice than the having blessings in view, of which they are doomed never to participate.

DR. *Sprat* relates, from a physician who had lived twenty years upon this island, the following ingenious theory, which he founded upon a great number of observations. This gentleman gave it as his opinion, that the island of *Teneriffe*, being strongly impregnated with sulphur, had formerly taken fire through every quarter, there appearing huge mountains of calcined stones in all parts of the island, especially in the south-west side, which he imagines were vomited up from the bowels of the earth at this general conflagration. He adds, that the greatest quantity of sulphur lying about the center of the island, occasioned the raising of the peak to its present extraordinary height; for these calcined rocks lie for three or four miles round its bottom: That from the peak to the south-west, almost as far as the shore, are still to be seen the chanel's made by the rivers of brimstone and melted ore, that rushed down with such impetuosity as to cover all the adjacent country, and render it ever since perfectly barren and useless: That some of the calcined rocks resemble silver, some iron, and others copper ore: That in the south-west part of the island are high mountains, of a bluish earth, and stones which have a yellow rust on them, like that of copper and vitriol; and that here are several springs strongly impregnated with vitriol. The same naturalist informs us, that, during his residence at *Teneriffe*, there happened an eruption of a volcano on the island of *Palma*, which occasioned a violent earthquake in *Teneriffe*, and terrified the inhabitants with a rolling dreadful noise, strongly resembling distant thunder. Such is the account of the famous peak of *Teneriffe* given by this gentleman, which he reduces, and with seeming reason, to two miles perpendicular height from the surface of the surrounding ocean.

As to the rest of the island, it is described in the following manner by the accurate *Scorey*, whose relation surpasses in minuteness all the accounts ever received of *Teneriffe*.

THE island of *Teneriffe* is divided in the middle by a ridge of mountains, which have been compared to the roof of a church, the peak forming the spire or steeple in the center. *Scorey* says, that, if you divide it into twelve parts, ten of these consist of rocks, woody and inaccessible mountains, and vineyards; and yet, from the small remainder of arable ground, he has seen two hundred and fifty thousand *Hanacks* of wheat, besides immense quantities of rye and barley, produced (1). Nothing can be more delicately rich than the soil, if the *Spaniards* knew, or would take the trouble of properly cultivating it; for, besides the abundance in which it bears grain, fruits, and roots, it communicates to them a peculiar flavour and elegance, unknown in other countries under the same parallel. The best vineyards are about *Buena-vista*, *Oratavia*, *Dante*, and *Tiguestá*, which produce two sorts of wine, the *Vidonia* and *Malvesia*, or *Malmsey*. The first is extracted from a long grape, and is a dull heavy wine, greatly inferior to the other, which is drawn from a large round grape, in such quantities as to be exported to all the corners of the world, and every where greatly esteemed. Great store of the finest melons, pomgranates, citrons, figs, oranges, lemons, almonds, dates, honey, wax, and some silk, equal to that of *Florence* or *Naples*, are raised here; and the last article might, with some pains and a sufficient number of mulberry-trees, be cultivated to the highest advantage.

On the north side of the island are found abundance of wood and water. The cedar, cypress, and bay-tree, the wild olive, mastick, and savine, grow here spontaneously, as well as palms and pines, which shoot up to a prodigious height. In travelling from *Oratavia* to *Gurachico*, you pass through a forest, which perfumes the air at a great distance with its odoriferous flavour; and these sweet woods are so plenty, that of them are made all the wine-casks and common utensils. Besides the tall strait pine, there is another with a spreading top, like an *English* oak, which the natives call the *Immortal Tree*, for its durability, whether in the water or open air. This wood is red as *Brazil* wood, hard as ebony, but less unctuous than the other pine. The tree grows to so extraordinary a size, that the *Spaniards* confidently assert, that the boards cut out of one tree only covered the church *Los Remedios* in the city of *Laguna*, tho' it be eighty feet in length, and half as much in breadth; a figure probably meaning no more than strongly to express the incredible bulk of the *Immortal Tree*. But the most beautiful and extraordinary production of *Teneriffe* is the *Draco*-tree, which grows to an immense stature, all the branches clinging and entwining in pairs at the top, like the *Mandragora*. These branches, *Scorey* observes, greatly resemble a man's arms in shape and smoothness; from the extremity of which grow leaves two feet

(1) Four *Hanacks* and a half are equal to one quarter *English* measure †.

† *Scorey*, apud *Purchas*, l. vii. c. 12. sc. 2.

a in length, of the exact form of sedges. The *Draco* wood is of no value, as it is pithy, and applied to no other use but bee-hives. Towards the full-moon, it exudes a gum of the colour of vermillion, which the *Spaniards* call *Sangre de Draco*, more astringent and medicinal than the *Sanguis Draconis* imported from *India* and other places; but whether since *Scorey's* time this tree has been cultivated, and this drug raised to an article of commerce, is what we no-where find; nor do the shops distinguish any particular kind of it by the name of *Canary Dragon's Blood*.

THE language of the *Guanches*, says the same writer, has a great affinity to that spoke by the *Moors* of *Barbary*; and yet we are assured, that it bears no resemblance to the *Arabic*. It still is preserved in all its purity by the descendants of those *Guanches* inhabiting the town b of *Candelarin*, which, in fact, is wholly composed of this people. *Belancourt*, who conquered this country, asserts, as we have seen, that they were all pagans; notwithstanding which, *Scorey* assures us, that they acknowledged a supreme Being, whom they worshipped under the different names of *Achuburaban*, *Achubucumar*, and *Achquaya-Rerax*; expressing by these names the attributes of sublime, powerful, and the author and preserver of all things that exist. When they wanted rain, or had seasons otherwise unfavourable, they brought their sheep, lambs, and goats, to some place of worship, imagining, that, by their plaintive bleating, they would move into compassion the mind of the Deity; and, to set them a-bleating, they always separated the young from their dams. We have seen that they were not destitute of certain gross notions of a future state, from their placing the residence c of the wretched in the volcano on the top of the peak; and *Scorey* further assures us, that they had some idea of the devil, to whom they gave the name of *Guayotta*, intimating his malignant corrupt disposition; but he never observed that they were inclined to hold any communication with this evil spirit, or to pay him any kind of worship or adoration.

IN civil affairs, they were not without certain laws and regulations. They had kings, whose sovereignty they acknowledged, and to whom they renewed their fealty upon marriage. The right of inheritance was adjusted to the exclusion of bastards; and the number of their laws was definite, and indeed small; but they obeyed them with that respect and veneration, which could not be paid to a multiplicity of ordinances, which always diminishes their weight and authority. The *Guanches* were sensible of this; and therefore lesser crimes d were left to the provinces of religion and morality. Shame was the only punishment of slight offences, and that irksome feeling which ever accompanies the sense of doing wrong. Their monarchs had no other palaces than those nature had cut out of the rocks, shaped, perhaps, by art, into some degree of convenience. The royal caves are to this day easily distinguished, by the number of apartments for the accommodation of the household.

For a long time, the island of *Teneriffe* was governed, we are told by *Scorey*, by one king, who was distinguished by the name of *Adexe*. In a course of years, the children of the monarch conspiring against him, divided the island among themselves into nine provinces, each governed by one of the brothers. Hence proceeded the civil wars we have mentioned, which prevailed not only here, but in all the other islands, parcelled out in the same manner e into petty royalties.

THEY had an established form of marriage, consisting in asking the consent of the maid or widow's parents, in a certain ceremonious way. This and the woman's were all that law or custom required, previous to consummation; nor were they more scrupulous in repudiating them. To obtain a lawful divorce, nothing more was necessary than the dislike of the parties; but if they happened afterwards to agree, they might come together, with this proviso, that the children of the second union should be rendered illegitimate, and incapable of inheriting; a restriction that made parents more cautious of separating upon every disgust. Kings alone were exempted from this law; for they might repudiate and take back their queens, without prejudice to the younger children; nay, kings were even permitted to espouse their sisters. When a child was born, it was customary immediately to baptize him; and the form was to call in a neighbouring girl, who was to pour water over the infant's head, repeating at the same time some mysterious words: by this act the god-mother became so closely allied to the family, that law prohibited her marrying into it. f

YOUNG men had certain appointed exercises to strengthen and invigorate them; such as throwing the dart, running, leaping, raising great weights, or throwing large stones; feats of strength in which they glory and delight to this day. Virtue, chastity, and the most punctilious honour, with respect to the fair sex, were in so high repute, that it was an inviolable law, never known to be infringed, that all violences and affronts offered to women should be punished with death: and such was the natural virtue and simplicity of these barbarians, g that even the rudest soldiers and fiercest young people obeyed the dictates of their own minds, with more rigour than all the severity of the law could exact.

THE *Guanches* of *Teneriffe*, in particular, were well-made, handsome, and robust; nay, ^a in general, of a gigantic stature. There was, in *Scorey's* time, the skull of one of them to be seen in the sepulchre of the *Guimar* kings, which had eighty teeth, and the skeleton of the body measuring fifteen feet; but *Scorey* does not pretend that he had seen it; and it is probable it was little more than the tradition of the natives, who might have such tales of their ancestors as are common among the vulgar of all countries. We are the more confirmed in this opinion, because a sensible gentleman of the faculty, after residing twenty years in the island, had, with the utmost difficulty, access to the sepulchral caves. This is a favour scarce ever granted, and not attempted without leave, but at the risque of one's life. He obtained permission, and was even conducted to the tombs, in consequence of the esteem of the people, which he had gained by several services he had done for them in the way of his ^b profession. The following story, which he relates, seems, however, to corroborate the testimony of *Scorey*. Several gentlemen being one day employed in hunting a rabbit, the little animal run into a cave, and was pursued by one of the company, who, upon entering in a hurry, was terrified with the sight of a corpse of a gigantic stature. His cries alarmed the company; but, before their arrival, recollecting that it was a sepulchral cave of the *Guanches*, his fears were dissipated. Upon this, he cut off a piece of skin from the breast of the body, which our author had seen, and affirms was softer, smoother, tougher, and more pliable, than the best-prepared kid-skin; which probably was no other than the goat-skins in which they wrapped the embalmed bodies. One anonymous author relates, from the report of the modern *Guanches*, that, among their ancestors, this employment of embalming ^c was confined to a certain tribe, and kept an inviolable secret from the vulgar. This tribe composed the priesthood, and never intermingled with the other tribes by marriage. After the conquest of the island, they were destroyed, and with them perished the art of embalming; of the ingredients used in which, tradition has only preserved a few. It is said they mixed goats butter and hogs lard, which they carefully kept in skins for this purpose. These they melted down with a kind of wild lavender, that grows in this island in abundance. Another herb called *Lara*, of a glutinous and gummy nature, found now only in a few places; the *Cyclamen* (K); and, lastly, wild sage; both which are produced in great plenty. These herbs, bruised and boiled with the butter, composed an odoriferous mixture. After having made the necessary preparations, the body was opened and embalmed; ^d and, when cleared of the intestines, washed with a juice extracted from the pine, probably a sort of turpentine; after which it was set to dry in the sun, or before a slow fire. This operation of besmearing and anointing was frequently repeated, until the balm penetrated the most minute vessels, and the muscles became perfectly conspicuous. The body was supposed sufficiently prepared, when it became extremely light; upon which it was wrapped in goats skins in the neatest manner possible, and with such art, that it is affirmed all the veins, arteries, and tendons, nay, even the features, could be distinguished through it, the body undergoing no other change, after being kept for centuries, than a slight discoloration of the skin. From this custom, it might be inferred, that the *Guanches*, or antient inhabitants of the *Canaries*, and particularly of the island of *Teneriffe*, were either a colony of *Ethiopians*, ^e or descended originally from the progenitors of that people. But this is a discussion properly belonging to our Antient History, to which we chuse to refer the reader ^d. However, to render this curious article as complete as possible, without trespassing upon the bounds assigned us, we will beg leave to add a few more remarks from the ingenious Sir *Edmund Scorey*, to whom we have already been so frequently obliged. This gentleman informs us, that the antient *Guanches* had embalmers publicly appointed for each sex, neither presuming ever to depart from their own province; a circumstance which reflects great honour on the delicacy of that rude people. He says, the composition they used was a mixture of goats butter, the powder of certain plants, and their juices, boiled into a glutinous unguent, with which they mixed an extract from the pine-tree, and certain stones ^f finely pulverized. The body was rubbed with this for fifteen successive days, and laid, after every unction, before the sun, or, in the winter, before a slow fire, till it became light, stiff, and dry; after which it was wrapped in goat-skin, and deposited in a cave, the relations and friends keeping for this whole time a continual plaintive mourning, that almost reduced them to the condition of the deceased they lamented ^e.

^a Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 147, & seq. note (H).

^c PURCHAS's Pilgrims, l. ii. c. 12. sect. 3. p. 787.

(K) The *Cyclamen* is the *Sow-bread* in botany; a genus of the *Pentandria Monogynia* class of plants †.

† Vid. Carol. Linn. Botan. Plant. sub voce.

a THE same author relates, that the *Guanches* inhabiting the south side of the island were of an olive-colour, whilst those on the north side were fair; especially the women, who had long, light, smooth hair. Their dress was a kind of short coat, made of goat or lamb-skin, without skirts or sleeves, and fastened with thongs, which served instead of seams and buttons. This dress, called *Tamarco*, was the habit commonly worn by both sexes, only the women added, out of modesty, a kind of short petticoat of skins, that fell down below the knee before, and quite down to the ground behind. Some say, that it touched the ground on every side; that sex deeming it immodest to expose even their feet. Such was the garment in which they lived, died, and were buried; at least the common people were so, who could not afford the expence of the dressed skins used by richer persons in
b embalming.

A FRUIT called *Mezan*, of the size of a pea, formed the whole of their physic in all diseases whatsoever, but especially in fluxes and the *Tabes dorsalis*; to both which they were particularly subject. From this fruit they extracted a kind of honey, which they call *Chacarquem*, much esteemed in external applications; after which the fruit was pounded and boiled down in water to the consistence of a syrup, which they took internally for the above diseases. In acute disorders they used phlebotomy at the arms, head, and forehead; performing that operation with a flint. It is probable our author here means the jugulars and carotides. What we have here related is, in general, applicable only to the *Guanches* of the island of *Teneriffe*, tho' many of the customs might have been common to all the antient
c inhabitants of the *Canaries*.

As the present manners of the natives are a mixture of their own antient customs, and such as have been introduced by their conquerors, we need not give any description of them, but proceed to a review of the principal cities and towns. The island of *Teneriffe* has three capital ones; viz. *St. Christoval de la Laguna*, or *St. Christopher's of the Lake*, *Oratavia*, and *Santa Cruz*. The first of these is by many writers stiled the capital of the *Canaries*, and the seat of the viceroy. One part of the town stands on the declivity of a hill, the other on one side of that beautiful plain, which Sir *Edmund Scorey* says was cut out by nature, to add to the felicity of the inhabitants of *Laguna*. The houses are numerous and compact, but the streets, tho' wide and large, unhappily were laid out with very little regard to regularity; however, as they are embellished with some handsome public buildings, *Laguna*
d furnishes a very pleasing prospect from a distance. The most remarkable buildings are two parish-churches, the convents of *St. Diego*, *St. Francis*, *St. Augustin*, and *St. Dominico*, an hospital, and two nunneries, some of which are pieces of excellent architecture. The houses of persons of condition have large gardens, and orchards of palm, citron, lemon, orange, and other fruit-trees, adjoining to them; and the whole surrounding country abounds with vineyards. But what adds most to the ornament and conveniency of the city, is that fine plain lying near it, about ten miles in circumference, and so fertile, says *Scorey*, that nature seems to have intended to complete, by the fertility of this place, the beauty of the scene. On every side, this delightful valley is hemmed and defended by mountains and
e hills, so covered with wood, that they bear the appearance of an eternal spring; one species of trees putting forth leaves, while others are passed their bloom, stripped of their beauty, and discover in their looks the shrivelling hand of winter. The true *Malmsey* wine is made in *Teneriffe*, and the grape reared near *Laguna* is said to be the best for this purpose of any the world produces. Here is also the wine called by the general name of *Canary*, and the *Verdona*, or green wine; but these grow in greater perfection at *Oratavia*, the town we are going to describe.

ORATAVIA stands on the west side of the island, and being the chief sea-port, and the emporium of trade, the *English* merchants and consul reside here. *Dampier* alleges, on the authority of the natives, that this town is larger than *Laguna*, the capital; and that
f it has a great number of convents, but only one parochial church. Notwithstanding the harbour chiefly gives importance to *Oratavia*, the port is extremely dangerous, when the north-west winds blow, to which it is fully exposed; however, mariners discover it by a high sea, that rolls before the approach of the storm, and take the necessary measures for their security.

THE third town of any consequence is *Santa Cruz*, situated in a bay on the west side of the island, defended by two forts and several batteries of heavy cannon; which could not prevent the heroic *Blake's* destroying sixteen *Spanish* galleons that lay here, in 1657. This attempt was looked upon as the most hardy and intrepid that had been ever executed; it being then a thing unknown to attack a fleet protected by forts and batteries; tho' all the
g maritime states have often since given proofs of its being less hazardous than at that time it was imagined by the best sea officers.

To conclude our account of *Teneriffe*, the *Verdona* wine produced here is strong-bodied, a but more harsh and sharp than *Canary*. As it is but in little esteem in *Europe*, they export it chiefly to the *West Indies*, where it keeps well for a long time in the hottest climates. Besides *Malmsey*, *Verdona*, and the common *Canary* wine, *Teneriffe* island so abounds in all kinds of grain, wheat, maize, and barley, that great quantities are shipped off to other countries; nor is it less prolific in quadrupeds and birds of all kinds. In a word, exclusive of some inconveniencies from earthquakes and volcanos, the universe presents not a more delightful spot for contemplation, ease, and all the felicities of quiet life^f.

Gran Cana-
ria.

EAST south-east, and about ten leagues distant from *Teneriffe*, stands the island of *Gran-Canaria*, or *Great Canary*, between 27 and 28 degrees of north latitude (L). It is twelve leagues in length, and nearly as much in breadth; yet some of our *English* geographers, b and particularly *Salmon*, calls it fifty leagues in circumference, tho' upon what authority we know not; probably upon his own, as he has advanced an infinity of other facts we find supported by no good writer, and indeed intirely contradicted, or omitted, by the most genuine and sensible voyagers and travellers. There are writers, and among them *Prevost*, who call this island the chief of the *Canaries*, without assigning any other reason than its name, and the residence of a bishop; from which last circumstance we may collect, that either this prelate has palaces in the different islands, or that all the larger ones are distinct sees. The truth we believe is, that tho' the viceroy, the bishop, and all the people of distinction live in *Teneriffe*, yet the island of *Canary* is a bishop's see, suffragan to the arch-bishop of *Seville* in *Spain*; for, besides this, there is here a court of inquisition, and the c fovereign council of all the *Canaries* is held here occasionally. Nay more, in *Nicolls's* time, 'tis certain there was only one bishop of the *Canary Islands*; and no alteration in this particular is positively mentioned by any author (M). The capital of this island is called *Palma*, in *Latin*, *Civitas Palmarum*, in *Spanish*, *Ciudad das Palmas*, a name by which it is specified in all the public acts and particular contracts, or procedures of justice; yet do some authors call it *Canary*. It stands on the north part of the island, at a small distance from the sea; and is celebrated for its temperate climate, extent, neatness, and other particulars. It is adorned with a magnificent cathedral, several convents, and a number of elegant buildings, which render it little inferior to *Laguna*; and it is perhaps superior in point of police, all the principal men of wealth and credit acting in the capacity of civil magistrates (N). d

THE country is more level, and as fertile as *Teneriffe*; yet the soil is light and sandy, covered over by a coat of rich mould, about sixteen inches thick. Every year produces two crops of all kinds of vegetables. except fruits; the one in *February*, the other in *May*, and both plentiful. Their flour-bread in this island is especially excellent, both in taste and colour; in which last it rivals snow itself. Sugar-canes are raised in such abundance, that there are no less than twelve sugar-works, each so large as to be mistaken by strangers for little towns; and the abundance of this commodity constitutes the principal wealth of the island, incredible quantities of coarse sugar being yearly exported. *Le Maire* specifies four convents of different orders; viz. the *Franciscan*, *Dominican*, *Bernardine*, and *Cordelier*, houses; all of them rich, and well-built. He had frequently been called in quality of a e physician to the *Bernardines*, and found that all their diseases proceeded from their strict confinement. He was always treated with the highest civility and distinction by these devotees, who seemed to be a polished, sensible, and discreet set of men, without that austerity and moroseness almost inseparable from their profession and retired life. The same author adds, that the *French* had a consul at *Palma*, to whose wife he was called, upon finding her distemper too obstinate for the simple practice of the country.

Fuerte Ven-
tura.

THE island of *Fuerte*, or *Fuerte Ventura*, stands about 16 leagues north north-east of *Canary Island*, one end of it lying under the 28th, and the other extending almost to the

^f SPRAT'S History of the Royal Society, p. 209. LA CROIX, p. 675, & seq. PREVOST, t. iii. l. v. c. 1. PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, l. xii. c. 7. p. 788. DAVITY, t. v. p. 610. SANUT. l. iii. LINSCHOT. c. 97. CADA-MOST. apud Ramus. c. 7.

(L) Some writers, and in particular *Davity* and *La Croix*, make the distance between these islands about 14 leagues; but we have fixed upon the authority of *Nicolls*, who had long been an inhabitant of the *Canaries*.

(M) Most modern writers are persuaded, that the present *Canary Island* is the same meant by *Ptolemy* under that appellation. *La Croix* and *Beckman* reason warmly upon this topic; but it would be wasting time to transcribe their superficial opinions.

(N) *Le Maire*, who had been here in the year 1628, says, that the town of *Palma* is defended by a citadel

erected on a hill, commanding the town and harbour; but neither regularly fortified, well-mounted with cannon, or sufficiently garisoned. It stands a mile and a half from the harbour; and how at that distance it should command it, is what we do not easily apprehend. In the town he reckons no less than 12,000 inhabitants, whose courage, he says, will supply the weakness of its walls; tho' the truth is, they have, for many years, had no opportunity of proving this extraordinary valour. It must, however, be very populous, considering its small extent.

- a 29th, degree of north latitude, being about fifty miles in length, and variable in breadth; in some parts ten leagues, in others no more than as many miles. The soil is, in general, fertile in corn, roots, and fruits, and beautifully diversified in hills and vallies, well-watered, and supplied with a variety of timber. This island produces, besides the other fruits common to the *Canaries*, a prodigious abundance of dates, mastick, olives, &c. with orchel for dyeing, and a species of fig-tree, that yields a medicinal balm as white as milk; but the virtues of it we are wholly unacquainted with in *Europe*, as we are likewise of the name. An incredible quantity of goat-milk cheese is made in *Fuerte Ventura*, as may be easily conceived from that island breeding upwards of 50,000 kids every year. Their flesh is fat, better coloured, and sweeter, than in any other country; each of them weighing
- b between 40 and 50 pounds. *Dapper* says, that here are three considerable sea-port towns; *Langla*, *Tarafato*, and *Pozzo Negro*, with two good roads besides for shipping, where they may ride secure against all storms. We find in *Herbert*, but in no other author, that this island was taken, in 1596, by the *English*; but has, since that time, been better fortified. On the north coast of *Fuerte Ventura*, about a mile further in the sea, it is that the little island of *Gratiosa* stands; with a particular account of which it would be unnecessary to trouble the reader (O).

- THE last island of the *Canaries* we shall describe is *Lancerota*, or *Lanzerota*, formerly *Lancerota*. *Centuria*, as we find it in all the antient geographers. It lies under 29 degrees 30 min. north latitude, and 12 degrees 31 minutes west longitude from *London*. In length it is
- c thirteen leagues from north to south, nine in breadth, and about forty in compass, taking in the bays and creeks (P). 'Tis parted by a ridge of mountains, which afford nothing but pasture for cattle, though the vallies are fruitful, but sandy and thin in the soil. It abounds in grain, fruits, horned cattle, hares, camels, and asses. In *Nicolls's* days, it was the property of Don *Augustin de Herrera*; but ships crews had an appeal, in all judicial cases, to the viceroy of the *Canaries*. One great branch of the trade of *Lancerota* consists in dried goats flesh, which the inhabitants sell in great quantities to the neighbouring islands, under the name of *Tuffineta*. In *Purchas*, there is a curious account of a voyage made to the *West Indies* by the earl of *Cumberland* in 1596; in which he made a descent on this island. When he came with his fleet into the road south-east of the island, he received intelligence of a very
- d rich nobleman, who commanded this and the neighbouring island of *Fuerte Ventura*; upon which he landed 500 men, under the command of Sir *John Berkeley*, who pursued the natives, but without being able to come up with them. Advancing to the town, they found it deserted, and every thing of value removed, and even the castle, which was strongly built, and fortified with stone-walls and cannon, evacuated by the governor and garrison. In the journal it is said there were here a great number of brass guns, besides heaps of large stones, properly disposed on the walls, to tumble down on the assailants; and the walls were so high, that it was almost impossible to attempt scaling them: in a word, twenty men might have defended it against an army not fully provided with battering cannon. However, *Camden* differs from this account, and says, that the earl was forced to relinquish his design of mastering the fort, through the mortality which prevailed among his troops. *Purchas's* account
- e adds, that this town, of which we are not told the name, contained above one hundred houses, all built of rough stone, generally of one story high, with flat roofs. They were all covered with canes laid across the rafters, and plaistered with mud, which the sun had hardened to the firmness of stone. It had but one mean old church, with an altar in the east end, but without chancel, vestry, or any separate apartment for ornament or convenience. It even had no benches or seats, except large stones laid along the walls, and the doors supplied the place of windows. The prettiest and most convenient building was a convent, possessed of a fine garden and pond of clear water, well-stocked with fish. Although the natives were so extremely swift, that Sir *John Berkeley* was forced to desist from the pursuit,
- f *Layfield*, who accompanied him, observed their complexion was dark, and their stature more than commonly tall and robust, with other circumstances of resemblance to the *Guanches* of *Teneriffe*. Their arms were pikes and stones, which they used with extraordinary dexterity. Whenever the *English* fired upon them, they instantly fell flat on their faces, and, the discharge of the musquetry being over, applied themselves vigorously to their pikes and stones, with which they wounded a great number of the enemy.

To these seven great islands may be added the small ones of *St. Clair*, *Gratiosa*, *Rocca*, and *Alegranza*, situated at the north-east end of *Lancerota*; but they have nothing so peculiar

(O) Notwithstanding the authority of *Nicolls*, we are inclined to believe that this is the island *Lobos*, as we find in the best charts; for *Gratiosa* stands about a league north-east of *Lancerota* in *D'Anville* and all the *Dutch* maps.

(P) This is the account of the authors the reader will see cited at the close of our description; yet *Beckman*, a judicious writer, calls it but nine leagues long, and about six leagues broad *.

* *Vide Voy. à Borneo*, p. 4.

as to merit a description. We shall therefore close these observations on the *Canaries* with a remarking, that the natives of these islands enjoy a clear, serene, temperate air; for, tho' they lie in a warm climate, they are so constantly refreshed with breezes from the sea, that the noon-day heats are very tolerable, and the mornings and evenings inexpressibly pleasant. They never feel pinching colds or scorching heats, nor do the poorest people know the want of cloathing, firing, fruits, or wine. In a word, if fields covered with the finest and richest verdure, hills with a variety of woods and fruits, great abundance of all the necessaries and conveniencies of living, and, in short, a scene the most rural, simple, and elegant, can render people happy, the inhabitants of the *Canaries* cannot fail of meriting the name given to them by the antients of *Fortunate*.

Madeira.

WE come, in the last place, to give the best account we are able of the islands of *Madeira* ^b and *Porto Santo*, from the lame and defective materials furnished us from voyagers and geographers. It is remarkable, that most writers call both these islands by the common name of *Madeiras*, a word we find commonly used for *Madeira* in *England* and *Spain*; however, as there is certainly but one island of this name, and *Porto Santo* was always inhabited by a different people, there is no doubt but the noun ought to be singular. This, indeed, is a matter of little consequence, while we have some room to lament the contradiction among writers concerning the extent of this island, the quality of the soil and produce, the disposition of the people, their religion, manners, and other important particulars. Voyagers have only touched upon the coasts, without ever penetrating to the heart of the country, of which they have spoken only by conjecture, and from analogy.

SOME imagine that it was known to the antients by the names of *Juno* and *Antetala*; but it is probable the *Portuguese* were the first discoverers, unless there be truth in the following relation of *Ovington's*. This gentleman says, that tho' the discovery is attributed by all *Europeans* to the *Portuguese*, yet there is a tradition among the natives, which gives the whole honour to the *English*. They affirm, that an *English* gentleman, who had married a lady of immense fortune, embarked at *Bristol*, in the year 1342, for *France*, and was driven by a storm to the island of *Madeira*, so called afterwards by the *Spaniards*, on account of the incredible quantity of trees and prodigious forests it produced. Here he landed, and finding it uninhabited, he fell into a melancholy and despondency, which soon put an end to his life; but the sailors ventured again to sea, and happily arrived on the coast of *Barbary*. ^d There they met with a *Portuguese* squadron, to whom they related their adventure, and promised to conduct the admiral to the island they had quitted. Immediately notice was sent to the court of *Lisbon*, and the proposal appeared so advantageous, that instructions were given to an admiral, with whose name we are unacquainted, to go in search of the island; in which he succeeded, and, in the space of a few years, rendered it one of the most delightful spots in the universe (Q). However, the most probable and best attested account is, that the *Portuguese* did not become acquainted with *Madeira* before the year 1431, when *Don Henry* first sent a colony thither, under the conduct of *Tristan Tefora* and *Gonzales*, or *Gonzalvo Zarco*, who were nominated governors alternately, or, as others affirm, of different parts of the island. Upon this partition of power, it was divided into two provinces, ^e *Machico* and *Funchal*; the new colony immediately set to work in clearing the ground, and, for this purpose, set fire to the forests, which burnt with such violence, that the governor and people were forced to seek protection from the flames in the sea, in which they had almost perished, before they were taken up by a ship. So abundant was the fuel, and fierce the flames, that this fire continued, we are told, for near seven years; in consequence of which the soil was so enriched by the wood ashes, that, for a long time, it produced one hundred-fold; tho', we are told, this increase is diminished to twenty-five times the quantity of grain sown, or sugar-canes planted (R). At first the colony consisted of no more than eight

(Q) *Nicolls* likewise relates this story, positively affirming, that the island was discovered accidentally by an *English* gentleman, called *Mucham*, or *Markham*. It was, for a number of years, imagined that the true *Madeira*, upon which this gentleman had been cast, was situated between the island of *Palma*, one of the *Canaries*, and the island now called *Madeira*. What, however, greatly diminishes the authority of this whole story is, that no vestige of such person or accident appears in any *English* historian; and that *Hackluyt* borrows his whole relation from *Galvano*. Besides, if the *Portuguese* were made acquainted with this island so early as 1342, it is surprising they should have neglected profiting by the discovery till the year 1431, or for almost the space of a century; at which time all authors agree the first settlement was made.

(R) *Atkins* and *Ovington* both affirm, upon the testimony of the *Spaniards* and natives, that the ashes, and their salts, occasioned, for a while, an amazing fertility, particularly in sugar; but that a worm, which had crept in, to the destruction of the cane, obliged the *Spaniards* to convert their sugar-plantations into vintages, which proved equally advantageous, from the excellency of the grape.

The *Malmsey* wine made here is, according to them, an admirable cordial; and the best vintages in this kind belong to the Jesuits of *Funchal*. They gather their vintages in *September* and *October*, making every year no less than 20,000 pipes. The same authors affirm, that *Madeira* produces only two kinds of grapes, the one brown, the other of a reddish colour; and from these are made two sorts of wine, one of which is called *Tinto*, from

a eight hundred souls; now, if we may credit *Atkins*, the island of *Madeira* can raise eighteen thousand able-bodied men; nor were they much inferior in strength in the year 1640, when, by that surprising revolution, *Portugal* threw off the *Spanish* yoke.

THIS island, *Barbot* is of opinion, is the *Carne* of the antients, lying in 32 deg. of north latitude, and 17 of west longitude from *London*, seventy leagues north-west, or, according to some authors, north-east of *Teneriffe*, and about an equal distance from *Sallee* in the kingdom of *Fez*.

AUTHORS are generally divided about the extent of *Madeira*. *Fryer* affirms, that it is the largest island in the *Atlantic Ocean*; but we have reason to believe, that *Teneriffe* may dispute this point with it. Most of the very modern geographers call it 140 leagues in circuit; but *Cadamoſto*, who seems to be nearer the truth, says it is no more than 130 miles; while other voyagers reduce it to forty leagues. The climate is more temperate than the *Canaries*, and the soil more fertile in wine, sugar, and fruits, but less so in corn, tho' infinitely better watered with springs and rivers, the number of which is infinite. As to cattle, birds, plants, and trees, they are nearly similar; each produces the *Sanguis Draconis*, mastick, and other gums. The climate is indeed enchanting; for here is a perpetual spring, and flowers, blossoms, and fruit of various kinds, spring forth every month in the year, all in such perfection as cannot be equalled in any other country; even onions, that strongly pungent plant, are here so mild and sweet, that they are eat raw like apples, and indeed preferred to them. Lemons grow to the size of pumpkins, and oranges are produced spontaneously of all sorts and dimensions; besides all the *European* fruits, peaches, nectarins, melons, apricots, pears, apples, with a variety of others. In *Madeira* are made the finest sweetmeats in the world, all kinds of fruits being here candied in the most exquisite perfection. The inhabitants excel particularly in making citron and orange sweetmeats, marmalade, and perfumed pastes, preferable to the *Italian*, whatever fashion and caprice may judge.

In the *Madeiras*, sugar-works were first erected in the west, of which it had an incredible number; and from thence they were removed to *America*; soon after which the *Portuguese*, finding the demand for their sugars sink, converted their cane-plantations into vineyards; which appears to be a better reason for this measure than the one we have mentioned from *Ovington*, of the poverty of the soil. The exports of wines, and the profits on them, are immense, and produce a handsome revenue to the crown of *Portugal*. These wines are of four different kinds, different both in taste, colour, and strength. The first is of the colour of *Champagne*, in a small quantity, and but little valued; the second is called *Malmsey*, and is rich and strong; the third is a wine resembling *Alicant*, or *Tent*, and never drank unmixed; and the fourth what is commonly drank in *England*, under the name of *Madeira*, of a pale red, not unlike fine small beer, but pleasant and wholesome. Of this last an amazing quantity is consumed in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; but the greatest part of the *Madeira* wine is sent to the *West Indies*. One remarkable quality is observed in this wine, that it is greatly improved and refined by the heat of the sun, if the bung be taken off the cask; which is the reason why we drink it in less perfection than in the *East* and *West Indies*.

FUNCHAL is the capital of *Madeira*, situated on the south part of the island, with an indifferent harbour before it for shipping, fortified by a citadel, and furnished with stone-walls, besides other works which command the road. This town is computed to be a mile in length, and three quarters of a mile in breadth, populous, regular, and decorated with several fine buildings, a variety of churches, convents, chapels, and the governor's palace. Of all others, the *Jesuits* church merits particular notice, for its dimensions, elegance, and wealth; in which particulars it is excelled by few religious houses in *Europe*. The cieling is finely painted and gilded, the altar richly adorned, the walls finely designed, and the whole plan equally beautiful and magnificent. *Ovington* had seen it to great advantage, when the festival of *St. Ignatius* was celebrated, and high mass performed. The music, he observes, was fine, the ornaments striking, and the illuminations formed a most magnificent and delightful spectacle. Near this stands a large hospital for venereal patients, a disease so common in this country, that hardly any person escapes it; but the hospital is intended only for the conveniency of the poor. *Ovington* had seen many patients, who were hideous spectacles and shocking objects of compassion; but none, except one poor

from its high colour. This, they say, is, in the opinion of some persons, actually coloured by certain ingredients, with which they fine it; but this the inhabitants constantly deny; and we shall see in the text four several distinct kinds of *Madeira* wine. *Ovington* adds, that so far has *Madeira* degenerated from its wonted fertility,

that some years are so barren as to endanger a famine, the inhabitants being forced to rely for bread on the supplies brought by the shipping. This was the case in the year 1689, when he was on the island *. Captain *Uring* goes further, and affirms, that it seldom produces more grain than supplies the people for three months †.

* *Atkins*, p. 23.† *Ovington*, p. 10. *Uring's Voy.* p. 10.

woman, who gave any signs of repentance and contrition, the rest being all of a stubborn, a fierce, and savage disposition, incapable of being moved, or, if they were, too proud to acknowledge it. When *Funchal*, or *Fonchal*, as *Ovington* calls it, was fortified, it would seem the engineer had nothing in view besides rendering it strong on the sea-side; for there all the works, except a single wall, are directed. This was certainly a great oversight, as there are several bays, not far distant from the land-side, where an enemy might safely disembark, and march to the very walls, without opposition. The *Portuguese*, though numerous, do not constitute the bulk of the inhabitants; the *English* and *French Roman* catholics, who live in the *Portuguese* manner, are justly supposed to exceed the others in number and wealth. Besides these, there is an infinity of mulatto and negro freemen, who are treated with more respect than the most considerable *English* protestant merchants, who b are, as we shall have occasion to relate, hardly and impolitically dealt with, from bigotted and ignorant superstition. The streets of *Funchal* are drawn by a line, all the houses neat, and the windows lashed with lath-work, but with openings wide enough for those within to see and be seen. Through these windows many amorous dialogues are held between virgins and their gallants, in a species of dumb language, unintelligible to all besides the votaries of the little god of love. In this method of communicating the sentiments of lovers by the fingers, the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* of *Madeira* are particularly expert. Even in this religiously bigotted country, churches are made the rendezvous of persons inspired with the tender passion, of men of business, and of those who are either immersed in pleasure, or strongly attached to interest. After divine service, the house of God is converted into an exchange, or prostituted c to the purposes of lust and profligacy; for here all sorts of assignations are made; yet can nothing exceed the decency and gravity of their exterior deportment. The women, who have no domestic chapels, never attend divine service but on *Sundays* and holidays; and if there be several females in a family, they walk in pairs before the mother, their faces covered with a long veil, but their necks and shoulders exposed, as if they invited the notice of their gallants. On the one side walks an old man, armed with a sword, dagger, and chaplet, or long string of beads, intimating thereby his being the guardian of virgin honour; however, the young gentlemen are not deterred by this formidable escorte from approaching, ogling, and expressing their passion in a manner very witty and ingenious.

ALL the vices, and particularly lust and incontinence, reign in an absolute manner in d *Madeira* over all conditions of men; and the example of the males has encouraged the females to satisfy their desires in a very impure and lascivious way. The women never lose an opportunity of gratifying their passions, and especially with strangers, without regard to his rank. *Ovington* attributes the prevalence of this evil to that extraordinary manner they have of marrying their children, without permitting them to see each other before, all matches being made here with an intire disregard to every other purpose, but interest. He relates, that, when he was at *Madeira*, a marriage was on the point of being concluded between two persons of fashion, who had never set eyes on each other, and both parties were come to the place appointed for the celebration of their nuptials, before they had even an opportunity of expressing their inclinations. However, an accident led the bridegroom to e a room separated by a thin partition from that in which his mistress and another young lady entertained each other. Through a chink he had a full view of them, and their conversation easily distinguished his intended bride; but the other young lady pleasing his inclinations better, he broke off the match, and entailed a perpetual quarrel by the affront between the two families. As parents make up all family-connections without ever consulting their children, it is highly probable that this may be one reason for the looseness of unmarried women. The old folks regard nothing besides the birth, quality, fortune, and religion, of the parties; all alliances with *Jews*, infidels, and protestants, being rigidly prohibited; but love is too obstinate a passion to be bent to the purposes of avarice and pride. The birth, indeed, of the woman is not so much regarded; but it is deemed infamous to marry a f husband of a different religion; and this severe restriction extends to all the *English*, with this difference, however, that, upon embracing the popish religion, they are looked upon as worthy; whereas no change of principles can wash off the stain of *Judaism* and infidelity. Yet there have been instances, where the power of wealth has overcome this objection, and set casuists upon explaining away that shame which would ever be attached to persons less rich and considerable. *Ovington* declares, that parents pay no regard to the chastity of the young persons whom they intend to connect by marriage; sobriety of morals and continency are, especially in a husband, the worst of all recommendations to the favour of a lady. He relates a pleasant instance of this, which happened during his residence on the island. A widow of fortune at *Funchal* had proposed a match between her daughter and a young gentleman g of a neighbouring family, and matters were pretty far advanced; but the old lady hearing, that the intended bridegroom had ever enjoyed perfect health, that he was never infected with the venereal disease, and that he always avoided all communication with loose

a loose women, immediately broke off the treaty ; affirming, that the gentleman's conduct was the result of some constitutional defect, and not of a prudence scarce compatible with his time of life.

FUNCHAL, we observed, is the residence of the governor ; it is likewise so of a bishop, and court of inquisition. It contains, says *Atkins*, six parishes, a number of chapels, six monasteries, three male and as many female ; but here the religious are not so straitly laced as at *Lisbon* ; though the people are, if possible, more oppressed by the inquisition, the most diabolical of all tribunals. They here are permitted to visit, and to be visited by, strangers, from whom they buy a variety of toys and conveniencies, by means of those heavy taxes laid on the consciences of the people. At present, the bishop of *Madeira* is suffragan to the b see of *Lisbon* ; but formerly *Funchal* was the residence of the archbishop of the *East Indies* ⁸. But we shall defer a further account of the clergy, till we come to speak of some general customs.

BESIDES *Funchal*, the metropolis, there are several other considerable towns in *Madeira*, viz. *Moncerito*, *Santa Cruz*, and *Manchico*, which some writers affirm to be the same with *Santa Cruz*, and so called from a church of that name dedicated to the *Holy Cross*. In the whole island are no less than thirty-six parishes, each of them having their proper churches ; and, besides the religious houses at *Funchal*, there are dispersed over the island five monasteries, eighty-two hermitages, together with a great number of fine seats and castles.

As to the general manner of the natives, it is grave, sober, and temperate, but haughty c and ostentatious. Even the richest *Portuguese* lay themselves under severe restrictions of sobriety, which they hardly ever break through ; and drunkenness is a vice intirely unknown among the poorer sort. During the vintage, bread and dried raisins are the whole sustenance of the labourer, together with a little wine diluted with water ; and, without this temperance, it would be impossible for them to escape fevers in hot weather : but long use and custom have now rendered their sobriety constitutional. It is certain, that the excesses of v d nery, into which they launch, render their moderation in drinking the more necessary, and co-operates with the climate to keep the inhabitants of *Madeira* the most decent people of *Africa* in this particular. It is true, that servants, provided with bottles in their hands, always attend the tables of the rich ; but they pretend so exactly to judge of the sobriety of their d masters, that they must be repeatedly desired to fill a glass before they present it. So far do the *Portuguese* carry their affectation, that none of them are ever seen to make water in public, not for the sake of decency, but to avoid the scandalous imputation of drunkenness. Nothing can be more absurd and ridiculous than the important and proud carriage of the meanest slave, equipped with his sword and poniard, and walking with the gravity and stiffness of a person attending a solemn procession. The very servants employed at table, or in the most servile occupation, never lay aside that long bar of cold iron, with which their thighs are decorated ; as if they would compensate, by this mark of vain distinction, the real oppression and slavery under which they groan. Perhaps it is to this custom we may attribute the frequency of murder in *Madeira*. This horrid crime of duelling is become a e badge of honour here ; for, to gain the least token of a brave man, it is indispensably necessary that you have dipt your hands in the blood of your fellow-creature. What, indeed, confirms the *Portuguese* in this barbarous practice, is the protection afforded by the church to criminals ; a detestable privilege, that reflects disgrace on the whole body of their clergy, and intimates their doctrine to be inconsistent with the laws of justice and humanity. Here the smallest chapel, and taking refuge in a consecrated place, will screen the most notorious criminal from the law ; and these are so numerous all over the island, that no one need ever undergo the punishment which law, reason, and the good of society, require should be inflicted on murderers. Nay, we are told, that touching the altar, the corner of a church, or any thing that has been consecrated, will sufficiently protect a man in the practice f of the worst of crimes ; yet are the clergy no less strenuous in defence of this prerogative, than if the fundamental principle of their faith, the good of the church, and the interests of religion, depended upon it. The most rigorous punishment, therefore, of murder is banishment or imprisonment ; both which the parties may buy off by presents to the clergy, who enjoy a sort of despotic power, which they have acquired in consequence of their number, wealth, and influence, over the minds of the ignorant people. It is amazing that so large a body of idle clergy can be maintained in such affluence by so small a number of laborious laics ; but so it is, the poverty of the latter exactly tallies with the riches of the former ; and as wealth ever implies power, the clergy have engrossed almost the whole prerogative of the island, the governor himself being little more than a cypher. The Jesuits hold the g first rank in the church, having acquired a high degree of reputation from the facility with

⁸ Voy. de WYBOUS VAN WARWICK, vol. ii. p. 500.

which they grant absolution to penitents, and from an external severity of manners, and an appearance of superior sanctity; perhaps, we may add, from their superior cunning, sagacity, learning, and attachment to their common interest (S). Hence it is, that they carefully conceal from the public the slightest misdemeanour of any of their fraternity, and assume to themselves the sole right of punishing the crimes of their brethren, even though they should be of the most pernicious consequence to the state and to society. Should any of them be accused, they vigorously defend his cause, conceal his fault, or explain it away by a species of religious casuistry, in which they excel all the rest of mankind: and if they happen to be interrogated, why they should screen a criminal? they answer, that mercy is one of the noblest attributes of the Almighty.

THE inhabitants of *Madeira* always bury their catholic dead in their churches and consecrated grounds. The corpse is dressed out with great magnificence, but seldom inclosed in a coffin; on the contrary, they mix lime with the dust, the sooner to consume it; so different are their manners in this particular from those of the *Guanches* in the neighbouring islands. This mixture of burnt lime, and the warmth of the climate, have so sudden an effect, that we are told a grave may be opened in the space of fifteen days, by which time the body is wholly reduced to dust.

As the inquisition is violently set against all heretics, the bodies of such are forbid all Christian burial, and regarded as the carcases of brutes. Even the most considerable *English* protestant merchants are treated with the most ignominious contempt, and forced to throw their dead bodies, as if they were on ship-board, into the sea, unless they pay an extravagant price to the clergy for the liberty of breaking ground. *Ovington* relates a very barbarous instance of this, of which he was an eye-witness. An *English* merchant dying, all the other merchants of the same nation, willing to inter the body decently, and yet to avoid the rigorous impositions of the inquisition, determined to have it carried in the night over the rocks into the mountains: however, their design was discovered by that jealous tribunal, and they were watched to the place of interment. Scarce had the corpse been laid in the dust, when they were surrounded by the corregidors and officers of justice, assisted by a large body of armed men, who immediately dug up the body, exposed it to public insults, and then threw it into the sea, with all the possible marks of infamy and disgrace. Hence it is, that however pleasant and delightful the island of *Madeira* may, in other respects, be thought, yet the oppression of this damnable inquisition renders it no very desirable residence for such as refuse to resign their consciences and understandings to the arbitrary directions of the Jesuits. The volcanos of the *Canary Islands* are not more terrible to the natives, than the clergy of *Madeira*, armed with the authority of the inquisition, to the protestants who live under their jurisdiction. It is certain, that *English* merchants meet with better quarter among *Turks* and pagans, than where the *Roman* catholic clergy have the least authority in their hands; and it is remarkable, that the further these zealots are removed from the head of their church, the more despotic, cruel, and bigotted, they become. In *Rome*, and all the great towns of *Italy*, protestants converse familiarly, nay, enter into intimate friendship, with the popish clergy; but when the Jesuits find themselves remote from the seat of government, and in a manner out of the eye of the world, there their authority, their oppression, and tyranny, are altogether insupportable.

THE following relation from *Ovington* merits the reader's perusal. While he was at *Madeira*, some *English* sailors, who spoke the *Portuguese*, having been well received at the Jesuits college, took it into their heads to become converts to their religion, and desired to be instructed in the *Roman* catholic faith; a request that was cheerfully granted by the Jesuits. The captain of the ship preparing to pursue his voyage to *India*, ordered a muster of the men, and, upon missing these proselytes, made enquiry after them. It was soon found that they were protected in the Jesuits college; nor were all his petitions, and the remonstrances of the *English* consul, sufficient to get them returned. The captain resolved then to supply their place by stratagem, and to seize upon the first stragglers among the natives he could meet with. When he was just ready to weigh, he fitted out his pinnace with a number of armed men, to seize upon the first persons they saw, and convey them on board. The pinnace had not cruized long, before two reverend fathers going by water to *Funchal* presented themselves, and were, to their great surprize, made prisoners by the *English*

(S) *Ovington* says, indeed, that he had conversed with several of this order, but never met with above three who were scholars, or so much as understood *Latin* *; and this, perhaps, is more than he could have picked out of any other society of religious in the island.

The writings of the Jesuits, even in the most distant, barbarous, and ignorant countries, shew them to be, perhaps, the most universally learned body of men in the world.

* *Ovington*, p. 23.

- a sailors. When they came on board the ship, they were made acquainted with the reasons for this proceeding, and that they must bid farewell to their delicious residence at *Madeira*, and prepare for a voyage to *India*, in case they could not prevail on their brethren to restore the fugitive sailors. They desired permission to write to the governor, which they submitted to the inspection of the captain, and filled with prayers and the most passionate instances, that they might be redeemed at any price. At the same time the captain wrote to the *English* consul, in justification of his conduct. No sooner were these letters arrived, than the people, no less enraged than the clergy, ran about the town, crying out vengeance against all the *English*, in case the fathers were not immediately set at liberty; insomuch that the merchants residing on the island began to tremble for the consequences of this uncommon adventure.
- b After trying, without effect, all possible means to assuage the populace, who flew about the streets in a kind of phrenzy, they resolved to go on board, and endeavour to prevail on the captain to set the Jesuits at liberty. In case he proved obstinate, they carried with them their money and most valuable effects, resolving never to return to the island, rather than hazard the consequences of the popular rage, if they failed in their design. The captain, however, who was both a man of sense and spirit, perceiving the danger the merchants were in, the prejudice it would be to the national trade to incur the resentment of the islanders, the little service these reverend fathers would be in quality of sailors, and, lastly, the great difference there was between the case of fugitive sailors, who voluntarily deserted the ship and their religion, and two clergymen imprisoned without cause, and forced against their inclination into a service for which they were altogether unfit, determined at length to release them; which
- c he did, to the general satisfaction of all the islanders, and the *English* merchants. This relation shews how strongly bent on making proselytes the Jesuits are, how tenacious of their rights, and how extensive their influence over a people, who equally dread and respect them.

- BEFORE we quit the island of *Madeira*, the reader will probably be pleased to see the oldest account of its discovery, as related by *Alcaforado*, a *Spanish* writer, who flourished but a few years after the colony was first settled here. This author likewise supposes, that an *English* gentleman had given the first intimation of such an island to the *Portuguese*, then at war with the powers in *Barbary*; and that, upon report of the sailors, it was that the infant Don *Henry* fitted out a large ship, under the command of *Gonsalvo Zarco*, who was to attempt a farther discovery, agreeable to the directions of the *English*. In consequence of the orders received from Don *Henry*, *Zarco* set sail for *Puerto Santo*, in which the *Portuguese* had left some men, upon their having fallen in with it about two years before; that is, in the year 1419. On his arrival here, he was informed by the little colony, that when they went a fishing a few leagues from shore, they always espied to the south-west a thick cloud, impenetrably dark, raised from the sea to the heavens, and defended by terrible storms, which, however, never dispelled or diminished it. As navigation was at this time in its infancy, and the true figure of the globe but little known, this strange account of the *Portuguese* at *Puerto Santo* greatly dismayed and terrified the sailors of *Zarco*: but he remained
- d firm in his resolution to execute the orders of his prince, and extend the honour and power of his country. He judged, that this cloud was, in fact, a certain sign of the very land he sought after. However, he resolved to remain at *Puerto Santo* till the storm ceased, which he imagined would occasion some alteration, and perhaps fully explain the phenomenon: but the moon changed, and the cloud remained the same; a circumstance that greatly augmented the fears of the sailors, and persuaded them that it was a defence placed by the Almighty against the curiosity and avarice of mankind, beyond which but to attempt penetrating would be attended with certain destruction. *Zarco*, however, still continued in his old sentiments; affirming, that this was probably a country so covered with thick woods, as to exclude the sun's heat, and of consequence so moist as to send forth constant exhalations,
- e which, collected into a cloud, occasioned that extraordinary darkness. Fully assured of the truth of this reasoning, he set sail directly towards the object of their fears, in spite of all the endeavours of his crew, by menaces and supplications, to prevent him. As he approached, his men became more ungovernable and clamorous; but the resolution and undaunted firmness of *Zarco* overcame all difficulties, and even inspired his men with courage. At length they began to perceive something of a darker colour through the cloud; but the distance was too great for them to distinguish what it was, though some of the sailors affirmed that they saw prodigious giants, which soon proved to be the sharp-pointed rocks projecting into the sea. Before night they came so near as to see plainly that all their fears arose from an extremely woody and mountainous country, which they had mistaken for a thick cloud; on which
- f the joy of the sailors was no less turbulent than their fears had been but a few hours before. The first point of land they fairly discovered was called *St. Laurence Point* by *Zarco*; after doubling which, he had a fine view to the south of a country cloathed with the most beautiful verdure. He now sent a boat to examine the coast; and the first bay she touched was the
- g same,

same, says *Alcaforado*, that was mentioned by the *English*, as appeared by the monument of a *Masbam*, or *Markham*, with an inscription, which they found here. Immediately the boat returned with the joyful tidings to *Zarco*, who then went himself on shore, and took possession of it in the name of Don *Henry* and King *John* of *Portugal*, on the 8th of *July* 1421. Detaching a party to examine the interior parts of the country, they advanced so far as to see the ocean on the opposite side, whence it was concluded to be an island, though it was before believed to be a part of the continent. This, however, not satisfying *Zarco*, he erected a cross on a high ground near the shore, and coasted quite round till he arrived again at the same place; after which he went in search of some ground less woody than the rest of the country, upon which to lay the foundation of an establishment. At last he arrived at the plain in which *Funchal* now stands, which, says our author, takes its name from the prodigious quantity of fennel growing upon it in *Zarco's* time. It is said in this account, that not a vestige of a human creature, besides the *English* monument, was seen, though the country seemed to abound in fowls and quadrupeds of different kinds. After making all the necessary observations, *Zarco* set sail for *Europe*, and arrived at *Lisbon* the following year. We must observe, however, that this relation of *Alcaforado's* has been greatly suspected by critics to be a work of much later date than that author, or at least of being strangely interpolated and mangled, which, they affirm, is apparent from a number of circumstances. In our opinion, the most objectionable circumstance is the date of this discovery; for all other writers agree, that a colony was not settled here till about twenty years after. But we have spent so much time on this island, that we believe it necessary to leave these speculations to the minds of readers, who may have more leisure and inclination to enter upon them, while we conclude our account of the *African* islands with a short description of *St. Borondon*, and *Puerto*, or *Porto Santo*^h.

Marvellous
island of St.
Borondon.

SOME writers, and particularly *Linschoten*, in their description of the *Canary Islands*, mention, as something supernatural, a certain island, which they call *St. Borondon*, or *Porondon*, about an hundred leagues from *Ferro*, probably west, though no writer has pretended to lay down its exact position. Here, it is affirmed, several ships have touched by accident, and all agree in their relations of the state of the inhabitants and island. They affirm, that it is beautifully clothed with a great variety of wood, chiefly fruit-trees; that the vallies are in a perpetual state of verdure, and eternally decked with flowers, grass, and plants, the spontaneous productions of the earth, or with corn and pulse, cultivated with great care by the inhabitants; that the soil is so prolific, as to raise large quantities of corn for exportation; and that the ships, that call here, never fail of refreshments of every kind. They moreover add, that it is peopled by Christians, who have a language of their own, apparently combined of a variety of modern languages; for, say they, whoever understands the *European* tongues, may make shift to hold conversation with this people. It is remarkable, that no ships, expressly sent upon this discovery, were ever fortunate enough to fall in with the island of *St. Borondon*, though the *Spaniards* have made several attempts from the *Canaries*. Hence it has been called the *Marvellous Island*; and hence, indeed, we may conclude, that either it exists wholly in imagination, or, at least, that it is surrounded with such currents as insensibly carry ships out of their course, and prevent their meeting with it. Some writers are bold enough to affirm, that it actually disappears upon certain occasions, and shifts its position; while others, with more appearance of truth, allege, that it is frequently overcast with thick and impenetrable clouds, which occasion the disappointment of all the adventurers who have gone on this expedition. But these are facts, the truth of which we will leave the reader to determineⁱ.

Porto Santo.

THE island of *Puerto Santo* lies in the *Atlantic* ocean, opposite to *Cape Cantin* in the kingdom of *Morocco*, and under 32 deg. 30 min. north latitude, and 5 deg. 29 min. west longitude from *London*. Some writers, and particularly *Ortelius*, are of opinion, that this, and not *Madeira*, is the *Carne* of *Ptolemy*, while others affirm it, instead of one of the *Canaries*, to be the *Ombrio*, or *Pluvialia*, of *Pliny*. But most probable it is, that *Puerto Santo* is the island called *Palma* by *Ptolemy*, as the latitude exactly corresponds with his position of it, and with no other. According to *La Croix*, and the relations of voyages given by *Ramusio*, this island was discovered several years before *Madeira*; and yet, what is strange, they make *Gonsalvo Zarco* the discoverer; and *Ramusio* relates the very same circumstances of the one voyage which *Alcaforado* does of the other. Other writers again affirm, that it was not known before the year 1428; and indeed it is probable that the discovery both of it and

^h GRAMAY, l. ix. SANUT. c. 8. CADAMOSTO, apud Ramus. ubi sup. MOUQUET, l. i. MYNE Polit. Eccl. l. i. c. 21. DAVIT. p. 621. OVINGTON, p. 10, & seq. ATKINS, p. 23, & seq. DAPP. p. 98. ALCAFOR. apud Ramus. p. 98. OGILB. p. 744. HACKL. t. iii. p. 578. LA CROIX, t. iv. p. 509. BARB. ap. Church, t. v. p. 524. PREVOST, t. iii. l. v. c. 1. ⁱ LA CROIX, t. v. p. 706. LINSCH. ubi sup.

^a *Madeira* was still of later date. The *Portuguese* fleet fell in with this island by accident in a storm, and gave it this name on account of the protection it afforded them. It was then uninhabited; but has ever since continued peopled by the *Portuguese*, and in their possession.

THE island of *Porto Santo* is but small, not exceeding five leagues in compass, according to *Cadamosto*; though *Sanutus* makes it somewhat larger. It has good harbours, and only one bay, where ships may ride securely against all winds, except the south-west. It is in this bay that ships going or returning from *India* stop to refit and refresh, which is all the trade the inhabitants enjoy. The island produces wheat and corn in great abundance; also cows, wild boars, and rabbits; the latter in incredible numbers. But its most valuable productions for export are dragon's blood, honey, wax, and fish. All the inhabitants are bigotted *Roman* catholics, under the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop of *Madeira*, and the civil power of the governor of that island. In a word, the people here enjoy enough of all the conveniences of life to be extremely happy, were they not frequently molested by the incursions and depredations of pirates, who frequently plunder the villages, and carry off the inhabitants, as happened in the year 1617, when they made above 600 prisoners ^k.

WE shall close this part of our history with an account of the *Azores*, which some geographers describe as belonging to *Africa*, others to *America*, and some others, upon better grounds, to *Europe*. However, as they lie in the same sea with these we have been just describing, we think this the most convenient part for them, especially as it is a disputed point to which of the above three quarters of the globe they belong. *Robbe* ranks the *Azores* among the *African* islands, *De Lisle* among the *American*, as being nearer that continent; and most of our *English* geographers, for the same reason, among those of *Europe* (T). These islands had the name of *Azores*, or *Azoras*, from several flights of hawks which appeared to the first discoverers: they are also called *Terceras*, from one of them which goes by that name; and, though not the largest, is yet the chief and most considerable (U).

THE *Azores*, *Terceras*, or *Western Isles*, are seven in number; viz. *St. Michael*, *St. Maria*, *Tercera*, *Gratiosa*, *St. George*, *Pico*, and *Fayal*, besides those of *Flores* and *Corvo*, which are now included among them, as they are under the same government, and but seventy leagues distant to the westward. Formerly they were called the *Flemish Islands*, because they were supposed to have been discovered by a *Flemish* merchant, a native of *Bruges*, who, in his voyage to *Lisbon*, A. 1445, or, as others think, in 1449, was driven so far to the west by a storm, as to fall in with the *Azores*, which he found uninhabited. Upon his arrival at *Lisbon*, he gave such hints, in relating his adventure, as were sufficient to engage that then enterprising court in a further discovery, which succeeded to their wish. *Antonio Gonzalo*, in his *History of the Discoverers of the World*, says, that the great Don *Henry*, prince of *Portugal*, thought this so considerable an acquisition to the former discoveries he had made, that he went in person to take possession of the *Azores*, in 1449. *Davity* affirms, that the *Flemish* merchants, on the part of their countryman, sent a colony thither, which settled in *Fayal*, where their descendants continue to this day. In proof of this assertion, it is urged, that a river in this island is called by the *Portuguese*, *Rio* or *Ribera dos Flamingos*. All the others are undoubtedly inhabited by the *Portuguese*, under a governor of that nation, residing at *Angra*, the capital of *Tercera*, and indeed of all the *Azores* (W). In spirituals, they are under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the *Azores*, whose capital residence is at *Punta Deglada*, in the island of *St. Michael*.

IN the year 1457, the inhabitants had a grant from *Alphonso V.* exempting their trade from all duties to any of the ports of *Spain* or *Portugal*; and several other immunities and privileges were granted to this favourite colony. They lie between the 36th and 40th degree of north latitude, and between the 23d and 32d degree of west longitude, about 300 leagues to the westward of *Portugal*, nearly the same distance to the eastward of *Newfoundland*, and not much exceeding it to the north-west of the island of *Madeira*, or the *African* side of the

^k DAVITY, t. v. p. 621. LA CROIX, p. 707. etiam Auct. sup. citat. ibid.

(T) Our reasons for placing the *Azores* among the *African* islands are, 1st, Because they lie in the same ocean, and not in very distant latitudes from those we have been describing: and, 2dly, Because we have been lately describing several *Portuguese* islands.

(U) Some writers derive the name from *anser*, a goose, the first discoverers having found great plenty of these birds on landing there.

(W) Mr. de Thou, or Thuanus, refuses this *Flemish* merchant the honour of the discovery, which he ascribes

to the same *Belancourt*, who is the supposed discoverer of the *Canaries*. It is usual, indeed, with the *French* writers to put in the claim of their nation for all discoveries, howsoever ill-founded. *Thuanus* says, that *Belancourt* sold his right to the *Spaniards*; and these last, says he, have published a book in *Mexico*, about an hundred years ago, in which they pretend, that *Belancourt* was employed by them; and that these islands were the first he made in those seas.

Streights of Gibraltar (X). *Ortelius* has given a map of them from *Texeira*, the king of *Spain's* geographer; acquainting us at the same time, that as soon as ships bound from *Europe* to *America* touch here, they are immediately freed from all the vermin that before infested them; no species of noxious or poisonous animals being able to live above a few hours in the *Azores*.

BESIDES the *Azores*, including *Flores* and *Corvo*, there are several smaller islands to the north-west, which merit no particular description; one only excepted, which *Kircher* affirms emerged all of a sudden out of the sea, at a place where fishermen used to sound 120 feet water. At first this island appeared in form of a groupe of rocks, filling up a space of five or six acres of ground; but afterwards enlarged to as many miles in extent. This event was preceded by horrible earthquakes for near eight days; after which a violent fire broke out through the surface of the sea, flaming up to the clouds, and vomiting out prodigious quantities of sand, earth, stones, and minerals, appearing at a distance like large fleeces of wool, and falling down again to the surface of the water, upon which they swam in a concrete form. This was followed by the emersion of the rocks we have mentioned, and by some others of greater height, which were broke in pieces by another shock of an earthquake, and then united into one solid mass, with the scum swimming on the top of the water. Such is the account of *Kircher*, which we will not pretend to defend, though that might possibly be done by well-attested similar instances; particularly of an island in the *Archipelago*, mentioned by *Santorino*, and some other writers of unquestioned veracity.

THE *Tercera*, or *Azores Islands*, are discovered a great way at sea, 30 leagues, says *Frezier*, by a high mountain called the *Pico*, or peak, of the *Azores*, of a conical form, like the peak of *Teneriffe*. All writers allow, that the *Azores* enjoy a clear serene sky, and wholesome pleasant climate; and that they are fertile in corn, wine, fruits, and quadrupeds, both wild and tame. Their greatest inconvenience is their being subject, like the *Canaries*, to violent earthquakes, as well as to the fury of the surrounding waves, which frequently do an incredible deal of mischief to the inhabitants, by overflowing the low grounds, and sweeping off whole fields of grain and folds of cattle, breaking down their fences, and overturning their houses.

THE first island in order is *St. Michael*, or, as the *Portuguese* call it, *San Miguel*, it being the most eastern and largest, computed about twenty leagues in length. *St. Michael* has several considerable towns and villages, extremely populous, and driving a large commerce in corn, wine, and cattle; but the harbours are bad, and dangerous for shipping. It stands about eight leagues south-east of *Tercera*, and abounds with arable and pasture ground; though these advantages are more than compensated by the constant terror in which the inhabitants live, every moment expecting earthquakes and volcanos that will swallow them up. This is a misfortune to which *St. Michael* is more liable, and oftener exposed, than any other of the *Azores* islands. *Kircher* gives an account of a dreadful earthquake which happened here on the 26th of *June* 1638, that continued for eight days, without any intermission, and so terribly shook the island, especially the canton of *Vargen*, that the people abandoned their houses in the utmost terror and perturbation, living all the while in the open fields. At this time it was, that the new island we have mentioned was formed; and had not Providence directed the wind to blow on the contrary side, this island of *St. Michael* must inevitably have been destroyed by those showers of liquid stones and minerals thrown up into the air, while the irruption continued. The chief town of *St. Michael* is *Punta del Gada*, rendered considerable by its commerce, its strong castle, in which the *Portuguese* keep a constant garrison, and by the residence of the primate of the *Azores*.

Santa Maria. NEXT stands the island of *Santa Maria*, about twelve leagues to the southward of *St. Michael*, and said to be twelve leagues in compass. It has a strong natural rampart of high mountains and steep rocks, with which it is quite surrounded, in a manner so connected, close, and regular, as requires not the assistance of art, nor of castles, garisons, fences, and fortifications. The interior parts are fertile, populous, and well cultivated, supplying all the conveniencies of life in great abundance. *Santa Maria la Prainha* is the chief town; besides which the island has the towns of *Bodes*, *Castillo*, and a number of villages, which we need not describe. What merits attention, as it constitutes a great part of the commerce

(X) Great pains have been taken by some learned geographers to shew, that the *Azores* are the *Cassiterides* of the antients, whence the *Phœnicians* drew such large quantities of tin; though they never pretended to reconcile their latitude with the position given by the antients,

but only to shew the observations taken by the latter to be erroneous; but all the best writers are now agreed that the *Scilly* islands are the antient *Cassiterides*, as we have mentioned more fully in our Antient History *.

* *Vol. vii. p. 308. Ortelii Geogr. sub Azor. Baudrand, sub voce.*

- a of the island, is an ingenious porcelain manufacture, in which china-ware is happily imitated, and this commodity brought to a high degree of perfection.

TERCERA is the next island in order, and is supposed to have derived its name from its Tercera. standing the third in this cluster of islands, in point of situation, though the first in dignity, as appears from a number of circumstances, and particularly from its communicating its name to the rest. This island lies about twenty-eight leagues from the two former, and is computed to be sixteen, and by *Labat* twenty-one leagues in circumference. Its figure is almost circular, its coasts high, and so surrounded with craggy rocks, that it is deemed impregnable; every accessible part on the coast being defended by strong forts, heavy cannon, and a numerous and regular garrison. Whether it was so in queen *Elizabeth's* time, when
 b the earls of *Cumberland* and *Essex* made a successful descent on these islands, we are not informed. The only tolerable port in the whole island is the harbour of *Angra*, the capital; a port this equally secure against storms and an enemy, it being in form of a crescent, the extremities of which are defended by two high rocks, that run so far into the sea as to render the entrance narrow, and easily covered by the batteries on each side. The island is high, and distinguished at sea on the south-east by a point of low land that projects eastward, and by a cape cut on the west side, formed by a point of land, on which are two high hills; lastly, by two small islands, cut perpendicular, about a league to the eastward of the above cape, called *Ilbios*. Half a league south south-east from these are three breakers, even with the surface of the water, but all of them, according to *Frezier*, misplaced in the *Flambeau de la Mere*, and
 c most other charts.

THIS island of *Tercera* is fertile, pleasant, and healthy; the very rocks, which elsewhere are dry and barren, produce here excellent vines, though not equal to those raised in the *Canaries* and *Madeira*. The land yields large crops of wheat and other grain, pastures for cattle, and a prodigious variety of lemons, oranges, and all those fruits peculiar to cold and hot climates, which are observed to be propagated to the greatest advantage in temperate countries, and between the parallels of 25 and 35, north or south of the equinoctial. Indeed all the above commodities are produced in such perfection and plenty, that *Tercera* wants none of the necessaries of life, besides oil and salt; and why olives may not be raised, and sea-salt made, we are at a loss to conjecture. Perhaps the inhabitants find it necessary to take these
 d from some other countries with which they trade; and therefore neglect cultivating them. In *Tercera* grow two extraordinary roots, the one called *Bafata*, weighing near a pound, and excellent wholesome food for the peasants, though it be neglected by persons of fashion, for no other reason than because it is plentiful, and used by the vulgar: the other is described about the size of a coco-nut, covered all over with fine long fibres of a gold colour, almost equal to silk in softness and fineness, capable of being manufactured into stuffs, but used only instead of feathers in stuffing beds. This root has no name in authors, though it is probable that the natives distinguish it by some appellation. It is remarkable of the *Tercera* corn, that it will not keep a year without germinating, unless preserved by art. Even wheat requires to be kept close from the air, and buried in caverns cut in rocks, or dry sandy ground, well covered
 e with a stone. These are the granaries of the inhabitants, from whence they fetch the grain, as the necessities of the family may require. The oxen bred in *Tercera* grow to a monstrous size, with spreading horns of very extraordinary dimensions; yet they are so tame and gentle, that, when feeding in herds, every one will come to his master as soon as called, it being customary there to give them all certain names. The roads all over the island are rugged and difficult, on account of the woods, mountains, and craggy rocks, which occur within every half-mile, and the ground under-foot resounds as if it were all hollow beneath, which it probably is. Some crevices there are, which emit a sulphureous steam, and others that throw up springs of water so hot as to boil an egg in a few minutes; whence we may easily account for *Tercera's* being so subject to earthquakes. Within three leagues of the capital is another
 f spring of a petrifying quality, in which wood, roots, and other vegetable substances, are soon turned into stone as hard as flint; and on the brim of the fountain grow large trees, whose roots are hard as steel, while vegetation goes on, and the rest of the tree continues of the usual consistence of wood. This island produces some excellent timber, particularly cedar, which grows to a very great height and thickness: it is even in such plenty, that their common carts, waggons, and utensils of all kinds, are made of it.

HERE stands the city of *Angra*, the metropolis not only of *Tercera*, but of all the *Azores* islands, and the residence of the governor. It is seated on the south side of the island, about the middle way of the longest diameter, on the edge of the sea, and at the bottom of the harbour we have described, formed by a point of land called *Monte de Brazil*. The town is
 g well-built and populous, and is an episcopal see, under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of *Lisbon*. It hath five parishes, a cathedral, four monasteries, as many nunneries, besides an inquisition and a bishop's court, which extends its jurisdiction over all the *Azores*, *Flores*, and *Corvo*. *Angra* is surrounded by a good wall and dry ditch, of great depth and breadth, and defended

defended by a strong castle, rendered famous by the imprisonment of king *Alphonso*, by his brother *Peter*, in the year 1668. We are told, that the town derives its name from *Angra*, a creek, bay, or station, for shipping; this bay being the only convenient harbour in all the *Azores*. For this reason chiefly it is that the *Portuguese* have so carefully secured and fortified these islands; their situation, and particularly of this bay, being so commodious for the refreshment of their *Brazil* and *East India* squadrons. This port, which opens from the east to south-west, is not above four cables length in breadth, and not two of good bottom, according to *Frezier*. However, ships may ride in great safety here during summer weather, because then only gentle winds breathe from the west to north-west; but, as soon as the winter begins, the storms are so furious, that the only safety for shipping is putting, with all possible expedition to sea. Happily these storms are preceded by infallible tokens, with which long experience has made the inhabitants perfectly acquainted. On these occasions, the *Pico*, or peak, is overcast with clouds, and grows exceedingly dark; but what they repute the most certain criterion is the fluttering and chirping of flocks of birds round the city, for some days before.

At *Angra* are kept the royal magazines for anchors, cables, sails, and all sorts of stores, for the royal navy, or occasionally for merchant-men in great distress. All maritime affairs are under the inspection of a certain officer, called *Desambargador*, who hath subordinate officers and pilots for conducting ships into the harbour, or to proper watering-places. The *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, have each a consul residing here, though their commerce with this, or any of the *Azores* islands, be but inconsiderable. Most of the public and private buildings have a handsome exterior appearance, but very indifferently furnished within; but their poverty in this particular the *Portuguese* artfully cloath under pretence of the inconvenience of warm furniture in so hot a climate. Glazing in their windows, carpets, silk or paper hangings, and all such ornaments, would render their houses, they say, intolerably warm; but the truth is, the poverty of the inhabitants renders it impossible for them to acquire any furniture that is elegant, and their pride makes them despise what is mean.

BESIDES *Angra*, there are several other towns and large villages in *Tercera*, with a number of forts and garrisons, under the direction of the governor, who has the power of filling up all vacancies that happen among the military officers. The only town, however, that deserves to be mentioned, is *Ricys*, which is a place of trade, and has the second-best harbour in the *Azores*. It is well-peopled, hath a large parochial church, two monasteries, two nunneries, and was a flourishing town, before the earthquakes in *May* and *September* 1614 almost totally destroyed it; a blow which it has never since recovered. In the whole island of *Tercera* the inhabitants are computed at 20,000 souls; the men and women living much in the same manner as native *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, subject to the same passions of jealousy and revenge, and having all the other characteristics of the mother-country, rather heightened than diminished.

Gratiosa. GRATIOSA island lies the most northern of all the *Azores*, distant about eight leagues from *Tercera*, and taking its name from its beauty and fertility. It does not exceed five or six leagues in compass; but is as fruitful in corn, fruits, pasture, and cattle, as is possible for so small a spot, supplying *Tercera*, and several of the other islands, with a great part of its produce. It is well-peopled, hath a number of villages, castles, forts, and works, for the security of the coast; but no cities or towns.

St. George. THE fifth island is *St. George*, which hath nothing remarkable besides a great number of lofty and full-grown cedars, with which the natives drive a considerable trade. It is besides tolerably fertile in corn, and the other necessaries of life; but so small as to merit no particular description in this work.

Pico. WE come now to the island of *Pico*, so called from some lofty mountains on it, or rather from one very high mountain, terminating, like *Teneriffe*, in a peak, and reputed by some writers equal to it in height. This island lies about four leagues S.W. from *St. George*, twelve from *Tercera*, and about three leagues south-east of *Fayal*. The mountain *Pico*, which gives name to the island, is filled with dismal dark caverns or volcanos, which frequently vomit out flames, smoke, and ashes, to a great distance. At the foot of this mountain, towards the east, is a spring of fresh water, generally cold, but sometimes so heated with the subterraneous fire, as to rush forth in torrents, with a kind of ebullition like boiling water, equalling that in heat, and sending forth a steam of sulphureous fetid vapours, liquified stones, minerals, and flakes of earth all on fire, in such quantities, and with such a violence, as to have formed a kind of promontory, vulgarly called *Mysterios*, on the declivity of the coast, and at the distance of 1200 paces from the fountain. Such at least is the account of *Ortelius*, though we do not find this last circumstance of the promontory confirmed by later observations. The circumference of *Pico* is computed at about fifteen leagues; and its most remarkable places are *Pico*, *Lagoas*, *Santa Cruce*, or *Cruz*, *San Sebastian*, *Pesquin*, *San Rocko*, *Playa*, and *Magdalena*, the inhabitants of which live wholly on the produce of the island, in great plenty and felicity

a felicity. The cattle are various, numerous, and excellent in their several kinds; 'tis the same with the vine, and its juice, prepared into different wines, the best in the *Azores*. Besides cedars and other timber, they have there a kind of wood which they call *Tei o*, solid and hard as iron, and veined, when finely polished, like a rich scarlet tabby, which colour it has in great perfection. The longer it is kept, the more beautiful it grows; hence it is, that the *Teixo* tree is felled only for the king's use, or by his order, and is prohibited from being exported as a common article of trade.

b THE last of the islands, properly called *Azores*, is *Fayal*, and the most considerable of the whole, next to *Tercera* and *Saint Michael*. This island takes its name from the great abundance of beech-trees it produceth; besides which, it hath a variety of other wood in such plenty, that the *English* frequent it chiefly on that account. It also breeds large folds of cattle, flocks of birds, and shoals of fish, with which every part of its coast is well-stocked. The chief port is before the town of *Orta*, defended by an old castle, some cannon, and a slight *Portuguese* garrison. *Orta* is indeed the only town on the island, and but a place of little consideration. As for the other names we meet with in geographers, they are not those of towns, or even villages, but of mean hamlets, which have been passed by pompous names for places of some consequence. We have observed, that this island is peopled by *Flemings*, who imagining the *Portuguese* garrison to be a kind of oppressive tax upon them, petitioned his catholic majesty for leave to take upon themselves the defence of the island. Their request was granted, and the event almost fatal; for the *English*, at different times, c under the earls of *Cumberland* and *Essex*, made descents on *Fayal*, took it, and destroyed the fortifications, after having taken and burnt a squadron of rich homeward-bound ships that lay in the harbour. This induced the king again to resume the defence of the island; since which time a *Portuguese* garrison has constantly been maintained here. *Fayal* is the most western of the *Azores*.

As to the islands of *Flores* and *Corvo*, they are improperly included under that name, as they lie seventy leagues west of *Tercera*.

d THE first of these, or the *Ilha des Flores*, as the *Portuguese* call it, takes its name from the *Flores*. great variety of beautiful flowers with which it is covered. Its dimensions are about seven leagues in compass, every part of which is cloathed with wood, grain, pasture, or some other production useful to life. It is populous, and the inhabitants live happily upon their grain, cattle, and fruits.

ABOUT a league to the south of *Flores* stands the island of *Corvo*, so called from the incre- Corvo. dible flights of crows seen in it by the first discoverers, every tree or rock in the island being covered with their nests. It abounds in much the same productions as the preceding island; but neither of them are considerable enough to merit a particular account; and the only reason why the *Portuguese* keep possession of them, is to prevent other nations from establishing such settlements here, as by their contiguity, might endanger the security of the *Azores*, by taking every favourable occasion that might offer for seizing upon the *Canaries*, so important to their *Brazil* commerce¹.

¹ DAVITY, SANUT. LINSCHOT. DAPPER, BARBOT, CADAMOSTO, LA CROIX, cum multis aliis, in loc. citat.

C H A P. IV.

The history of Abissinia, or Upper Ethiopia.

S E C T. I.

Giving an account of the principal modern authors, quoted through the course of this chapter; and of sundry stratagems made use of to open a commerce with that empire.

e WE have already given in our ancient history^a the best account we could of this vast, Abissinia little and, in most respects, unknown empire, its limits, inhabitants, cities, &c. as far known to the as they were known to the ancient writers, and the records they have left us of them antients and would allow; and if the greater part of what not only they, but others of a more modern moderns till

^a Vol. vii. p. 179, & seq.

frequented by
the Portu-
guese.

Why so great
difference still
in their ac-
counts of it.

Their over
zeal to convert
the natives oc-
casions their
expulsion.

All parts of it
become inacces-
sible to the Eu-
ropeans.

date, have written of it, be either too fabulous or uncertain, either with regard to its true ^a situation, extent and boundaries ^b, as well as with relation to its nature, climate, &c. it must be chiefly ascribed to that erroneous notion, which reigned so long among historians and geographers, that all the countries that lay so near the equinoctial line were, for the most part, waste and uninhabitable; and to the same cause we must attribute that so much less hath been written of it than of many others; and that what we meet with concerning it, before the *Portuguese* found means to introduce themselves into it, appears at the best uncouth and unsatisfactory; so that it is entirely to the discoveries which these have been enabled to make by their abode in those parts, and their own intimate acquaintance with their inhabitants, that we are obliged for that more perfect knowledge we have of them; perfect only, we mean, in comparison of what we had before they published their accounts of this great empire; though ^b still vastly short of it, on account of the dissonancy we find between them, in many respects, for want of proper means, as well as time, for making their observations with greater exactness and certainty, concerning the true situation of the whole country in general, and that of most of its provinces and places of note in particular. We should perhaps more truly account for the great difference and imperfection which reign through the greatest part of their maps, both with regard to the extent, limits, longitude and latitude, &c. as well as in their descriptions of the inland parts, if we were to say, that those good fathers, jesuits and others, who were sent missionaries thither, to reduce the *Abissinian* church to the obedience of the see of *Rome*, had their hearts and minds too full of this one important point, to find leisure for lesser discoveries; which being of such a nature as would rather excite the jealousy than ^c admiration of that rude and ignorant people, they thought might be more fitly postponed till the main end of their mission was once gained; after which they might, with more pleasure and safety, attend to the other less momentous branches of it. The misfortune was, that their untimely zeal for obtaining the one, brought such a dreadful and general persecution upon them, as hath at once quashed all the hopes and prospect of regaining either; not only the missionaries of all denominations, but the very names of *Portuguese* and *Franks*, by which they called the *Europeans*, are become detestable to the whole *Abissinian* nation, and are hardly ever mentioned without some curse or hateful epithet ^c.

WHAT occasioned this sudden and surprising change, after the *Portuguese* had been so kindly invited thither by one of their empresses, had done her and some of her successors such ^d signal services, for which they were raised to the highest degree of esteem and confidence in the *Abissinian* court, will be best seen in the course of this history: at present, it will be sufficient to say, that for their sakes all access to any part of that kingdom is, since their expulsion, become to the last degree dangerous, and in some measure impracticable, to all *Europeans*, in any disguise, or under any pretence whatsoever. All the passes to it are guarded with the utmost diligence; and no sooner doth a stranger offer himself at any of their frontiers, but he is immediately examined from head to foot, to see whether he carries any arms, letters, books, writings, or any other thing that is liable to suspicion: his skin, hair, complexion, shape, &c. are scrupulously scrutinized, and especially whether he carries with him the scar of circum- ^ecision; which examen is the more easily made, as the travellers into those hot climes hardly wear any other covering than a blue linen shirt; for none here, not even subjects, are permitted to wear either cap, hose, or slippers; that being the peculiar privilege of the emperor. The knowledge of the *Ethiopic* language, and the dark olive complexion, are no less necessary to help an *European* to pass unsuspected, than the mark of circumcision: and this fear of admitting any spies or dangerous persons into their dominions, not only makes them thus strict and diligent in examining every passenger, but likewise very severe on all those who run the risk of coming thither unprovided for such a scrutiny ^d; an instance of which strict severity the reader may see in the margin, out of the last quoted author, who resided at *Cairo*, as consul to the *French* nation, many years after the time in which it happened (A).

UPON

^b Confer Atlas JOHNSON, MERCATOR, JOHN DE BARROS Decad. Afæ 3. & al. LUDOLPH, MAILLET, & al. plur.

^c TELLEZ, PONCET, MAILLET descript. d'Egypte, vol. ii. letter 8. Hague edit. p. 82.

(A) The *Abissinian* emperor having heard some of his officers, whom he had sent to *Cairo*, give a certain Capuchin friar, then residing in that city, large commendations for his excellent skill in physic, and surprising success in curing variety of diseases, sent him a kind invitation to come and settle at his court, which he readily complied with; but whilst he was making preparations for that journey, some other monks, of the Franciscan order, took it into their heads that that invitation might extend to all that were skilled in that art, of which most of those good fathers take care to gain a competent knowledge, that being the most effec-

tual means of introducing them among those (otherwise jealous) princes, and procuring them an honourable protection and livelihood.

In this persuasion, some of them ventured, unknown to the Capuchin, to get to that court some time before him, in hopes of meeting the same reception there; and upon their first appearing on the frontiers, news were dispatched to the emperor of their arrival; who sent immediate orders to have them safely conveyed to him, not doubting but his Capuchin was at the head of them, and that the others were only his assistants or attendants. But upon farther examination, finding, by his officers above-

- a UPON the whole, whoever compares these observations of those missionaries, will find them so different and imperfect, that he will have reason to conclude they were made in haste, and without that accuracy which we observe them to use in all other countries, where they make a longer residence, and have better means and instruments for such a work. Whoever reads those who seem to have taken the most pains to review their observations, and reconcile them to each other, such as father *Tellez Ludolph*, and others of equal capacity, will find still variance enough amongst them to make us wish for, what we are not likely to see in haste, a more accurate survey of the country. To give an instance or two of this remarkable difference, we need but compare the situation of the town of *Giesm*, which was reckoned the mid-way between the town of *Sennaar* and the confines of *Ethiopia*, as fixed by father *Brevedent's* own observations, who is allowed to have been an excellent astronomer, and one who accompanied the physician *Poncet* into *Ethiopia*, but died in the way thither, and places that town in the 10th degree of north latitude *; and the situation which father *Tellez*, and Mr. *Ludolph* after him, give it in their map of this empire, and we shall plainly see that one of them must be greatly out; and yet *Brevedent* took his observation upon the spot. Another proof how little *Tellez's* map is to be depended upon, is the situation which another Portuguese jesuit assigns, from his own observations likewise, to the kingdom of *Dembea*; which is such, according to him, that both the poles are visible, and that the antarctic appears the higher of the two; which is the very reverse of what *Tellez* and *Ludolph's* maps represent it.

- c IT was probably this dissonancy between those authors, that induced a late famous geographer to his imperial majesty to try to give the world a more accurate map, not only of this empire, but of all *Africa*; which he caused to be printed some years ago at *Nuremberg*, with some critical remarks upon those which father *Tellez* and Mr. *Ludolph* have given us of the *Abissinian* empire: but as this new one hath not met with the success and approbation which the compiler seemed to promise himself, we shall content ourselves with referring our reader for a farther account of it, as far as relates to our present subject, to the subsequent note (B).

- d WE need not therefore wonder, if some of the writers on the *African* part of the world, particularly some of our atlas's, have extended the limits of this empire so far beyond its due bounds; to say nothing of those of older date, who have stretched its southern ones so vastly beyond the equinoctial line; though they are found to come so short of it by the common consent of all our more modern geographers. They were altogether in the dark about the countries that lay beyond it on that side; and had no other way to supply that great chasm of 600 or more leagues, than by bringing all that vast tract within the limits of it, and bestowing upon its emperors, all that immense territory which they knew not how to dispose of otherwise. By this means they have stretched it from 22 degrees north to 16 or 17 south, and given it an extent of 39 or 40 degrees; which is above twenty-one more than it really hath (C), as we shall shew very soon, from the more authentic testimonies, and more accurate observations,

* See PONCET's Voyage to Ethiopia, p. 33.
inter al. MERCATOR, JOHNSON, and DE LISLE.

c FERNANDEZ ap. Codign, lib. i. c. 11. p. 69.

f Vid.

above-mentioned, that he was not of their number, he was so exasperated at the boldness of their attempt, that he caused them to be all put to immediate death. This, our author tells us, happened 50 or 60 years before his coming to reside in *Egypt* (1); since which time the same vigilance and severity were still observed with the same strictness; and their history furnishes us with a great number of instances of the like nature; though none of them have been sufficient to deter him and others from contriving new stratagems and devices to facilitate an entrance to their missionaries into that kingdom, in spite of all the care and caution which those princes take to prevent it (2), and the extreme danger of attempting to elude it.

(B) We are told by Mr. *De la Croze*, late professor in philosophy, and library-keeper to the late king of *Prussia*, of a map of *Africa*, printed at *Nuremberg* by *J. Bapt. Heron*, geographer to his Imperial Majesty, in which are these words: *Benevole Spectator, Ludolphum hæcenus incautè secuti sunt, qui quodam novo systemate originem Nili tabulis suis perperam inseruerunt. Nos auctoritatem viri maxime Rev. P. Henrici Schererii, S. J. Geographi celeberrimi, qui ex veris, P. P. Missionariorum sue*

societatis relationibus tale nobis quale hic posuimus, schema utriusque Nili albi & utri Fluminis, præfiguravit, amplectimur; Curiosque historicæ veritatis indagatores ad ipsum auctoris opus sumptibus prænobilis viri J. Caspari Bencardi, &c. Bibliopolæ Augustani præstantissime editum, remittimus. This map, we are told by our author, places the sources of the Nile and Niger a great way beyond the equinoctial line, and makes it to flow immediately from the lake *Zaire*; which paradox is pretended to be founded on the authority of the jesuit missionaries, but without producing any of them. Doth not this strange discord and difference of opinions, flowing from the same source, and founded on the same authorities, give us sufficient cause to wish for some new observations and discoveries, which might put an effectual end to them, and give us a more certain knowledge of those curious and important matters (4)?

(C) This is the case, among others, of the modern *Mercator*, and *Johnson's Atlas*, in which they were led by a wrong scent; the authors they followed having placed the head of the Nile about 16 or 17 degrees of south latitude, where lies the lake *Zambre* and *Zayre* (so their maps call the south and north sides of the *Dambean*

(1) Maillet, ubi sup. (2) Id. ibid. p. 83. & seq. (3) Matur Veyssier, La Croze Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie 1739, p. 70, & seq. See also what hath been said on the source of that river, Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 177, & seq. vii. p. 187, & seq.

observations, of those *Portuguese* fathers, whose long residence and acquaintance with these (till then unknown) parts, have enabled them to give us a more satisfactory knowledge of them; of whom, therefore, it will not be improper to give some previous account, before we proceed farther, and by way of introduction to the following history.

The Portuguese invited into Abissinia by the empress Helena.

THE empress *Helena*, grandmother to the emperor *David*, having received a kind of congratulatory embassy from *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, was so highly pleased with it, that she resolved to send the like to him, with a view of entering into a strict friendship and alliance with him^e. She made choice of one *Mathew*, an *Armenian* merchant, who safely arrived at *Lisbon* in that quality; and having performed the purport of his commission, returned to *Abissinia* by the way of *Goa*, in the *Portuguese* fleet, accompanied by a fresh ambassador from the *Portuguese* court. This was a man of quality, named *Galvam*, who in his return to *Abissinia* died at *Camaran*, an island in the *Red-Sea*; so that the *Portuguese* vessels, which had brought him thither, were obliged to sail back to *Goa*. However, the matter was thought of

Ambassies between king Emanuel and her frustrated.

such importance, that a new ambassador was sent thither some years after, viz. *Roderigo de Lima*; who, after a tedious voyage, landed at length at *Massowa*, near *Arkiko*; which places, as well as the island of *Sowakem*, did then belong to the *Abissinians*, though since then taken from them by the *Turks*, who have kept possession of them ever since. *Roderigo* had with him one of the king's domestic chaplains, named *Francisco Alvarez*, a person of no extraordinary learning, but yet a man of sound judgment and great integrity, and who was appointed almoner of this embassy; and it is to him that we are beholden for that plain and honest description of this empire, the first of the kind that ever was published, which he printed, together with a relation of his voyage, at *Lisbon*, an. 1540; and, though short, hath been justly admired for its plainness and sincerity. It hath been since that often reprinted, and translated into other languages, particularly into *English*; though this last is rather an abridgment of *Alvarez*, and is only to be met with in *Purchas's* collection. The next that wrote of the *Abissinian* affairs, was father *Bermudes*, who went likewise into *Abissinia* with Don *Roderigo de Lima*, and with the character of patriarch, but openly only as an attendant on him, and under the name of master *John*, for fear of awakening the jealousy of the *Abissinian* clergy. What he hath written concerning this country, is chiefly what happened to the *Portuguese* general, *Christopher de Gama*, his victories, defeat, and death. His account, which is dedicated to Don *Sebastian*, king of *Portugal*, and appeared in print an. 1565, is so filled with fabulous stuff, that father *Tellez* tells us, in his general history of *Abissinia*^h, that he is only to be credited in those things which he affirms to have seen, but not in that which he had only by common report.

Alvarez writes the first history of Abissinia.

1540.

Father Bermudes writes the next.

THE next to him is the celebrated father *Peter Pais*, the first *European* who went to view the head of the *Nile*, and who resided in *Abissinia* a considerable time, in quality of a missionary, and died there an. 1622. His manuscript was sent thence to *Rome*, where it is still preserved, and reaches from the year 1556 to that of his death. He was succeeded by another of his society, viz. father *Emanuel D'Almeyda*, who was rector, or superior, of the convent of *Fromona*, which the jesuits had been permitted to build there; a man who had not only resided there a considerable time, but who had taken indefatigable pains to travel through most part of the empire, and from whom we have the most complete account of the inland provinces and kingdoms that are subject to it, and of all the monstrous high ridges of mountains that run through the far greater part of themⁱ, and in comparison of which, the *Alps*, *Apennines*, and *Pyrenees*, are but pigmies for height; some of the most considerable of which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. The next to him in rank and time was father *Alphonso Mendez*, who was constituted patriarch of *Ethiopia* by the pope, and wrote the history of it in *Latin*, after having resided there ten years (D).

Father Peter Pais writes next.

Father Emanuel Almeyda travels thro' the inland parts of the empire.

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THE

^e ALVARES, BERMUDES, TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, et al. Hist. Abissin. LEZ, LE GRAND, preface to LOBO.

^h Chap. xx. p. 198.

ⁱ TEL-

lake, through which that river flows after a long course from its spring head) it was natural for them to stretch the south boundaries at least so far as the source of that river, since it was allowed by all to spring in this empire of *Abissinia*. And it was no less natural for *Mercator* to place the kingdom of *Goiam* along the coasts of that lake, since this was supposed to be the source of that river, and that kingdom the most southern in the whole empire. How the ancients came to be so far out in their judgment about the one and the other, as to lead so many moderns into the same error, we have formerly endeavoured to account for (5); neither could those moderns above-mentioned be possible made sensible of their

mistake, but by a discovery that the true situation of that source, as well as the distance of the southern boundaries of the empire from it, were fixed by more certain observations: and for these we are chiefly beholden to *Casmas* the hermit, who was the first that traced out the way to that so long sought-for spring; and next to him, to father *Pais*, and other *Portuguese* missionaries, who by his help arrived at the very spot, where, by proper and repeated observations, they attained to the certainty of its situation (6).

(D) We omit the relation of father *Domingo de Urruta*, a Dominican of *Valentia*, which is allowed by all to be a mere heap of lyes and forgeries (7), as the reader

(5) See *Ancient Hist.* vol. i. p. 177, & seq. vii. p. 187, & seq. (6) See *Pais, Lobo, Le Grand Relat. d'Abissin. Differt.* 3. p. 209, & seq. (7) *Le Grand's* preface to his version of father *Lobo*, p. 10, & seq.

- a THE last we shall mention is father *Lobo*, who likewise resided there nine years, and the greatest part of that time in quality of rector of the college of *Fromona* above-mentioned, whose description of that empire, and history of his travels, though simple and succinct, gives us a more lively idea of all the places he hath been at, than any other before him; and especially as, if we may believe father *Balthazar Tellez*, he travelled above 38,000 miles in this empire; insomuch that he scruples not to apply to him that verse of *Virgil* *;

Father Lobo resides there nine years, and writes an account of it.

Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit.

- b His history hath been since translated into *French*, and enriched with sundry curious dissertations, and other anecdotes, by Mr. *Le Grand*, and printed at *Paris*, an. 1738. From the above-mentioned relations, and the annual letters which were sent by the *Abissinian* missionaries to the college of jesuits at *Lisbon*, it was, that father *Balthazar Tellez* wrote his more comprehensive history of *Abissinia*; in the compiling of which work, he had the advantage of consulting all that had been printed and written by the aforesaid authors, as he engaged in it at the desire of the whole society; and it is perhaps this very motive that hath inclined him to some partiality for that order, through which, however, every judicious reader will see clearly enough, as it extends little farther than the endeavouring to justify that society from the charge (in all likelihood but too justly) laid to them, of having been the cause, through their hasty and indiscrete zeal, of the reduction of the *Abissinian* church to the obedience of that of *Rome*; of the cruel persecution and irreconcilable hatred, the effects of which fell soon after so heavily, not only upon their own society, but upon all missionaries and *European* Christians without distinction. This is but the same complaint which they have given just cause for in other countries, particularly in *China*, *Japan*, &c. as we have shewn in some of the foregoing volumes *. In other cases, where the credit of his society, and the interest of the *Romish* church and court, are not concerned, he hath judiciously and candidly followed his authors, and from them compiled by far the best and fullest history of that empire we have extant; and it is from him that even Mr. *Ludolph* hath been beholden for the greatest part of his history; though he takes all opportunities to contradict him, and those of his fraternity. Father *Tellez* published the work above-mentioned in the *Portuguese* language, an. 1660; it was printed at the university of *Conimbra* in *Portugal*, under the following title: *Historia General de Ethiopia alta do Preste Joan, e do que nella Obrarum os Padres da Companhia de Jesus. Compоста na Misma Ethiopia per lo Padre Manoel D'Almeyda, Natural Vileu provincial e Vistador que foi na India. Abreviada com nova releycam e Methodo per lo padre Balthezar Tellez Natural de Lisboa provincial da provincia Lusitana, ambos da Misnia Companbia.*

From these father Tellez compiles his general history.

Why so partial to his society.

- d Among the *French*, we have *Poncet*, a physician, who was sent by the *French* consul at *Poncet*, a *Kayro* into *Abissinia* to cure the emperor of some stubborn disease, in the year 1698 ¹, and hath wrote a pretty succinct account of what he saw in those parts of the country through which he travelled, and of what he learned from the inhabitants he conversed with, concerning the religion, laws, customs, &c. of the *Abissinians*; but as he went through but a small part of the country, and was obliged to keep himself incog. during his short stay there, of scarce one year; it was not possible for him to give us more than a concise and imperfect description of so vast an empire ^m. Besides, this gentleman had since the misfortune, whether through any thing that dropped from his pen in his aforesaid relation, or some imprudent steps he took after his return to *Kayro*, to disoblige the whole society of missionaries to such a degree, that they have left no stone unturned to blacken his character, and that of his book. They have decried him as a vile cheat, quack, mountebank, impostor, and a man capable of every kind of baseness ⁿ, and have even ventured to affirm that he never was at the *Abissinian*

French physician, writes an account of it.

Why blackened by the jesuit writers.

* *Æneid*. ^k See before, vol. iii. p. 742, & seq. iv. p. 11, & seq. ¹ *PONCET's* voyage into *Abissinia*, an. 1698, & seq. ^m *LE GRAND's* supplement to *LOBO*, p. 157, 161, 328, 362, 372, & alib. ⁿ *Id.* *ibid.* p. 401.

may see, by the extract given of it at the end of this chapter. It is mostly levelled against the jesuits, between whom and his order there hath passed little else besides bitter jars and invectives. And this it was that engaged the jesuit *Codingho*, then at *Rome*, to answer his book, tho' without naming him, by compiling a history of *Abissinia* point-blank contrary to that, under the following title; *De Abassinorum Rebus, deque Æthiopiæ Patriarchis*, Joanne Nonio Barreto & Andrea Oviedo, libri tres, P. Nicolao Godigno, societatis Jesu, Auctore. Lugduni, M.DC.XV.

We likewise omit *Damian de Goes*, a *Portuguese* gentleman, the recollect *Rogers*, *Jarric*, and some others, who either have only transcribed what they mention occasionally concerning this empire, from the chief authors above-mentioned, or confined their lucubrations to the chief difference between the *Abissinian* and *Roman* church, with respect both to their doctrines and church discipline, of which we shall have occasion to speak in a more proper place (8).

(8) *Dam. a Goes opuscul. Rogers Etat. de la Palestine, Jarric.*

court, and that what he says of it, and of his reception and success there, is mere forgery °. Lastly, to complete his character, they make him forsake his lawful wife, whom he had married in *Ethiopia*, to go and seek his fortune in the kingdom of *Yemen*, in spite of all his oaths and imprecations to return to *Prester John*, to rob him of the physical chest, which that prince had caused to be made at his own and the public charges, and to pass from *Yemen* to *Surat*, and thence to *Hispahan*, where he died like a rogue and a vagabond, as he had lived ¶.

His character vindicated.

His commission to the emperor of Abissinia.

Reception.

These are the invidious colours in which they have had the boldness to draw a man, who, by his long residence and success at *Kayro*, had gained the character of a skilful physician, and had been pitched upon by the judicious Mr. *Maillet*, then consul in the same city, to be sent into *Abissinia*, not merely to cure the emperor of his disease, though even in this case a gentleman of his great discernment would hardly have sent thither such a pitiful quack as he is there represented; but he was, under the character of a physician, to discharge a commission which was thought of much greater moment, viz. to negotiate an alliance and good correspondence between the *French* and *Abissinian* court, in order to facilitate a fresh attempt of reuniting the *Abissinian* church to that of *Rome*; and, since the very name of *Portuguese* was become so odious through that whole empire, to try what *French* policy and munificence would do to reconcile the emperor and his court, and by that means the clergy and people, to the *French* nation, to the *Gallican* church, and the Pope's supremacy. And can it be supposed, that a person of the *French* consul's character would have entrusted an affair of such importance, which required the highest degree of sagacity, caution, zeal, and secrecy, to such an abandoned vagabond? However, we have not yet been able to find that any of this load of invective and calumny hath been able to lessen the credit of his relation; he is still quoted as a person of discernment and sincerity; and where can be the doubt, that a person, who was earnestly pressed by that emperor to come on such an errand to his court, and was by his express order to be received in every place of his dominion through which he passed, to be treated with all possible respect and deference, should have all the opportunities that could be wished to see or be informed of every thing he hath given us an account of, either with respect to the religion, government, customs, climate, and natural history of that country, as well as of the many other curiosities that fell under his own observation during his three years travel through those parts? It is plain, however, that he hath advanced nothing in his book that either contradicts the accounts of those fathers who wrote before him, or appears fabulous or absurd; and if there had, our readers may be well assured we would not give it a place in a work of this kind: and as to matters of weight and moment, he will hardly find any thing quoted out of him, but what is well backed by the testimony of some one or more of the authors above spoken of.

Ludolph's history of Ethiopia.

Great skill in that tongue.

Abbot Gregory's character.

Ludolph's history decried by the Jesuits.

THE last, and indeed the most voluminous writer on the *Abissinian* affairs, is the often mentioned Mr. *Ludolph*; a gentleman who hath taken indefatigable pains, and spent the greatest part of his life, to make himself a complete master of the *Abissinian* tongue, in order to get the best intelligence he could of their religion, politics, government, &c. from their own writings, and to enable others to do the same, by the help of the grammar and lexicon he hath given us of it; and yet the small benefit which he or his curious readers have reaped from his labours, would rather deter any one from following his steps. We have already taken notice, that most of his history is taken from the *Portuguese* authors above spoken of, though he omits no opportunity to contradict them, where-ever they seem to clash with his Abbot *Gregory*; a person, to say the best of him we can, but little qualified for the task he had undertaken, and much more unfit to be so closely followed or relied on, either in point of learning, capacity, or integrity, above all other men. Mr. *Ludolph* himself, whatever high qualifications he might find in him in other respects, doth yet complain, in the preface of the last edition of his dictionary, that he found him so ignorant with respect to the language of Ethiopia, that he was often at a loss for the meaning of sundry words and idioms; that many others were wholly unknown to him; that he very often gave them a quite contrary meaning; and that he scrupled not to own his ignorance to him, both by words and in writing.

IF this was the case of the *Abissinian* abbot, we shall have little encouragement to rely on his testimony; though we should be loth to carry our suspicion so far as some of the *Romish* writers have done, that Mr. *Ludolph* had such an artful way of proposing his questions to him, as naturally led him to make him answer them as he wished, in order to confirm what he had most in view in the writing of his history, in contradiction to all the other accounts that have been given us of the *Abissinian* religion; viz. that it comes much nearer, both in faith and church discipline, rites, &c. to the *Lutheran* than to the *Roman* church; for this is what they

° Ibid. p. 168. & seq.

¶ Ibid. p. 328, alib. plur.

¶ See LE GRAND Dissertation, p. 177,

- a all with one consent charge him with ; though we shall have occasion, in the sequel of this chapter, to explode a good number of instances they give us of this partiality, both with relation to the *Abissinian* religion, and to other historical facts they pretend to have been misrepresented by him. It were to be wished indeed that Mr. *Ludolph*, instead of drawing most of his intelligence from a person of his abbot's character, and, where this failed him, instead of consulting an *Armenian* merchant (E) about such points as these, which were intirely out of his province, and whom he owns to have been so ignorant, that he could neither read nor write, he had endeavoured to draw his intelligence from more authentic witnesses, such as the *Abissinian* liturgies, formularies, catechisms, and other such *Ethiopic* books, which, he tells us, he had in his possession ; and if he had gone so far as to give the public a faithful
- b version of them, every one would then have been much better able to judge of the merit of the controversy, than it is possible to do from the precarious testimony of two such witnesses'. Mr. *Ludolph* doubtless wanted neither materials nor capacity, much less zeal, for such an expensive and laborious task. Nor was he insensible how much more convincing any proof drawn from such books was, than the evidence of twenty such witnesses ; whom there-fore, if we may believe his own words', he no farther relied on, than as they confirmed or agreed with those books. But the question is, what encouragement he then had, either from the public or from the booksellers, to bestow so much time and cost upon it, after he had been obliged, as he himself tells his correspondent, to submit to the defraying the new impression of his *Ethiopic dictionary*, unless he had resolved to deprive the world of his labour and talents', which his booksellers told him they did not think of consequence enough to meet with a quick sale. But, after all, had he thought fit to run the hazard of such a copious work, and given the world an edition of all their liturgies, catechisms, and other such theological books, from the best copies, whether printed or in manuscript, with the most faithful version of, and most impartial and judicious notes upon them, would it not have been liable to frequent criticisms and endless disputes ? would it not have given birth to new depositions and confessions, obtained, to use his own words, *prece vel pretio*, by favour or bribery, to support a contrary reading or interpretation ? But whatever merit the zeal of either of the contending parties may make them imagine worth all that artifice, indecent language, and bitter invectives, which have been used to gain their point ; to us, and we hope it will do so to every serious and unbiassed Christian, it appears of little moment, whether the *Abissinian church*, confessedly allowed on all hands to consist of a very ignorant and positive clergy, and a blind bigotted laity, which received the first fundamentals of their Christianity from an avowed heretical sect of Christians, to whom they have paid ever since a most implicit obedience, comes nearer in its faith and discipline, to the *Romish, Lutheran, Greek*, or any other church. If Mr. *Ludolph* had any such view in writing his *Abissinian* history, as the jesuits so boldly, though we think, unjustly charge him with (F), we are more ready to pity than imitate his zeal. But one special advantage we shall be enabled to make in the course of this history, from the frequent altercations we meet with between him and those missionaries, and the pains they have so warmly taken to discover each other's faults, that we shall thereby more easily come at the truth, and be less apt to be biassed to either side.

His apology.

The main controversy between him and them of small importance ;

except that it makes them discover each other's faults.

' LE GRAND, ubi sup. 178, & seq.
fin. p. 180, & seq.

* See his letter to Mr. PIQUES, in LE GRAND's relation de l'Abissinie.
† See PIQUES's answer to him, ibid. p. 188.

(E) This was one *Morat* who had been often in *Abissinia*, and other parts of *Asia* and *Africa* ; and being then at *Batavia*, was, at Mr. *Ludolph*'s request, questioned about the present state of *Abissinia*, particularly that of their religion ; and in several instances quoted the one in confirmation of what he had been informed of by the other. But besides that persons of his character seldom trouble themselves about any thing but their own commerce, much less about religion ; the *Armenians* being commonly the most ignorant of their own ; *Morat* was moreover an arrant rogue, who, under pretence of having a more than ordinary influence on the *Abissinian* emperor, had engaged, by his interest with him, to establish a most beneficial commerce on the *Red-Sea*, and coasts adjacent, in favour of the *Dutch* ; for which they paid him a good round sum before-hand : but when their ships came thither, they found themselves cheated, and were forced to return without success (9).

(F) This charge, after having been laid home to that gentleman by several of the jesuitical fraternity (10), notwithstanding his most express and solemn declaration against it, was very fearfully and strongly confuted by the learned *Veyssiere De la Crose* (11) ; nevertheless, the next that took the cause in hand against him, hath not scrupled to revive all the former calumnies, as if nothing had been said to confute them, but begins his dissertation on the *Abissinian* hierarchy in these words : " It is not difficult, for any one that reads Mr. *Ludolph*'s *Ethiopic* history, to see, that he did not undertake it with any other view, than to shew the difference which he pretends to be between the church of *Rome* and that of *Alexandria*, on the one hand, and the conformity which he thinks to have discovered between that very church of *Alexandria* and that of the Protestants (12)."

(9) *Lobo, Tellez, Le Grand, &c. al.*

(10) *Renaudot.*

(11) *Europe Sçavante, tom. x. part ii.*

p. 231, & tom. ii. part i. p. 29. See also his *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, p. 83, & seq.

(12) *Le*

Maillet's
account of
Abissinia.

Strives in vain
to get a mission
introduced, but
displeases the
jesuits.

The ambassa-
dor Morat
cried down by
them.

The consul's
treatment of
him.

Dares not send
him to the
French court.

De Route sent
ambassador in-
to Abissinia.

Affassinated at
Sanaar.

MONS. *Maillet*, in his description of *Egypt*, where he had resided a good number of years as consul of the *French* nation, hath written something concerning this country, particularly about the great danger and difficulty there hath been, ever since the expulsion of the *Portuguese*, of penetrating into any part, and especially into the *Abissinian* court^{*}; and hath proposed some new expedients for removing it, and eluding the care and jealousy of the *Ethiopians*. But we do not find that any thing like it hath been tried since, at least with any success. He there speaks likewise of some other considerable memoirs, written by him some time before on the same subject, and afterwards published at the end of father *Lobo's* relation of *Abissinia*, by his *French* translator *Le Grand*; but they contain little concerning that country, except an account of his ill success in endeavouring to promote an embassy between the then emperor of it and the king his master, by the assistance of the physician *Poncet* above-men-
tioned[†]; in the pursuit of which project they took some steps, which proved so displeasing to some of the jesuits concerned in it, that they have since declared themselves against it, exposed the *Abissinian* envoy as a cheat, a person of mean birth, and worse character, and who only took upon him that public employ to impose on the *French* king, and obtain some considerable presents from him. His name was *Murat*, or *Morat*, a *Syrian* by birth, and a near relation of that *Murat* who had cheated the *Dutch*, as we mentioned in a late note. He had been in *Abissinia*, and was known to and employed by the emperor in some commercial affairs, but pretended moreover to have credential letters, as his ambassador to the *French* king, together with some presents, and a commission to negotiate an alliance of commerce with that court; but the greatest part of those presents he pretended were either lost at sea, or taken from him by the *Turkish* basha of *Massoufa*; and as for the emperor's letter, which he carried in a rich brocaded silk bag, he refused to deliver it up to any but to the king of *France's* own hands; so that the consul, who was eager, notwithstanding all these obstacles, to prove the embassy, was forced to make use under-hand of the basha of *Kayro's* authority to wrest the letter from him by force, in order to examine the contents of it. But whilst the consul and the fathers of the *Holy Land*, who were his creatures, endeavoured to support his character of ambassador, the jesuits were as zealous in destroying it; and affirming the king's signet, which was a kind of cypher, or hieroglyphic, of the breadth of a crown-piece, to be counterfeited, which they had discovered by comparing it with that of another letter, sent by that monarch to the patriarch of *Alexandria*: they likewise represented *Morat* as a vile fellow, a great bragger, liar, and drinker, who had served as cook in several merchants houses, and had at length assumed the character of ambassador, to raise his fortune[‡].

It is not unlikely the consul knew all the foibles of this man, though he still resolved to make the most of his letters and pretensions, in order to reimburse the expences he had been at on his account; yet not daring to trust such a drunken and lying fellow to the *French* court, chose rather to send his own chancellor thither, with the patched-up credentials and presents. *Morat*, seeing himself thus over-reached, and, as he rightly guessed, frustrated of the presents he expected to receive there, behaved like a man distracted; and was with difficulty, and the joint authority of the basha and consul, hindered from turning *Mohammedan*, and betraying the whole secret; but was at length sent away with some small presents; and embarking for *Surat*, went and died at *Hispahan*[§].

THE consul had at that time provided another string to his bow; viz. one *La Noir*, commonly called *De Route*, a creature of his, who was thoroughly acquainted with all the particulars of *Morat's* embassy, and was pitched upon by him on the like errand, and sent with the same character to the *Abissinian* court as from the *French* king. But this last met with a much worse fate than *Morat*; and after a tedious and dangerous voyage, and other disappointments, was at length assassinated by order of the king of *Sanaar*, after having been received at his first arrival with all the marks of favour and distinction due to his public character[¶]. Some say that it was done pursuant to a private order which that monarch received from the Negus, or emperor, of *Abissinia*; and others, that his death was owing to a dislike which the gradees of *Sanaar* had taken against him, on account of his too great intimacy with the then prime minister *Ali Zogoyer*: and a letter was afterwards trumped up, pretended to be written by the Negus to the Pope, but since brought to his son *Tekla Hai-manout*, who had by this time dethroned him; which, if genuine, wholly clears him from having had any hand in that assassination. The misfortune is, that most of our accounts from those parts are so often contradicted by the opposite parties on both sides, that no sure depen-

^{*} Vol. ii. p. 80, & seq. Hague edit. 12^{mo}.
the Porte, ap. LE GRAND, p. 359, & seq.
& alib. pass.

[†] Id. Ibid. & p. 428, & alib. pass.

[‡] See his apology addressed to the French ambassador at
[§] Vid. LE GRAND, ub. sup. p. 162, & seq. 359, & seq. 393,

[¶] Id. ibid. p. 170, & seq.

a ence can be given to them^c; and this only we can be certain of, that his death not only put an end to that consul's project, but that the very notion of a mutual embassy so exasperated the clergy and people, that they readily joined with the emperor's son above-named to dethrone his father, as the encourager of it, though more probably quite innocent and ignorant of both.

But as we shall have occasion to say something more of these (whether pretended or real) *Uncertain* embassies in the following history, we shall only add here, that the author last mentioned *whether the* hath published some farther memoirs, written by several hands both for and against, but *ambassy was* which leave us still much in the dark about the validity and other circumstances of that *true or false.* embassy^d, as well as how far the consul and some of the good fathers who assisted him in it, *The jesuits pro-* were innocent or guilty of all that strange artifice that was used to support and make it pass for current at the *French* court. But upon the whole, they do but too plainly shew, that its miscarrying was not owing to their want of zeal, or of using all possible endeavours to make it succeed, whether it was real or pretended.

But whilst the consul was taken up with the management of this affair, which his sanguine hopes made him consider as a matter of the greatest advantage both to the *French* commerce and to the *Roman* church, the jesuits, more refined politicians in things of this *jest another* nature, had projected and carried on to a great forwardness another scheme of their own, *scheme, in* which was every way more promising to answer that end. The patriarch of *Alexandria*, on *which the A-* whom the *Abissinian* church wholly depends, had been so far wrought by those dexterous *lexandrian pa-* fathers in favour of the *Romish* church, and the Pope's supremacy, as to dispatch an ambassador to the courts of *Paris* and *Rome*, with vast offers of assisting with all his power and authority the *Romish* missionaries, through all the countries belonging to his patriarchate, in re-uniting the *Coptic* church to that of *Rome*^e. The person pitched upon for this embassy was one *Ibraim Chunnab*, a *Maronite*, who was strictly charged to execute it with the utmost secrecy in both courts, whilst the good fathers loaded him with letters of recommendations and other encouragements, which procured him an honourable reception where-ever he came, but more particularly at the court of *Versailles*, where he was admitted to the royal presence, and caressed by all the prime ministers; and after a stay of about-four months, (that is from *August* 24 to *November* 25, 1702, during which time he was treated with all the honours of an ambassador) was dispatched with new credentials and recommendatory letters to the Pope, several cardinals, and other members of the society *de propaganda fide*. The misfortune was, that this project was so highly relished at the *French* court, that they thought it necessary to send their consul at *Cairo* express orders to act in concert with the patriarch and the jesuits, and to forward it with all his power; and this it was that occasioned its ruin; for the consul, whether out of dislike to it, or to those who had formed it, and who were the same that opposed his own, and exposed his ambassador as a cheat, or whether it was innocently done, divulged the whole secret by his imprudent conduct, and his publicly examining the old patriarch about it, who, now sensible of the imminent danger he was in, not only from the *Turks*, but from his own clergy and laity, had no other way to evade it, than by denying the whole purport of *Ibraim's* embassy, and alleging that the two letters he had entrusted him with to the Pope and the *French* king, were only letters of compliment, which he thought might be of service to him: Upon which the consul sent no less than three certificates one after another, to the court of *Rome*, signed by several monks and his own chancellor; all which were shewn to his holiness by cardinal *Fabroni*; so that he had not resided long at *Rome*, before he found a quite different treatment than he had met with at *Paris*, his public character not only questioned, but exposed as a vile forgery and imposition, and calculated only with a view of some considerable gain. The fathers of the mission of the *Holy Land*, a set of monks quite opposite to the jesuits, and who now acted under the consul's direction, were the most zealous of all in discrediting him, and exploding all he alleged in his own defence. This obliged him to present a memorial to the Pope, complaining of the unjust methods which some people had taken to discredit his commission, and thereby to prevent the good intentions of the patriarch, and the so much desired conversion of the *Ethiopians*; and begging his holiness to send some proper person into *Egypt*, to be fully satisfied of the whole matter from the patriarch's own mouth, to the end that if he was proved a cheat, he might be punished as such; and if a faithful messenger, he might have justice done to his character. The proposal was thought so reasonable, that his holiness immediately appointed Don *Gabriel*, a *Maronite*, of the order of *St. Anthony*, to go to *Kayro*, which he did with all possible expedition, but spent near two years in that journey.

^c Vid. eund. ibid. & p. 436, 442, 449.

^d See Dissertat. LE GRAND, ubi sup. p. 406, & seq. 421, & seq. 428, & seq. & alib. pass.

^e Id. ibid. p. 164, & seq.

Whom the consul exposes as a cheat at Rome.
His defence and memoir to the Pope.

The patriarch
complains
against him
and the consul.

Message to the
Pope.

Ibraim's lega-
cy to the Pope
justified and
confirmed by
the patriarch.

But no repara-
tion is made to
him.

Is shipwrecked
in his way
home.

The Abissini-
ans more jea-
lous and irre-
concilable by
those ambassies.

And our ac-
counts thence
more uncertain.

BUT not long after his departure, *Ibraim* received a letter from the *Alexandrian* patriarch, a telling him, that he was surprized to find, that, instead of observing the secrecy he had so earnestly enjoined him, he had so far divulged that important affair, that it had reached the ears of the *French* consul at *Kayro*, and all that part of the world; insomuch that the fathers of the *Holy Land* were come in one body to question him in a public manner, whether it were true that he was come over to the *Latin* church, and had sent an express messenger into *France*, to confirm an alliance with it; that upon his asking them what reason they had to put such interrogatories to him, they answered, they were ordered by the court to do so; upon which he told them, that the letters which he had given to him were only for his private service. He then desires him to go and acquaint the Pope, that he had assembled all the bishops under him to consecrate the oil which is used at the coronation of the *Abissinian* monarchs; a thing which had not been done during the space of twenty years; and to beg his holiness's blessing upon it. He received another some time after, in which he tells him, that he had finished the consecration of the holy oil, and had sent some of it into *Abissinia* by the hand of father *Bisbot*, a jesuit, who was to go privately into that country, in company with *Du Route*, lately mentioned, whom he had entrusted with a letter to the emperor, and another to the *Abissinian* abuna, or patriarch's delegate there. In both those letters he acknowledges *Ibraim* to be his agent and confident, and himself to be an humble dependent on his holiness, to whom, as such, he gave an account of his actions; so that, if these letters were really sent by that patriarch (G), nothing could more effectually justify the character of *Ibraim* against the clamours which the *Holy Land* missionaries had raised against it at the court of *Rome*. But what did it still more effectually, was the return of father *Gabriel* from *Kayro*, who confirmed all the particulars of *Ibraim's* ambassy, as well as the contents of the two letters above-mentioned, in a new one, which he brought from the patriarch to the Pope.

IBRAIM, thus justified by so many unquestionable hands, was very pressing at the *Romish* court for a proper reparation to his character; but after many delays and excuses, was told, that *Rome* was not a proper place to obtain justice against the fathers of the *Holy Land*; and that as to the *French* consul, he must apply to the *French* court for redress. At which being highly dissatisfied, he left that city about the end of the year 1705, leaving behind some presents, which the Pope had designed to send by him to the *Alexandrian* patriarch, but which were afterwards conveyed to him by another hand. *Ibraim* was soon after shipwrecked on the coast of *Cyprus*; and having lost all his effects, and the greatest part of his papers, and obtaining a certificate of his misfortune, went and settled at *Saïde*^f; which put an end at once to his public character and ambassy, and to this promising and deeply concerted scheme of the society, as they had done to that of the *French* consul.

CAN we therefore wonder at the vigilance of the *Abissinian* monarchs to keep all the avenues to their territories so strongly and closely guarded against all approaches of the *Europeans*, when they see what plots and contrivances they are capable of, what dangers, labours and expences they will expose themselves to, and what their views and designs tend to, in endeavouring to gain at any rate a fresh entrance into them? On the other hand, where there reigns such jealousy and emulation, not to call it by a worse name, between those missionaries of different orders, who yet profess to have the same meritorious views, the reducing of that whole country under the Pope's subjection, can it be at all surprising that the accounts we have from thence should come to us so lame and dissonant, unsatisfactory, and misrepresented by the opposite actors and writers of them? We cannot finish these remarks on the conduct and relations of those indefatigable zealots, better than with the words of one of

^f LE GRAND, ubi sup. p. 166, & seq. 478, & seq.

(G) Whoever hath read the different accounts we have of these transactions, and the many pretended anecdotes that have been trumped up by both sides, in plain contradiction to each other, will easily agree with us that this caveat is far from impertinent; and that if both parties do without a scruple charge each other with sundry forgeries of this nature, we shall not be censured for too scrupulously calling any of them in question.

But this letter of the patriarch's is still more liable to suspicion, even allowing him to have been as zealous for the church of *Rome* and the Pope's supremacy as the jesuits represent him, as it exposed the writer, not only to the loss of his patriarchate, but of his life; especially at this particular crisis, when all the *Roman* missionaries had been expelled out of the *Turkish* empire, under the severest penalties; and, on the other hand, the *Alexandrian* clergy and laity were so justly alarmed at the public manner in which the consul and his *Holy Land* fathers had questioned him about his legacy and conversion.

Whom could he confide such a dangerous witness against himself with? How could he be sure that the messenger would not betray him, or be intercepted in his voyage to *Rome*?

But for *Ibraim* or his patrons to counterfeit such a letter, had nothing either so hazardous or difficult, and may the more easily be supposed to have been the case, as we do not find that either the Pope, or society *de propaganda fide*, paid any great regard to that, or to the next which he produced from the same patriarch; and we may add, to the confirmation which father *Gabriel* brought with him from *Kayro*, as may be reasonably inferred from their avowed refusal to make due reparation to his character, and the strange manner in which he was dismissed from that court; which behaviour can hardly be any otherwise interpreted, than as a plain discountenancing of the whole affair, and putting an effectual end to that negotiation, without publicly exposing those who had set it on foot.

- a the most sagacious among them. They seem, by the tenor of them, to be directed to the *French* consul above-mentioned, though his name is carefully avoided, and are to this effect.
- “ I never did myself the honour to speak to you about this new invention of ambaf-
 “ fies, nor about the envoys which it hath set on foot, Signor *Morat* and Mr. *Du Route*.
 “ You have doubtless had a more ample account of that matter at *Kayro*; it being of such
 “ a nature, that the bare recital at once discovers and destroys what money and obscurity had
 “ kept up. It was not possible to discover in *France*, things that had been concerted at such
 “ a distance from it. Had that court been rightly informed concerning those two *Ethiopic*
 “ ambassies, the *French* would not have risked their lives in those countries, nor the public
 “ money been so lavishly spent upon them. But that scene is now at an end; and the court
 b “ will learn all the main particulars relating to it from you. I shall only add, that though
 “ there were no danger to be feared from the unbelieving *Mohammedans*, and other savage
 “ nations and hot climates through which one must pass, they would be sufficiently felt in
 “ *Ethiopia* itself. The *Abissinian* Christians are under subjection to the patriarch of *Alexan-*
 “ *dria*; they are born and brought up in that belief and dependence: they have been under
 “ it from the earliest ages of the church, and of that patriarchate, in the same manner as
 “ *France*, *Spain*, &c. have been under that of *Rome*. To endeavour at this time to alter
 “ that dependence, is to endeavour to change an ancient law or custom, which is impracti-
 “ cable; and for one man to act alone in it, and without assistance, can never be the way to
 “ succeed in it. The same thing had been formerly attempted by the way of the *Atlantic*
 c “ ocean, but to as little effect. To succeed in an attempt of this nature, one should begin
 “ at the foundation, and its chief, that is, at the church and patriarch of *Alexandria*, which
 “ are no less obliged than the rest to acknowledge the superiority and supremacy of *Rome*;
 “ and then you may hope, by their joint assistance, to meet with better success in *Abis-*
 “ *sinia* *.”

By this time we hope our readers are so well apprised of the character of the several writers who have obliged the world with their relations of *Abissinia*, and the various motives, views, and interests, which have occasioned that great variety which is found in their respective accounts of that country, and of those transactions which they have either been witnesses to or concerned in, that they will be less liable to be biassed to, or imposed upon by, either side; so that we
 d may now more safely venture to lead them through the several parts of this history.

* Vid. LE GRAND, ubi sup. p. 434, & seq.

S E C T. II.

The situation, division, various names, extent, limits, provinces, &c. of the Abissinian empire; with an account of the Gallas, and their several conquests.

- e **T**HIS empire is situated entirely under the torrid, and, as some imagined, uninhabitable
 zone; and lies between the 8th and 17th degrees of north latitude, and between the
 31st and 40th of west longitude from our *London* meridian. The former is taken by drawing
 a strait line from the old country of *Focay*, lying a little above *Swakem*, and forming its
 northern boundary under the 18th degree, quite to that of *Bergamo*, its utmost southern bound-
 ary, which lies under the 17th, and will consequently be about nine degrees in length. But
 as at this present time the country of *Focay* is dismembered from the empire, (so that we must
 reckon only from one degree above *Mazowa*, that is from the 16th to *Bergamo* above men-
 tioned) it will be still shorter by one degree. Hence appears the great error of old geogra-
 phers, who extended its southern limits so far beyond the equinoctial line, as to place the
 f head of the *Nile* several degrees south of it; which is, by the latest and most accurate observ-
 ations, found to be almost 13 degrees on this side of it^a.

THE breadth of the empire is commonly computed from the coasts of the *Red-Sea*, east-
 ward, to the banks of the *Nile*, in that part where it winds itself most westward, and sur-
 rounds the greatest part of the kingdom of *Gojam*, in the form of a peninsula, and where
 it extends itself somewhat above nine degrees, or, according to *Almeyda*, who had travelled
 it over more than once, about 140 *Portuguese* leagues^b. In other parts, however, both
 southwards and northwards, those limits are much contracted, as the reader may see by the
 map annexed; but not to such a degree as to require a farther descant.

THIS empire, however, hath formerly been vastly more extensive, having been since
 stripped of above one half of those kingdoms and provinces which were once subject to it;
 Kingdoms and provinces sub-
 ject to it.

^a ALMEYDA, MENDEZ, LOBO, et al. pl.

^b Id. ubi sup.

the greater part of which were either invaded by the *Gallas*, a barbarous people we shall have a occasion to mention in the sequel, or revolted from it. Of these latter, some had made themselves independent, and had princes of their own; and others had put themselves under the protection of the *Mohammedans*, long before the *Portuguese* set foot into it, and several others have done the same since, out of dislike to the extraordinary partiality which some of the *Abissinian* monarchs had expressed for the church of *Rome*, as we shall see in the sequel of their history. How many more may have followed their example, since we have lost all correspondence with those parts, time may perhaps discover: however, as to those kingdoms or provinces which were still in subjection to the empire at the time when Don

Those that are
dismembered
from it.

Alphonso Mendez was there, they are as follows. Among the first, 1. *Tigre*, 2. *Dambea*, 3. *Begameder*, 4. *Gojam*, 5. *Amahara*, 6. *Dancali*, 7. *Narea*, and 8. part of *Xaoa*. The latter are, 1. *Mazaga*, 2. *Salent*, 3. *Ogara*, 4. *Abargale*, 5. *Holcuit*, 6. *Salgaad*, 7. *Semen*, 8. *Salowa*, 9. *Oleca*, and 10. *Douba*; amongst which, some of the kingdoms, as well as the provinces, are wholly subject to the *Abissinian* emperors; and others are only vassals, and pay a kind of tribute to them of horses, corn, &c. according to their extent and fertility, as will be farther seen in the sequel.

THOSE that had been dismembered from it are as follow. 1. *Argot*, 2. *Dowaro*, 3. *Ogge*, 4. *Balli*, 5. *Adea*, 6. *Almala*, 7. *Oxelo*, 8. *Gantz*, 9. *Bethzamora*, 10. *Guragua*, 11. *Buzana*, 12. *Suffgamo*, 13. *Babargamo*, 14. *Cambat*, 15. *Boxa*, 16. *Gumar*, 17. *Conch*, 18. *Damot*, 19. *Doba*, 20. *Motta*, 21. *Awra*, 22. *Holeca*, 23. *Oylat*, 24. *Guedem*, 25. *Ganh*, 26. *Marrabet*, 27. *Manz*, and 28. *Bizamo*. By the loss of these last, the extent and size of which the reader may see in the map, one may judge how greatly inferior this empire is to what it hath formerly been.

Boundaries and
extent.

It is at present bounded on the north by the kingdom of *Nubia*, or *Senaar*; on the east, by the *Red-Sea*, and the coasts of *Abex*, or *Abesh*, which have been since dismembered from it, and make a province of the *Turkish* empire; and lower southwards, by the kingdoms of *Dongali* and *Dowara*, and part of the country of the *Gallas*; on the south, by lower *Ethiopia*; and on the west, by the river *Maley*, which divides it from *Shankala*, or the country of wandering *Ethiopians*, and falls into the *Nile*, after it hath run a good way into the *Nubian*

Inclosed on all
sides.

dominions^d. Hence it appears, that this empire, even when in its utmost extent, was for the most part inland, being contiguous to no ocean, except in that small part on the east, which adjoins to a tract along the coasts of the *Red Sea*, upon which the *Abissinian* emperors had formerly some considerable ports, whence they drove a commerce with other parts of the world; but since the *Turks* have made themselves masters of them, the whole empire is so inclosed on every side by variety of nations at enmity with, and beyond measure jealous of them, especially since they had given so kind a reception to the *Portuguese*, that all access to it from any side is become, if not absolutely impracticable, at least extremely difficult and dangerous, as was hinted a little higher^e.

Supposed the
ancient king-
dom of Sheba.

THIS country, whatever its extent may have formerly been (A), is with no small probability believed, by most learned men, to have been the *Sheba* of the *Old Testament*, whence that great queen, whom *Josephus* calls *Nicaulis*, and styles queen of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*^f, and the Evangelists queen of the south^g, who came from those remote parts to hear the wisdom of *Solomon*^h. It is likewise believed to have been the kingdom of the famed queen *Candace*, styled queen of *Ethiopia*, whose eunuch, or, as he is there called, her high treasurer, or prime minister, came to worship at *Jerusalem*; and, in his return homewards, was baptized by *Philip* the deaconⁱ, and from whom the *Abissines* acknowledge they afterwards received the

And of the
queen Candace.

^e Id. *ibid.* vid. & DAVITY, DAPPER, LUDOLPH, PONCET, & al. PONCET, LUDOLPH, & al. *sup. citat.* ^f See before, p. 166, & seq. ^g Ant. l. viii. c. 2. ^h 1 Kings, x. pass. See *Anc. Hist.* vol. i. p. 801. ⁱ Acts viii. 26, & seq.

(A) By this we do not mean only whilst it held those above mentioned provinces which have since revolted from it, but that much vaster extent which it is affirmed to have had when it spread itself from the *Red-Sea* to the kingdom of *Congo* westward, and from *Egypt* to the *Indian* sea southward; at which time it is said to have contained no less than thirty-four large kingdoms, and about eighteen considerable provinces (1); which prodigious extent may be justly looked upon as no less fabulous, as the pretended lineal descent of their monarchs, through an uninterrupted series of the same imperial family, from *Ham*, the son of *Noah*, the founder of their monarchy, down to *Basilides*, who so kindly invited the jesuit missionaries, *an.* 1624. and gave them those great encouragements to establish the Pope's authority in that empire, which we have taken notice of in the foregoing section.

But not to dwell on such improbabilities, we may justly enough join opinions with many great and learned men, that their dominions, in ancient times, extended still much farther than they are allowed to have done, before those large provinces and kingdoms were dismembered from them; and that it might then include those of *Nubia*, *Habex*, and *Ajam*, so as to be bounded on the north by *Egypt*, and the *Barcan* deserts; by the *Red-Sea* and eastern ocean, on the east; by *Zanguebar* and *Nigritia*, or *Negro-Land*, on the south; and by *Nigritia*, and *Zabara*, on the west; or, in other words, all the vast tract of land that lies between the 5th and 20th degrees of north latitude, all which was included under the common name of *Western*, or *African*, *Ethiopia* (2), as distinguished from the *Eastern*, or *Asiatic* (3).

(1) *Vid.* Lobo, *ap. Le Grand Relat. de l'Empire d'Abissin.* p. 63, & seq. (2) *Id. ibid.* *vid.* & Tellez, *Histoire General d'Ethiop.* Ludolph, & al. *sup. citat.* (3) *De his vid.* Homer. *Odyss.* l. ii. Herod. l. ii. iii. & vii. Dionys. *Hesiod.* & al. *vid.* & *Anc. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 179, & seq. D'Herbelot *Bibl. Orient. sub. Habsh.*

a gospel. With what pomp and magnificence the former paid her solemn visit to the *Hebrew* monarch, both the sacred text, and *Josephus*, informs us ^k; and the grand manner in which the minister of the latter travelled to and from *Jerusalem*, gives us reason to think she was not inferior to her in power and magnificence: and we are farther assured, by some of the ancient writers ^l, that this country was commonly governed by queens, and that a good *Governed by* number of them had already reigned there in their time, under the name, or rather title, of *queens*. *Candace*, supposed to have been common to them all, as that of *Pharaoh* was to all the kings of *Egypt*; the term *Candace* importing their sovereign authority (B).

AGAIN, that this country is the so much celebrated island, or rather peninsula, of *Merce* of the *The ancient* ancients, whose queens are said to have borne that common name, or title, we have already so *Meroe*.
b plainly shewn in our ancient history ^m, against those who have placed it in *Egypt*, or anywhere else, that we shall not need any farther proofs for it here. Lastly, this country is supposed by many moderns to be the so much sought-for dominions, whether real or imaginary, over which *Prester John* is pretended to have been sovereign; and are still called after his name by them, as we shall see in some of the subsequent paragraphs.

It is indifferently called *Abissinia*, *Abyssinia*, *Abessinia*, and *Abassia*, but more properly *Its various* *Habessinia*, with a strong aspiration from the *Arabic Habesh*, which signifies, a mixture, or *names*.
confusion; the country being peopled by a mixt variety of nations ⁿ. If we may believe *Whence de-* *Strabo*, that name was given to it on account of the vast wildernesses, and stony deserts *rived*.
c be taken from *Abaxa*, the capital city of the kingdom of *Adel*, whose monarchs were once masters of this ^o; all which etymologies another judicious author, with no small shew of reason, rejects, as uncertain and frivolous; and thinks the name of *Abissinia* to have no more certain signification, than those of many other kingdoms, better known to us by our acquaintance with the people, than by the original of their denominations ^p. However that be, it is plain the *Abissinians* themselves absolutely reject both the name and its etymons; and affect to call themselves *Itjopians*, and their country *Mangbesta Itjopia*, or kingdom of *Ethiopia*, which is one of the principal names by which that was known to the antients ^q; though that be rather an epithet to denote the blackness of its inhabitants ^r. As for the distinguishing epithet of *Upper*, it may have been given to it either on account of the *Nile's*
d descending from it into the *Lower*, or on account of its being nearer than it to the Arctic pole, which, with respect to us, is always above us, according to the verse of *Virgil*,

Illic vertex nobis semper sublimis ^s.

BUT there is one name which the *Portuguese*, tho' without any foundation, have bestowed *Whence called* upon this empire, or rather emperor; viz. that of *Prester John*, *Presbiter John* ^t, or, as *Prester John's* some others have turned it, *Preste* or *Precious John* ^u. As this imaginary monarch, and his dominions, which seem wholly to owe their origin to some *French* missionaries of the *Holy Land*, have been sought for in vain in *India*, and other parts of *Asia*, and been since translated by the head and shoulders into *Afric*, and fixed in this very *Abissinian* empire, without the leave or knowledge either of its emperor, or of any of his subjects, we might perhaps reasonably excuse ourselves from entering further into that dispute, which, tho' of more curiosity than moment, hath exercised the heads and pens of many learned men to so little purpose; especially as the most judicious among them have given up the notion of such a priestly kingdom as chimerical. Nevertheless, as many of our *English* readers may be desirous to know by what mistake or artifice this name came to be fixed to this empire, it will

^k Ub. sup. vid. & 2 Chron. ix. pass. ^l PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. STRAB. l. xvi. c. 17. ^m Vol. vii. p. 190, & seq. ⁿ Vid. LUDOLPH Hist. Ethiopia, l. i. c. 1. ^o MENDEZ Ethiop. l. i. c. 1. ^p MANUEL, ALMEYDA, ubi sup. ^q See Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 180. ^r Ibid. p. 183. ^s Georg. I. ^t Vid. J. DE BARROS, Decad. 3. l. 4. DIEG. DE CONT. GODINGHO, l. i. & al. ^u Id. Chron. Reg. EMAN. c. 6. Vid. & MENDEZ, LOBO, & al.

(B) The first of these queens, whose name the sacred text doth not mention, the *Abissinians* call *Nicaula*, and *Macheda*; and the translation of their gospel, *Nagbista* *izeb*, or queen of the south. They shew, to this day, the town where, they pretend, she kept her court; which, by its ruins, appears to have been a very considerable place. There is likewise another village, which they call *Saba*, or *Shiba Land*, and believe it to be the place of her birth (4).

The second of these queens they call *Judith*, and be-

lieve to have been converted, by her own prime minister, to Christianity, and to have been very zealous in propagating it through her empire. So that, according to them, this empire received the *Jewish* religion from the former, who had been converted to it by king *Solomon*; and the Christian from the latter, who was converted to it by *Juda*, her high treasurer, after he had been baptized by the apostolic deacon above-mentioned (5).

(4) Teller, Almeyda, Ludolph, Lobo, & al. vid. Le Grand Relat. ub. sup. p. 64.

(5) Id. ibid. & seq.

That title not known in any part of Abissinia.

not, we hope, be thought foreign to our general design of this work, if we give them in a few words the best account we can meet with of it among the writers of that controversy^w; for it plainly appears from the unanimous consent of all the *Portuguese* who have been in *Abissinia*, and more particularly from that of the Jesuits, and other religious missionaries, who were sent thither, several of whom have travelled thro' that whole country from end to end, over and over again, that there was not the least trace or footstep to be found of any such name or title as that of *Prefter* or *Presbyter John*; nor any of the natives that knew, or had ever heard of, any emperor so stiled or dignified, or any thing in their language that bears any analogy or allusion to it; but, on the contrary, seem to be surpris'd, to hear that the *Portuguese* had taken that unheard-of notion of their *Negus*, or emperor, and his dominions, being stiled *Prefter John*^x.

Prefter John's dominions in Asia.

Christians of St. Thomas there.

Prefter John the common name of those kings.

Other arguments to prove it.

ON the other hand, it appears from *Marco Paulo*, and other travellers, that there was such a great and potent empire in *Asia*, whose sovereign was a Christian, and was stiled the *Presbyter John*, but was a *Nestorian*, and subject in spirituals to the patriarch of *Babylon*; all which hath been so fully proved by the learned authors quoted above, that nothing material hath been since offered by the other side to disprove it. Of these heretical Christians, or, as they are commonly called, Christians of *St. Thomas*, or of the mountains, the reader may see a learned and succinct account in the relation of the patriarch *Dom. Alex. Monefes*'s journey through those parts, by Father *Ant. de Govea*. The monarch above-mentioned reigned in the mountains of *India*; and his name being *Jochannan*, which in the *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, &c. being the same which the *Latins* and *Greeks* render *Joannes*, and we *John*, was the common name of all the monarchs of that empire, as that of *Pharaoh* was to all the kings of *Egypt*^y, and that of *Cæsar* to all the *Roman* emperors, &c. The title of *Prefter*, which is only a corruption or abbreviation of that of *presbyter*, was given them, it seems, on account of their having the cross carried before them, in the same manner as it is before the *Romish* bishops. To these authorities above-mentioned, we might add some others mentioned by the judicious *Du Cange*, in confutation of that exploded notion of *Abissinia* being the country or dominions of *Prefter John*; viz. a letter from Pope *Alexander III.* still extant in *Raoul. de Dicet.* in *Matthew Paris* and *Brompton*, written an. 1180 or 1181, to the monarch above-mentioned, inscribed, by that pontif, *Illustri et magnifico Indorum regi, et sacerdotum sanctissimo*: To the illustrious and magnificent *John*, king of *India*, and most holy priest. A second from *Geoffry*, prior of the *Dominican* friars, mentioned likewise by *Matthew Paris*; and a third, the testimony of *William of Tripoli*, quoted by *Gerard Mercator*, *Marco Paulo* (C), *Vincent de Beauvois*, and *Sanutus*, all of whom concur in confirming the contrary opinion, that *Prefter John*'s dominions in question are no-where to be found but in *Asia*^z, notwithstanding all the specious glosses which some other authors have made use of to invalidate so great an evidence. But we shall remind our readers of a much stronger still, and which we have just hinted at in a former volume[†]; viz. a full account of that *Asiatic* prince, his dominions, and other particulars, from indubitable authority, but which did not come to our hands till after the whole history of *Asia*, where it properly belongs, was printed off, and all the volumes relating to it completed; upon which account we were obliged to postpone it to the end of this extensive work, where we shall subjoin a supplement of all the material articles which may have been omitted or overlooked in the course of this Modern Universal History.

How it came to be brought into Abissinia.

THE next question, therefore, that naturally occurs, is, by what mistake or artifice it came to be translated into *Africa*, and fixed so positively in this *Abissinian* empire by the authors on the other side? What gave the first occasion to it was, without all perad-

^w DE BARROS, ALF. MENDEZ, ALMEYDA, TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, GOES, GODINGHO, Hist. Ethiop. JARRIC, Thesaur. vol. ii. c. 14. & al. plur. ^x Id. ibid. vid. & LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. p. 233, & seq. DU CANGE, Observ. on Joinvill. & al. ^y See Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 423. ^z DU CANGE Notes on Joinville ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. p. 234, & seq. [†] Vol. i. p. 665, & 714.

(C) This famous author, whose father had been employed a considerable time at the court of the Cham of *Tartary*, from which he returned anno 1272, and who had himself been brought up at that court, and had been intrusted by that prince in some considerable employments during the space of 17 years, says expressly, that *Ung-chan*, who was defeated by *Genghis-chan*, was *Prefter John*. *Mercator* likewise assures us, upon the testimony of *Marco Paulo*'s father and uncle, who went a second time to the Cham of *Tartary*, as well as *William of Tripoli*, who passed with them into *Armenia*, that

about the year 1098 *Coirem Chan* reigned over all eastern *Asia*; and that after his death, a certain pastor, or *Nestorian* priest, named *John*, subdued the whole country of *Najam*, and soon after the whole eastern empire under his government; and that the title of *Prefter* was given him, and superadded to that of king, on account of his priesthood (6). This kingdom the above-mentioned *Geoffry* affirms likewise to have been situate near *Armenia*. All which put together, and added to the authorities quoted above in the text, may be reasonably thought sufficient to fix this empire in *Asia*.

(6) Vid. Lobo Abiss. ap. Le Grand Relat. ubi sup. p. 234, & seq. & al. sup. citat.

venture,

- a venture, owing to the two first persons whom *John II.* king of *Portugal*, sent into *Asia* in search of it. This prince, as well as some of his predecessors, having conceived an extraordinary desire to find out this so much celebrated empire, in order to enter into an alliance of commerce and friendship with its opulent monarch, sent two of his subjects into *Asia* by land, to get what information they could about it. The one, called *Peter Covillam*, after a long and fruitless search after it, being returned from *India* to *Kayro*, found there some memoirs conveyed thither by *Alphonso de Payva*, the other person whom that monarch had dispatched upon the same errand, but was dead in his journey without having gained any certain intelligence concerning the land he went in search of. However, whether these memoirs furnished him with some hints towards finding it in this *Abissinian* empire, or whether mere hazard threw them in his way during his stay at *Adem*, *Suakem*, and other parts along the western coasts of the *Red Sea*, he there heard so much talk of the *Abissinian* emperor, in whose dominions he was, and of his being a Christian, and carrying a cross in his hand; that his subjects were all schismatic Christians, who had their bishops, secular and regular priests, sumptuous churches, abbeys, monasteries, and other traces of such a Christian empire as he was in search of, none of which had fallen in his way in any of those parts of *India* thro' which he had travelled, he was easily led to conclude that he had gone upon a wrong scent; and that this, if any, must be the happy spot so eagerly sought for by, and till now so little known to, the *Portuguese*. What might perhaps still more confirm him in this conjecture, was, that the emperors of this country were all of the priestly order, and must be ordained before they could be crowned; and, after that, still continued to execute the priestly functions. Whether he was really misled by these appearances, or weary of such a painful and fruitless search, or sought only to save his character by imposing upon the king of *Portugal*, we will not determine: but upon this slight foundation he immediately wrote to that monarch from *Kayro*, whilst he made himself ready to take a journey into *Ethiopia*, to make some farther discoveries, to give his notion a still greater currency both at that court and other parts of *Europe*, in which he succeeded even beyond his expectation. Pleasing news being usually rather hastily believed than scrutinised, his account met with such a general approbation where-ever it reached, that the *Abissinian* monarch was every-where dubbed and proclaimed the true *Prester John*, and that of *Asia* to be a supposititious one, owing perhaps probably to the inattention of the authors on the other side, and their not considering that *Abissinia* is frequently called *India* in *Afric*, or *African India*. However that be, by this pretended discovery of *Covillam*, the real *Prester John* was soon buried in oblivion, not only in *Portugal*, but all over *Europe*, and the supposititious one cried up and proclaimed in his room.

- WHAT seems to have farther contributed to confirm this latter in these his supposed dominions, is, that *Marco Paulo* makes his *Prester John* to have had his usual residence at *Arkiko*, a sea-port upon the coast of the *Red Sea*, and is the first town in *Abissinia* on that side, but since taken by the *Turks*. This is absolutely inconsistent with the notion of his reigning in the *Asiatic India*, much less in the kingdom of *Chatay*, because these two are at as great a distance from each other as *Portugal* is from *Peru*. To this we may add, that both the kingdom of *Chatay*, which is supposed the same Christian empire mentioned by *S. Antonin*, bishop of *Florence*, hath been since sought for with so much toil and labour by such numbers of travellers, especially the missionaries, thro' every part of *Asia*, and to so little purpose, so many monstrous lies written and published about it, that the very notion of any such monarchy hath been long since given up as chimerical by the far greater part of them; or, at most, that there remains nothing at present in all those eastern parts but the bare names of the fields on which this celebrated *Chatay* stood, and its emperor *Prester John* once reigned^a; though there are still many, especially among the *Portuguese*, who firmly believe that this famous kingdom will one time or other be discovered and come to light again[†].

- Thus far goes the account which those learned authors above quoted give us of the first introduction of this new title into *Abissinia*, which is the point we were most concerned about in this chapter, and about which they all unanimously declare their opinion; that both *Covillam* and *Payva*, who seem the first broachers of that notion, were certainly mistaken. However, as there are still very many, especially among the missionary fathers, who still persist in the opinion that there is no *Prester John* to be found out of the *Abissinian* dominions, so some of them have mustered up several fresh testimonies, which, if authentic, do at least prove that those emperors were acknowledged by the title of *Prester John* some score years before those two gentlemen wrote any thing about

^a Jesuits Travels, by BALTH. TELLEZ, ch. i. John, p. 245, & seq.

[†] See the letter in LE GRAND's dissertation on *Prester*

The improbability of it.

F. Lobo's conjecture about the origin of that title.

it to the king of *Portugal*. Of this nature is a letter from the grand master of *Rhodes* to a the *French* king *Charles VII.* in which he informs that monarch of the dreadful overthrow which this emperor, whom he styles *Presbyter Jobannes, Indorum imperator*, had given to the *Turks*, &c. which letter bears date *July 3d, A. D. 1448*; whereas those two gentlemen were not sent in search of that empire till *an. 1477*. But, besides that the contents of that letter are contradicted by the history of those times ^b, if the title of *Prester John* was so long before known to belong to this *Abissinian* emperor, what need was there for sending *Covillam* and *Payva* to seek for him so far into *India*? and why to search for his dominions as for an empire altogether unknown to them, as well as those that sent them? The same objection will hold more strongly against what is urged from the letter of Pope *Alexander* to that prince, which we have mentioned a little higher, and of some others urged on the same b subject; for they being still of much older date than that, makes it still more incredible that his title should have been so long known before at *Rome*, and yet be so far a secret to the king of *Portugal*, as to send so far to find it out; and, still more, that his two messengers should travel so far forward and backward before they could succeed in their search. But we have dwelt long enough upon this trite subject; and shall now close it with a singular conjecture of Father *Lobo*, concerning the origin of this priestly title, as it is related by *Thevenot*, to whom he communicated it, which is to this effect; That the *Abissinians* were very fond of making pilgrimages to the *Holy Land*, and more particularly about the time in which the *French* were engaged in their wars with the *Saracens* in *Asia*; so that by their frequent c conversing with the *French* missionaries about their respective countries, government, &c. they might probably enhance the grandeur of their monarch by joining the priesthood to the other pompous dignities which that prince was possessed of; and these missionaries might become the first propagators of it in *Europe*: which conjecture, whether well founded or not, doth at least plainly intimate, that that good father, than whom none was better acquainted with that empire, could find out no other original for this new title of *Prester John*, than that of his brethren of the *Holy Land*, and therefore makes no difficulty to stile them the sole authors of it ^c.

The kingdom of Tigre described.

Kingdom of Tigre, its site and extent.

Metropolis of Axuma.

Its ruins.

Fremona, the residence of the Jesuits.

We come now to give our readers a description of the several kingdoms which still compose this great monarchy; and shall begin with that of *Tigre*, or *Tigra*, as the largest and the most considerable in all respects, and as it is the nearest to the *Red Sea*, and the d *Turkish* dominions and conquests. It hath *Nubia* or *Sinaar* on the north; the sea above-mentioned on the east; the kingdoms of *Angot* and *Dancali* on the south; and those of *Dambea* and *Bagamender* on the west. Its length, from north to south, which is taken from *Mazowa* (D), or *Arkiko*, now belonging to the *Turks*, to the desert of *Aldoba* and mount *Sement*, is computed about 300 *Italian* miles; and its breadth, from the same desert to the province of *Bul*, about half, or, according to others, almost the same ^d. What rendered this kingdom still more considerable before the loss of its two ports mentioned in the last note, was its metropolis of *Axum*, or *Axuma*, which was likewise that of the whole empire, and the place where its monarchs repaired to be crowned. We have formerly given an account of its situation, stately ruins, commerce, and other particulars ^e, from e which one may judge of its former opulence, though it is now reduced to a poor village, scarcely affording shelter to an hundred inhabitants; yet, ruined as it is, the *Abissinian* monarchs are still obliged to receive their crown there.

ABOUT half a degree south-west of *Axuma*, or, as the *Portuguese* corruptly write it, *Cathumo*, or *Cachumo*, stands the town of *Madgoga*, so called formerly from the murmuring noise of a neighbouring rivulet. It hath since received the name of *Fremona* from the Jesuit missionaries, who had their residence in it, on account of one Father *Fruementius*, the first of their order that came into these parts. This place became still more celebrated by the long residence and death of Father *Andrea de Oviedo*, sent thither patriarch of *Ethiopia* by the

^b See the letter in the *Specilegium Patr.* p. 556. & in *LE GRAND*, Dissert. 4. du Pretre Jean, p. 245, & seq. ^c *LE GRAND*, ubi sup. p. 133, & 146. ^d *TELLEZ*, *LUDOLPH*, *LOBO*, & al. ^e *Ant. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 184, 215, (H). Vid. & auct. sup. citat.

(D) *Mazowa*, *Matzua*, or *Maqua*, is a small island on the *Red Sea*, over-against *Arkiko*; which last is the first sea-port belonging to the continent of *Abissinia*. It was formerly a very considerable place, and lies under the 15th degree of N. latitude; but the *Turks* have since deprived the emperors of this valuable and convenient harbour, the best on the whole coast. From *Mazowa*,

or *Arkiko* this kingdom extends itself about 11 or 12 leagues along the coast, as far as *Dafalo*, another sea-port, but less frequented on account of its shallowness. But even this the *Turks* have made themselves masters of, and thereby deprived the *Abissinian* empire of the only two harbours it had; which is justly reckoned an invaluable loss to it, as hath been lately hinted (5).

(5) *De his*, vid. *Tellez*, *Ludolph*, *Almeyda*, *Lobo*, *Poncet*, & al. plur. See also before, p. 168.

- a pope; since whose death it still continued the residence and seminary of all the missionaries of that order who came into *Abissinia*, the greatest part of whom lost their lives for the cause they came to preach there, the supremacy of the church and pope of *Rome*, until their final expulsion out of that whole empire, of which we shall give an account in its proper place. Other cities or towns are very few and mean, both in this kingdom, and every-where thro' the whole empire. This of *Fremona* hath been found to stand in 14 degrees and a half of N. latitude, and the whole kingdom lies between the 13th and 16th of the same, being reckoned of about the same extent with that of *Portugal*. It hath, according to the patriarch *Mendez*, 44 governments under it; but, according to Mr. *Ludolph*^f, only 27, besides seven maritime ones, which are dismembered from it, and have governors of their own, whom
- b they stile *Babrnagash*, that is, overseers or superintendants of the sea; which prefectures, however, are not to be looked upon as so many distinct governments, seeing one *Babrnagash* may, and hath sometimes two or three of them under his command; so that, according to the last author, this kingdom, or viceroyalty rather, can have, at the most, no more than 34 districts or governments under it. How these different governments are regulated, will be seen in a subsequent section, to avoid repetitions; and we shall only add, that the extent of this kingdom, and variety of its governments, have in all probability been the main cause why some geographers have split it into no less than four distinct ones in their maps, one of which they call *Tigray*, which they place near the line; a second in ten degrees north, which they call *Tigre*; between these two a third, called by them *Tigra Mahoa*; and a fourth still farther, on which is that of the *Babrnagash* above-mentioned^g.
- c

Division of that kingdom.

Falsely split into four kingdoms.

CONTIGUOUS to *Tigre*, on the south, is the kingdom of *Angot*, formerly rich and fertile, but now almost ruined by the *Gallas*, who have dispossessed the *Abissinian* emperors of the greatest part of it; and the small remains they have left them have hardly any thing worth mentioning, except the poverty of its inhabitants. *Angot kingdom ruined.*

- THAT of *Bagameder* (E), or *Bagamedri*, lies west of that of *Tigre*, and runs almost contiguous to it, extending itself from it quite to the *Nile*. Its length is computed to be about 60 leagues, and its breadth 20, but was formerly much more extensive, several of its provinces having been dismembered from it, and joined to that of *Tigre*. A great part of it is very mountainous and rocky, especially towards the east, which is mostly inhabited by those wild nations mentioned in the last note. Some towns, tho' much decayed, there are still left in this kingdom; particularly the metropolis of its name, where the viceroy is obliged to go and receive a fresh crown, besides that with which he is crowned at the emperor's court. This town, which is in all other respects inconsiderable, is seated on the small river *Bachlo*, or *Baxillo*, which divides this kingdom from that of *Ambara*, on the south side of it: the others are still less worth notice. It is divided into 13 governments, most of them fertile, and well watered by small rivers, besides the *Bachlo* above-mentioned, particularly the third in rank, named *Dabr*; which *Ludolph's Gregory* compares to *Germany* on those two accounts^h.
- d

Bagameder kingdom, its extent.

- THE kingdom of *Amara*, or *Ambara*, is contiguous to *Bagameder* on the south, and is divided by the *Nile* from that of *Gojam* on the west side. It is computed to extend itself about 40 leagues from east to west, and is considered as the most noble and honourable in the whole empire, upon several accounts: First, As it is the usual residence of the *Abissinian* monarchs, and consequently of the chiefest of the nobility. 2. On the account of its peculiar dialect, different from all the rest, and, by a new line of emperors brought up in it, is since become that of the whole court, and of the politer part of the empire. Here stand likewise the two famed rocks of *Guechon*, or *Guexen*, and *Ambacel*, where the princes of the blood were formerly confined and educated. Lastly, This kingdom is looked upon as the centre of the empire; and, though small in comparison of some others, hath nevertheless no fewer than thirty-six districts or governments, but concerning which we can find little else but their names, which the curious may see in *Ludolph's history*ⁱ.
- e
- f

Kingdom of Ambara, why the noblest of all.

Its peculiar dialect.

FARTHER west still, and on the other side of the *Nile*, is the celebrated kingdom of *Gojam*, which is almost surrounded on every side by that river, excepting only on the north-east side, where it is inclosed by the *Dembean* lake; on which account, as hath been hinted a

Kingdom of Gojam.

^f Lib. i. c. 3. & al.

^g Travels of the Jesuits, from TELLEZ, c. 2. p. 9. LUDOLPH, DAVITY, DAPPER,

^h Lib. i. c. 3. Vid. & TELLEZ, LOBO, & al sup. citat.

ⁱ Lib. i. c. 3. §. 8, & seq.

(E) So called, we are told, from the vast numbers of sheep that are bred in it; *Meder* signifying land or earth, and *Beg* a sheep (6). We may add, that the mountainous parts, which are mostly inhabited by the

wild or wandering *Agas*, *Gallas*, and *Caffres*, are the chief pastures for them; those mountains affording great plenty of aromatic herbs to brouze upon, which gives their flesh an excellent taste and flavour (7).

(6) Vid. Lobo ap. Le Grand Differt. 3. de Nilo, p. 109. Poncet, & al. sup. citat.

(7) Id. ibid. Vid. & Ludolph, lib. i. c. 3.

little higher, it is now judged by most learned to be the island, or rather peninsula, of a *Merce*^k. Its length, from north-west to south-east, is somewhat above 50 leagues; and its breadth, from east to west, where it is broadest, about 30. Both these sides are bounded by the Nile, which taking its spring at near the middle distance between them, and almost in the centre of the kingdom, as we have elsewhere shewn^l, surrounds, and as it were intrenches it every way by the oval compass it takes about it, in return for giving birth to it.

Agarens, and other nations, in it.

THE country is fertile, but much higher and mountainous towards the middle, and those heights are mostly inhabited by a people said to be the descendants of *Hagar*, *Abraham's Egyptian* maid. The north-west part of the kingdom is likewise mountainous, and inhabited by the *Agaus* or *Agaux*, but different from those of the same name who live in the mountains of *Lusta*, and waged a long and bloody war against *Soltan Segued*, from whom they had revolted. These, we are speaking of, dwell mostly about the spring-heads of the Nile, and spread themselves a great way. They profess Christianity, but are much addicted to idolatry and superstition: in other respects they are not unlike the *Abissinians*^m. We shall have occasion to speak of some of these stupendous mountains, among the natural rarities of the empire. We are told that some of the highest, towards the north part of this kingdom, are inhabited by *Jews*; but we are more apt to believe them to be some of the ancient race of *Abissinians*, who still retain the old *Jewish* rites; for though it be scarcely doubted, that there are great numbers of *Jews* dispersed through the whole empireⁿ, as they are every-where else, yet they are seldom known to prefer such desert habitations before the more inhabited plains and places of commerce: neither is it likely they would chuse to stay to bleach themselves on those inhospitable rocks, unless we suppose some rich mines to lie hid amongst them, which keep them more profitably employed.

Jews on the north mountains.

Governments.

Dembea described,

Extent. Lake.

Towns.

THIS kingdom contains twenty districts or governments; a greater number of heathens than any other in the empire^o. Northward of *Gojam* lies that of *Dembea*, which is parted from it by the lake of its own name and the Nile, and is one of the flattest countries in all *Abissinia*; on which account it is frequently overflowed by both, as well as by other rivers which flow from the mountains into them. It is not above 24 leagues in length, from east to west; and about 12 or 13 in breadth, exclusive of its lake. But if we add this to it, which is large enough to be stiled by the inhabitants the sea of *Dembea*, and spreads itself along the southern and south-east side of it, it will have above double that extent from north to south^p. It hath some mountains of an extraordinary height, the chief of which we shall describe in their proper place. Some geographers likewise mention several considerable cities, and a good number of towns; and yet Mr. *Ludolph*, or his *Abissinian* abbot, mentions none of the former, and but that of *Guba*, or *Gubai*, among the latter, which he says is the queen's residence, as well as that of the emperor whenever he leaves the camp^q (F).

HOWEVER that be, this kingdom is still considerable, on account of its having been the chief one in which the *Abissinian* monarchs made their usual residence, or kept their principal camp and court, in the time of the patriarch *Mendez*, to whom the emperor *Segued* gave the whole territory of *Anfras*, in order to induce the Jesuits and him to settle in it, who accordingly built some stately churches and monasteries, which, together with the royal palace, greatly added to the magnificence of that kingdom. The viceroy of it hath 14 prefectures under him, and takes the title of viceroy of *Dembea Cantiba*; but on what account our authors do not tell us^r. The natural and artificial rarities belonging to it will be mentioned in the sequel under their proper head.

The kingdom of Narea described,

THE last kingdom worth taking notice of is that of *Narea*, or *Enarea*, which is the farthest and last of them all, being situate under the 9th, and part of the 8th degree of N. latitude, and under the 30th and 31st of W. longitude. It was formerly governed by its own monarchs,

^k See before, p. 169.

^l See Antient Hist. vol. i. p. 177, & seq. vii. p. 187, & seq.

^m TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

ⁿ Vid. TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^o LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^p CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

^q CORNEIL. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

^r Lib. ii. c. 11.

^s Vid. & CODIG. lib. i. c. 4.

^t LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^u TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^v TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^w LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^x CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

^y CORNEIL. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

^z Lib. ii. c. 11.

^{aa} Vid. & CODIG. lib. i. c. 4.

^{ab} LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^{ac} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{ad} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{ae} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{af} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

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^{ak} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{al} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{am} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{an} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

^{ao} CORNEIL. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

^{ap} Lib. ii. c. 11.

^{aq} Vid. & CODIG. lib. i. c. 4.

^{ar} LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^{as} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{at} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{au} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{av} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

^{aw} CORNEIL. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

^{ax} Lib. ii. c. 11.

^{ay} Vid. & CODIG. lib. i. c. 4.

^{az} LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^{ba} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{bb} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{bc} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{bd} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

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^{bj} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{bk} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{bl} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

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^{bp} LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^{bq} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{br} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{bs} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{bt} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

^{bu} CORNEIL. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

^{bv} Lib. ii. c. 11.

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^{bx} LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^{by} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{bz} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{ca} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{cb} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

^{cc} CORNEIL. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

^{cd} Lib. ii. c. 11.

^{ce} Vid. & CODIG. lib. i. c. 4.

^{cf} LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^{cg} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{ch} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{ci} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{cj} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

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^{cp} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{cq} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{cr} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

^{cs} CORNEIL. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

^{ct} Lib. ii. c. 11.

^{cu} Vid. & CODIG. lib. i. c. 4.

^{cv} LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^{cw} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{cx} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{cy} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{cz} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

^{da} CORNEIL. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

^{db} Lib. ii. c. 11.

^{dc} Vid. & CODIG. lib. i. c. 4.

^{dd} LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^{de} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{df} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{dg} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{dh} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

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^{dn} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{do} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{dp} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

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^{dv} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{dw} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{dx} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

^{dy} CORNEIL. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

^{dz} Lib. ii. c. 11.

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^{ec} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{ed} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{ee} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{ef} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

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^{ej} LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^{ek} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{el} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{em} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{en} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

^{eo} CORNEIL. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

^{ep} Lib. ii. c. 11.

^{eq} Vid. & CODIG. lib. i. c. 4.

^{er} LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^{es} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{et} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{eu} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{ev} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

^{ew} CORNEIL. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

^{ex} Lib. ii. c. 11.

^{ey} Vid. & CODIG. lib. i. c. 4.

^{ez} LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^{fa} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{fb} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{fc} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{fd} CODIG. l. i. c. 4.

^{fe} CORNEIL. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

^{ff} Lib. ii. c. 11.

^{fg} Vid. & CODIG. lib. i. c. 4.

^{fh} LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^{fi} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

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^{fi} LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.

^{fi} TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

^{fi} TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^{fi} LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19.

^{fi</}

a who, as well as their subjects, were heathens; but, being since conquered by the emperor *Sagbed*, or *Segued*, somewhat above a century ago, as will be seen in the sequel, ^{conquered and converted.} were obliged to embrace Christianity, with all the errors of the *Abissinian* church; for, till then, no Jesuit or missionary had penetrated into their territories. But there is still a considerable part of it unsubdued, and perhaps unconverted; for that which is so, extends hardly above 30 or 40 leagues on either way. However, the whole kingdom is reckoned ^{Rich and fertile: rich trade with the Caffres.} rich and fertile, producing great plenty and vast quantities of cattle, and driving a very considerable commerce with the *Caffres*, who bring thither abundance of gold, which they exchange for clothes, salt, and other commodities.

b THE *Nareans* are, even by the *Abissinians* themselves, allowed to be the best and handsomest people in all *Ethiopia*. They are tall, stout, and well-shaped; and, in their dealings, honest, wise, faithful, and undisguised. They are also brave and warlike, and have always gallantly defended their country against the incursions of the wild and barbarous *Gallas*, though these have proved strong and numerous enough to subdue above half the *Abissinian* empire. The tribute they pay to the *Abissinian* emperor seems rather to proceed from their loyalty, than any force or obligation; as, on the one hand, they receive no assistance from him against those common invaders; neither, on the other, doth he keep any standing forces, garrisons, or fortresses, to maintain them in awe: and, should he moreover have occasion to do so at any time, he would find it a very difficult task, being seldom known to have any to spare, on account of the frequent revolts which happen in the heart of the empire; and, if he had, they must be obliged to pass through some of the territories of those barbarians. This kingdom is said by some authors to have mines of gold; but that probably is owing to the great quantity of that metal which the neighbouring *Caffres* bring into it; which they would hardly do, if the *Nareans* had any such rich mines of it; ^{Gold mines, why concealed.} unless we will suppose, as is most likely the case, that they, as well as those of other kingdoms of this empire, designedly conceal, and forbear seeking for them, lest the fame of them should move the *Turks*, or the plundering *Gallas*, to invade them, as they have frequently endeavoured to do, and deprive them at once of their liberty, and of the most valuable product of their country. Thus much shall suffice for the most considerable kingdoms that are still subject to the *Abissinian* emperors.

d THE provinces that continue to obey them are still in a worse case than those kingdoms, being not only heavily taxed by those princes, and cruelly oppressed by their governors, but likewise very much ruined by the *Gallas*; as are several of those other kingdoms who have revolted from their obedience, or been subdued by some neighbouring states, such as the *Turk*, the king of *Adel*, and others at war with the *Abissinian* monarchs; in all which there is little else to be seen but poverty and misery among the subjects, and griping avarice among those that govern them, as may be seen in almost every page of the Jesuits travels through those countries. But as we have had so frequent occasion to mention those *Gallas*, *Galli*, ^{The Gallas, who, and whence.} or *Balli*, as they are stiled, who have made such dreadful havock here, it will not be improper, before we go farther, to give our readers some account of those plundering barbarians, especially as they have got possession of so considerable a share of this empire, and have now in some sense acquired a large part, if not by far the largest part of it. For the better understanding of which, we must here take notice, that they are divided into eastern, southern, and western, according to their situation with respect to *Abissinia*. The eastern are seated along the frontiers of the kingdom of *Tigre* and *Dancali*, and have seized the greatest part of this last, together with those of *Angot*, *Dowaro*, *Olfale*, *Xoa*, &c. ^{Their conquests and settlements.} The southern extend themselves along the river *Hoax*, or, as Mr. *Ludolph* calls it, *Howas*, from the frontiers of the kingdom of *Adel* westward, and have made themselves masters of the greatest part of the kingdoms of *Gomar*, *Bergumo*, *Guragea*, *Cambate*, *Ganza*, *Ceuta*, *Damota* or *Dumut*, &c. The western spread themselves all along the river *Maleg*, where they possess those of *Bizamo*, part of *Xoa* or *Shewa*, *Gaffat*, *Gonga*, and some part of that of *Gojam* on the west; but how far up northwards, towards *Nicoia*, we are not told. Thus far had these wild people not only dismembered this great empire of a considerable number of its provinces, but likewise hedged it closely in on three sides in the time of the *Portuguese* first coming thither; and how far they have encroached into it after their expulsion, from which time those emperors became still weaker, and less able to suppress their inroads, for want of a sufficient number of forces, artillery, and garrisons to guard their frontiers, we can only guess from the distracted state of the empire at that time, both from the foreign wars and domestic broils that then raged on account of religion, and the partial preference which had been shewn to the *Romish*, against the national church, by the then reigning

^a See Abbot GREGORY ap. Ludolph, l. i. c. 3. §. 12. Vid. & TELLEZ, LOBO, & al. sup. citat. ALMEYDA, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat. ^b Vid. int. al. ALPHONSO, MENDEZ, LOBO, & al. LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 16. TELLEZ, LOBO, DAVITY. DAPPER, & al. sup. citat.

emperor *Basilides*; for it is not to be supposed that that fierce invading nation would let slip a any such opportunity of penetrating still farther into his dominions, when they saw him so powerfully beset from within and without (G).

Their original. THEIR origin is variously conjectured; the generality of the learned think them descended from the *Jews*; but whether from those whom *Shalmanezzer* king of *Assyria*, or *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, transplanted from *Palestine*, or from those whom *Titus Vespasian*, *Adrian*, or *Severus*, expelled from thence, and settled in some of these parts of *Ethiopia*, they are not agreed. It is plain, however, that, 'bating the single ceremony which they retain amongst them, in common with the *Jews*, *Arabs*, *Abissinians*, &c. there is so little affinity in their religion, customs, manners, language, or even in their name (H), that we cannot but wonder how that notion came into their minds upon the evidence of one single b rite so common among most of the nations in these parts. Were we to be allowed to offer our conjecture about it from their name (and no more than a bare conjecture can be offered in this case), we should be more willing to allow both them and it to be of *Celtic* or *Gallie* extraction; that name signifying in that language, as we have formerly shewn *, stout or warlike, an epithet which the antient *Celtes* and *Galli*, or *Gauls*, took much pride in, and have made themselves famous by, not only in *Europe*, but in *Africa*, where they erected a powerful kingdom, and held it some centuries, with a bravery answerable to it, till, being at length driven from it by the *Romans*, they might go in search of new habitations farther towards these mountainous parts, as was customary for them to do, rather than submit to a foreign yoke, as the reader may see by what hath been said of them in the ancient c history z.

How they came to adopt the right of circumcision. THE only difficulty will be, how to account for their adopting, afterwards, the rite of circumcision, to which they seem to have been utter strangers, in all their other migrations and settlements; for in all other respects, we shall shew them to bear a greater resemblance to one another, than to any other nation we know of. But here may we not reasonably suppose, that upon their coming to settle in these parts, after their expulsion from their *African* conquests, at which time the *Abissinian* empire was both more extensive and flourishing, they might be prevailed upon to admit of this ceremony among them, which they saw was practised, not only in all dominions, but by all the neighbouring nations, far and near, either to ingratiate themselves the more effectually with them, or, which perhaps d is more likely, in order to get leave to settle amongst them; especially as we have formerly shewn, that this custom hath been received and constantly practised by several nations, who yet used it not in a religious or political, but in a physical sense; that is, to preserve health and cleanliness in those parts, to help procreation and fecundity a; and, accordingly we are told, at their first coming into these parts, they were neither Christians, *Mohammedans*, nor Heathens, having neither temples nor idols, nor hardly any knowledge of God. But that since they have been intermixed with the subjects of the empire, who are Christians, and

* See Ant. Hist. vol. ii. p. 242, & seq. & notes. See also their hist. in vol. vii. z Anc Hist. vol. ii. p. 251. vi. p. 526. vii. p. 242, & alib. pass. a See Ancient Hist. vol. i. p. 427, (R), vol vii. p. 201, (D).

(G) This strange invasion and devastation, we are told by the missionaries, had been in some measure foretold by their too zealous and strenuous patriarch *John Bermudes*, the same who came into *Abissinia* with the famed *Christopher de Gama*, and who, being banished on that account by the emperor *Claudius*, or, as he is otherwise called, *Amal Segued*, solemnly told that prince, upon his departure, that the empire would be shortly ravaged by swarms of black pismires, as a punishment for his obstinacy and treachery. Soon after which he saw all his dominions invaded by *Turks*, *Moors*, and *Gallas*, some attacking him on the south, others on the north, and especially on the east, where they stripped him of all his sea-ports on the coasts of the *Red Sea*; whilst the *Gallas*, who had attacked him on the south, gave him a fatal overthrow, in which he lost his life, as will be more fully shewn in the sequel (9).

(H) There is one etymon of their name insisted on in favour of this far fetched original, which would be scarcely worth mentioning, but for its palpable absurdity; viz. that the word *Galla*, or *Calla*, signifying

milk in the *Hebrew*, they were so denominated from the whiteness of their complexion †; as who should say, milk-whites; but, besides that the milky whiteness is no where known to be the common complexion of the *Jews* almost in any country, much less in this hot one, it is plain to the merest novice in their tongue, that *חלב* *cheleb*, and *חלבה*, and not *Galla*, or *Calla*, signifies milk.

It must not be supposed, however, from this forced etymon, that they are really of a white complexion; for they are not only of as deep a tawny or black as any *African*, but look upon a white man with a kind of wonder and dislike *; nevertheless they may easily be supposed to have been white at their first coming into *Afric*, though they in time degenerated into downright tawny-moors; for such certainly were the *Vandals*, and other northern nations that came hither from *Europe*, and who might probably be deemed to be denominated *Gallai*, from their complexion, tho' that was the general name of their whole nation ‡.

(9) See Lobo ap. Le Grand. Relat. ubi supra, pag. 66, & seq. & alib. † Jesuits Travels, lib. i. c. 12. * Lobo ap. Le Grand, p. 22. ‡ See Ant. Hist. vol. ii. p. 242. (B). vii. p. 241, & seq. 532, & alib. pass.

- a those of the kingdoms of *Adel* and *Adea*, who are *Mohammedans*, they have adopted circumcision, rather as a custom of the country (I), than as a religious rite *.

THIS seems still farther confirmed, by the account which the missionary fathers give us *Their origin,* of their origin, upon the testimony of the *Abissinians*, and Mr. *Ludolph*, upon that of his *according to* abbot; the former believing, that they were some of the old inhabitants of the eastern coasts *the Abissinians.* of *Afric*, that is, those of the *Red Sea*, from which they gradually spread themselves still nearer to the *Abissinian* frontiers; the latter affirming them to have been a band of discontented slaves, who, like all other banditti and free-booters, having gathered themselves into

- b was then engaged in against the king of *Adel*, first invaded his frontiers, and, by degrees, made themselves masters of the great number of out-provinces which we have lately mentioned; which account, when divested of that usual hatred and resentment which the *Abissinians* must naturally be supposed to have conceived against them, in consequence of that *Why most probably disguised.* invasion, and the horrid ravages and cruelties that accompanied it every where, may probably amount to no more than this, that they came thither a tribe of exiles, that had been driven out of their old habitations, and, having been permitted to settle on the out-skirts of the empire, under the protection of its monarchs, took every opportunity that offered to them, not only to shake off their allegiance, but to seize on as many of his dominions as they found incapable to defend themselves against them, and to form themselves into independent states
- c in those new conquests (K).

Now it would be difficult to shew, that this was ever the practice of the exiled *Jews* any- *Their manners* where; but that it was that of those northern *Galli*, or *Gauls*, that over-ran so many king- *and customs* doms and provinces, in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Afric*, is beyond all dispute; and that it was a *much like those* constant maxim among them, which they publicly owned and gloried in, that the longest *of the ancient* sword, or strongest arm, gave the justest title, we have formerly shewn ^b; neither did they ever lose sight of it in their practice, except when their power was unequal to it, we have almost as many instances as there are paragraphs in their history.

- d BUT these are not the only instances in which these *Gallas* resemble the ancient ones; one may find almost the same conformity run through their religion, government, martial discipline, manners, and customs, of which the reader may be an easy judge, by comparing the account we are going to give of the one, with what we have already said in the ancient history of the other ^c, only with this difference, which we hint here as a necessary caveat; *viz.* that as these of *Abissinia*, since their first arrival into this part of *Africa*, have hardly *But much de-* had any conversation, except with nations much more barbarous than themselves; such as the *generated by* *Caffres*, *Agas*, *Gafates*, &c. it must not be wondered, if they are found, in some instances, *conversing* degenerated from the nobleness, politeness, and martial valour, of those ancient ones; tho' *with the an-* even in this respect, we may safely take a second caution with us, *viz.* that our account of *cient Agas;* *&c.* them, coming to us through the hands of the *Abissinians*, whose settlements they so forcibly and unjustly invaded, it is scarcely to be supposed that they should have done them strict justice in it, but rather, that they have either concealed or disfigured their virtues and good

* TELLEZ Travels of the Jesuits, l. i. c. 12.
alib. pass.

^c Vid. int. al. vol. ii. & vii. pass.

^b See Anc. Hist. vol. ii. p. 252, & seq. vii. p. 370, &

(I) And we may farther add what father *Lobo* tells us *, who conversed some time among them, that it is not the children who are circumcised, but the men, and that not till they are past bearing of arms; which may be sooner among them than with us, because their young men are commonly their soldiery, who are allowed to live as it were at random; but after they have quitted that life, they are circumcised, live with their wives, and take care of their children, which till then were left loose to the wide world.

(K) It is not easy to guess at the time of their first settling in these *Ethiopic* dominions; but that of their first shewing themselves in the hostile manner above-mentioned, is supposed to have been about the year 1537, under the reign of the emperor *David*, otherwise siled *Onag-Segued*, of whom we shall speak more fully in the sequel; about which time, the moor *Granbe*, king of *Adel*, had waged a successful war against him,

and subdued several provinces on that side; for that gave the *Gallas*, or *Balli*, such an encouragement to attack him on theirs, if they were not privately in league with, and instigated to it by, that king, that they entered his dominions with a numerous host, put all to fire and sword, and made themselves masters of a large territory on that side also (10).

Father *Lobo* reckons no less than six nations of them, that he must have passed through in his way to *Abissinia* by land, whom he found so fierce and uncivilized, that it quite discouraged him from pursuing his journey, through such vast desert and arduous tracts of ground as they occupied on that side, and made him try a new and more expeditious way, if any could be found, to reach the *Abissinian* court (11). By this one may guess how far the rest of them may have spread themselves on the two other sides of the empire, where they met still with less opposition than on this.

* Relat. de l'Abissinie, p. 22.

(11) Lobo 2d Voyag. ap. Le-Grand, p. 25.

(11) Tellez, Lobo, Almeyda, Ludolph, Davity, Dapper, & al. sup. citat.

qualities, if any they observed in them, and exposed their vicious ones in the most disadvantageous light. a

Their religion. WITH regard to religion, they are allowed to acknowledge a supreme governor of all sub-lunary things, whom they call *l'Oul*; but whether they mean by it the heavens, or the sun, or the Creator of them both, we are not told; but it is only said in general, that they pay no outward worship; and that in this, as well as other parts of religion, they appear to be b

Cruel customs. very ill instructed and ignorant^d. They are also given to very strange superstitions, and have some barbarous customs amongst them; in some of which, if they are not belied, they c

Cruelty to their children. seem to out-do even the wild beasts, particularly in their unnatural neglect of their own children, and, instead of breeding them up, and providing for them, as even the most barbarous nations are wont to do, during their tender years, leave them to wander at random, like little savages; by which means they contract, with their robust hardiness, a natural ferocity, which being afterwards improved, by their being so early initiated into the martial trade, they become not only stout and intrepid, but to a great degree brutal and cruel. They are taught the use of the sword, and that it is an honour and happiness to live by it, as giving the best title to every thing they possess, and being the most effectual means of preserving it: they are brought up to a desire of glory and conquest, and to despise slavery and death. Their youth are not allowed to cut their hair, the doing of which dubs them d

Their way of gaining esteem. men, till they have killed an enemy, or some wild beast, such as a lion, tyger, leopard, &c. after which they are permitted to poll their heads, leaving only a lock on the top, as the *Japanese*, and other *Indian* nations do; and this inspires them with an uncommon ambition e

Bloody trophies. to signalize themselves by their bravery, as the most effectual means of raising themselves into esteem, and obtain the more honourable seats at their councils, festivals, &c. for the greater number of these actions a man hath performed, the higher he is raised. For this reason, they take care to save all the heads of those enemies they have killed, as trophies of the greatest value; and whenever any contest, or doubt, arises about them, as when there is no beard upon them, and may be supposed to belong to a female, they have a law, which obliges the person to produce a more decisive part along with it, else they are not admitted. To prevent, therefore, all disputes, they are obliged to lay those trophies, that are gained in battle, before their proper officers, at the head of their tribes, as soon as the engagement is over: there they are publicly viewed and examined, and, if approved, are entered into f

Way of fighting. the common register; after which, the owner hath liberty to carry them to his own tent, together with his share of the spoil or plunder, which is adjudged to him according to the share he hath had in the victory: by this method, all collusion and deceit is prevented, or else discovered and punished, it being every man's concern to discourage and detect all such false pretences to merit, as well as that of their commanding officers, to inflict an adequate punishment on the delinquents.

Way of fighting. THEY are no less severe in detecting and punishing their cowards and runaways. It is even a capital crime among them to give way after the onset is begun; so that they all fight either to conquer or die, neither giving, nor asking, quarter, and fall on with such vehement fury on the foe, that there is no possibility of making head against them^e; and this is the reason they have gained so many signal victories over the *Abissinians*, though much superior in number and strength, and provided with better horses and arms than they. e

and making inroads. Whenever, therefore, the *Gallas* make any of their excursions into the territory of an enemy, instead of trusting to numbers, as the *Abissinians* and other *Africans* do, they commonly chuse a select number of determined youths, to the amount of 8,000, or 10,000 at the most, who, being all sworn to stand by one another to the last, fall on, and fight with such desperate intrepidity, as seldom fails of putting an enemy of twice or three times the number into a speedy disorder: and of this the great emperor Sultan *Segued*, who had often experienced their valour, to his own cost, was so sensible, that he was wont to say, "That the *Ethiopians* never could stand the first shock of the *Gallas*; for which reason he always suffered them to penetrate a good way into the country, that they might have time to f

"plunder and cool; and at their return, when they had loaded themselves with booty, and were thinking only how to convey it home, and enjoy the prize, and their first fury much abated, he then laid in wait for them in the way, and called them to account for what they had got; by which means, he not only recovered the booty, but sacrificed their lives to his resentment^f."

Mean cavalry. THE *Gallas*, heretofore, had no cavalry among them, but have learned, since their coming into *Ethiopia*, to fight on horseback as well as on foot. Their horses, indeed, are mean, in comparison of those of the *Abissinians*; but yet they keep their ranks so close, and

^d LOBO, & al. ap. LE GRAND, ub. sup. p. 66.
Jesuits letters, c. xii. lib. i.

^e LUDOLPH, & al. ub. sup.

^f Id. ibid. vid.

a engage in such good order, that an enemy seldom can stand the shock. The saddles they use are very light, plain, and easily made, and their stirrups thin and small, because they put not their feet, but only the great toe, in it; all which they have learned of the *Abissinians*, who all ride, the emperor not excepted, barefoot. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, and the dart, when they fight at a distance; at all which they are very expert, and the sword among those of high rank, and the club and pole, with one end hardened in the fire, when they come to close engagement: they likewise have the use of shields, which are commonly made of strong bull's or buffalo's hide. *Way of riding. Weapons.*

THEIR government shews itself no less of *Gallic* extract than their martial discipline. They have no kings, but are divided into a great variety of tribes, (some make them amount to above sixty) each of which chuses a chief, or general commander, whom they call *luva*, *lowa*, or *lubo*^b, from among themselves, every eight years, or oftener, if one dies before that time, and him they obey as their prince or sovereign. The first thing which those *luvas* do, after they are chosen, is to signalize themselves by some plundering inroad into the empire, at the head of a select flying army, killing and ravaging where-ever they come, sparing neither quality, age, sex, or place, in order to gain to themselves and soldiers a stock of wealth and fame; so that it seems as if this unfortunate empire was their granary and magazine, where they go for a supply of all their wants. At his return from this first irruption, which they stile *dela gritto*, or general muster, because it is out of that that he picks up his select flying camp, his authority is confirmed, which reaches only to military affairs, that is, to convene the great council at proper seasons, where all civil matters are finally decided, peace or war resolved; and if the latter, he commands in chief, and distributes to the respective officers under him their several posts and commands; and in the like manner when the war or expedition is over, assigns to each man their proper honours and rewards, according to their merit and behaviour: but if any discontent, or matter of complaint, arises, the national council hath then alone the power to confirm, alter, or abrogate his former sentence or decree; but whether to depose them for male-administration, we are not told; though that is most likely to be the case, among such a fierce and warlike people^c. To give our *English* readers some idea of the wretched state, and mock grandeur, of these octennial monarchs, we shall oblige them with the description which father *Lobo* gives us of one of them, and his court, and of the reception and treatment he met with there; but which, to give it no better place than it deserves, we shall subjoin in the following note (L); neither did we find the subjects much better bred; for having had the complaisance to tear a white handkerchief into a good number of slips, and divided it among them to satisfy their avidity after it, they became so greedy and troublesome for more, and gathered in such tumultuous troops about him, that, to avoid their fury at his refusal, he was forced to barricade himself, and his four *Portuguese* companions, in his hut, and to fire a gun over their heads; the noise of which laid them all flat on the ground, and soon frightened them into a deep submission^d. They are nevertheless so proud, with their excessive poverty, that they neither till, sow, or plant, or gather any thing that the land produces, except, perhaps, when they snatch a cudd out of a cow's mouth to put it into their own; that being reckoned a most delicious morsel among them; so that all their spacious plains and vales only serve to afford their cattle such food as the earth naturally brings forth. They look after their cattle, drink their milk, and eat their raw flesh, which is all their food, except, perhaps, human flesh, which we are told they likewise eat^e; so easily are their hunger and thirst satisfied. They have not the use of bread, nor of any succedaneum to it; but when they find any in the

^a See Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 366, & seq.

^b TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al.

^c LOBO, ub. sup. p. 23. TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al. ub. sup.

^d LOBO ub. sup. Voy. 2. p. 22, & seq.

^e LOBO ub. sup. p. 19.

(L) Being obliged, says the good father, to pay my respects to the *lubo*, or king, in order to discover a new way into *Ethiopia*, I found him with all his wives and flocks about him; the place where he received me being a hut, thatched with straw, but somewhat larger than those of his subjects. His manner of giving audience to strangers is somewhat singular: he appears seated in the midst, with all his courtiers about him, sitting against the wall, each with a goad, or staff, or club, in his hand, longer or shorter according to his rank; the longer, the more dignified. As soon as the stranger enters the place, all those courtiers fall foul upon him, and bastonade him, till he has regained the door, and got hold of it with his hand; upon which they return to their seats, and he is

complimented, as if nothing like it had been done to him. I myself, says he, did not fare one jot better, notwithstanding the peaceable and friendly offices that had passed between us; and when I asked the meaning of so strange a ceremony, I was answered, that it was to make those that came among them sensible of the valour and bravery of their nation above all others, and how reasonable it is for them to behave submissively to it. And well might they think so, seeing they hardly know any other people, except those indigent wretches that cross over mountains and forests to traffick with them; yet, adds our author, they have such high esteem for the *Portuguese*, that they stile them the gods of the sea (12).

(12) Lobo, ap. Le Grand Relat. de l'Abissinie, Voy. 2. p. 23, & seq.

*Their reason
for it.*

*Strange way
of repelling
their enemies.*

*Good qualities.
Faithfulness.
Regard for
their oaths.*

*Zeal of some of
their converts.*

Abissinian countries, where they make their frequent inroads, they seize greedily on it, and eat it with a good appetite, yet will not this induce them to sow any corn in their own lands: and this reason they give for it, that the *Ethiopians*, and other enemies, may not be tempted to invade them, and reap the benefit of their labour; for it is their constant custom, whenever they find any neighbouring states to pour in their troops among them, to retire into some remote parts, with all their families and cattle; which last is all their wealth; the carrying away of which, is carrying away all: so that the enemy, finding nothing to subsist upon, during the several days march, and the long barren tracts they have still to go over, to come at them, they must of course be obliged either to go back, or perish; for neither the *Abissines*, nor any of their neighbours, have the forecast to make a sufficient provision of food and drink for such long journies; and, finding two such powerful enemies as hunger and thirst, in the way between them, are more effectually repulsed, than they could have been by all their weapons and brutish bravery. To this strange warlike policy it is, that they are able to secure their conquests against an enemy, in all other respects, superior to them; and to defend themselves, without striking a blow, against them; whilst their poverty, and the barrenness of their country, is as effectual a barrier against all invasions¹.

THE *Gallas* are not, however, without some good qualities; they are honest, and true to their promise, and are never known to violate an oath. Their ceremony of taking of them, is, by bringing a sheep to the place, and anointing it with butter; after which, the persons, or if it be taken in the name of a tribe or family, the heads of it, lay their hands upon its head, and solemnly protest, that they will religiously observe every part of their engagement. The explanation they give of this ceremony is, that the sheep is, in some sense, the mother of all that swear, and the butter is an emblem of the mutual love of the mother and her children; and, consequently, that a man ought never to violate an oath which he hath taken upon the head of his mother^m. They have given, likewise, some further marks of their fidelity and good disposition, both at the emperor's court, and in sundry noblemen's houses, where they had been bred up, and where they proved so tractable and docile, as not to be exceeded even by the *Abissinians* themselves. But that which crowns all, if not exaggerated, is, that some of them, who had been converted to Christianity by the *Romish* missionaries, proved as constant in maintaining it under tortures, as they had been ready to embrace it in wordsⁿ. To conclude this digression, if it be really one, concerning these invaders and destroyers of so many rich provinces of this once opulent and flourishing empire, and whom the good fathers last quoted believe were sent thither as a punishment for the heresy of its inhabitants, and their apostacy from the true Christian faith, and what they stile the true catholic church; we may observe, on the other hand, that Providence hath been no less kind and merciful to these provinces, that still continue under its monarchs, by fencing them with such prodigious lofty and rugged mountains, whose height renders them no less inaccessible to their cavalry, which is the main force of these invaders in all their expeditions, than their extreme coldness doth to their infantry: whilst, on the other side, their continual wars and feuds, one tribe and kingdom against another, as providentially prevents their uniting their whole strength against it, which if they had, they would long ago, in all probability, have made themselves masters of the whole^o.

¹ TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & al.
ALVAREZ, p. 60, & al.

^m LOBO, ub. sup. Voy. 2. p. 24.
^o TELLEZ Travels of the Jesuits, ub. sup.

ⁿ TELLEZ, ALMEYDA,

S E C T. III.

The climate, soil, product, animals wild and tame, vegetables, insects, &c. of Abissinia.

*Natural history
of Abissinia.*

Climate.

WE have already hinted, that this was one of the countries which the ancients deemed uninhabitable, on account of its being within the torrid zone, where, they imagined, not only men and animals, but even trees and vegetables, must be all burned up. This mistake hath been since sufficiently exploded; and this large empire is so irrefragable a proof of the contrary, that though it lies, as we shewed in the last section, between the 8th and 17th degrees of latitude, yet are we now well assured, that it is so far from being liable to any excessive heat, that it is, for the most part, as cool and temperate as *Portugal* and *Spain*; insomuch that, in many provinces, they are quite free from those scorching heats, which rage among more northern nations in the height of summer; or, to speak still more clearly, are more afraid of the cold than heat^a. This must, however, be understood only of some

^a TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LUDOLPH, PONCET, & al.

a of their vast mountains and high lands ; for, as to the low and flat, the vallies and sandy *Difference of*
 deserts, they cannot but be excessively, and at some times intolerably, hot. Another difference *winters.*
 of climate we must likewise suppose of course, in a country of such vast extent, not only as
 they draw nearer to the line, but, as they lie nearer or farther from the *Red-Sea* (A). How-
 ever, in the main, the country is very healthful and pleasant all the rest of the year, the people
 healthy and sprightly, enjoying a clear and serene sky, and commonly live to a good old age.
 They divide the year into four seasons, as we do, *viz.* the spring, called by them *Matzau*, on *Their four*
 account of its following the winter, and in which the fields are covered with verdure, and *seasons.*
 begin to be enamelled with variety of flowers ; it begins with them on the 25th of *September*.
 The summer, named by them *Fzadai*, begins in *December*, and is that in which they gather
 b their harvest. The third season begins in *March*, and is called by them *Hagain* ; but though *Winds.*
 it immediately follows the summer, yet can it not be properly called autumn, because it is not
 that on which they gather their fruits, as here in *Europe*, but rather the very hottest season of
 the whole year. And, therefore, with respect to *Abissinia*, the year might be more truly
 divided into three seasons, *viz.* the spring, which begins *September 25* ; summer, which
 may be divided into two parts, the milder of which, named *Fzadai*, begins on the 25th of
December, and the hottest, on the 25th of *March* ; and then follows the winter, which begins
 on the 25th of *June* ^b. This last chiefly consists in violent rains, which lay all the low-lands
 under water, and is thus described by the *Abissinian* abbot : *The winter, with us, doth not con-*
 c *sist in the mere rains which come down from the clouds ; for, besides them, the earth every-*
where opens her mouth, and throws out water ; which thing happens in the very houses which
chance to be built in low lands ; for which reason, we seldom build them but upon high ground ^{*}. *Violent storms.*
 As the sphere is almost direct here, so the days and nights are very near equal, and the twilight
 very short accordingly.

As the climates and seasons differ in this empire, so do the winds ; some, especially on
 their lofty mountains and high lands, being almost constantly refreshing and delightful ; others,
 on the low lands, where the air is less agitated are hot, troublesome, and unhealthy. At
 some seasons they are violent and stormy, particularly one, which they call *Sendo*, which, in *Whirlwinds.*
 the language of *Ambara*, signifies a serpent ; which blows with such fierceness and violence,
 that it pulls up trees by the roots, overturns houses and every thing, even sometimes the rocks,
 d which it meets in its way, and even whirls them up into the air. *Gregory*, the *Abissinian*
 abbot, affirms, that these whirlwinds may have been seen with the naked eye, the grosser part
 of them close to the earth, and the rest winding itself upwards like a serpent ^c ; but whether
 visible or not, it is certain they are felt in many, if not most other countries, and in as impe-
 tuous a manner, though not perhaps so frequently as here.

THE great difference of cold and heat between the high and low lands, is likewise *Thunder and*
 attended with terrible thunders and lightnings, which very often prove hurtful to men and *lightning.*
 beasts, and do great harm to the product of the earth ; for these are commonly attended with
 such prodigious rains, as seem to threaten a second deluge ; for at such times, they do not
 come down in drops, but in torrents, that seem to fill the lower atmosphere : by these, the *Excessive*
 e rivers swell with such prodigious swiftness, and to such a degree, that they quickly lay all the *rains.*
 low lands under water, and run with such violence, that they seem as if they would sweep
 all before them. Neither are they like our hasty showers, short and fierce, but last the best
 part of three whole months, and make what is called the winter-quarter among them ; during
 all which time, there is not a day in which it doth not rain, more or less, in the same plenti-
 ful manner : but commonly the mornings are clear, and enjoy such a fine sunshine, that
 where the waters have a free current, the ground appears as if it had received no rain at all ;
 but soon after mid-day, the clouds gather thick and fast ; and an hour or two after, a violent

^b LUDOLPH, lib. i. c. 5. DAVITY, DAPPER, TELLEZ, &c.
 LUDOLPH, ubi sup. l. i. c. 5. §. 43.

^{*} Ap. LUDOLPH, ubi sup.

^c Ap.

(A) Accordingly we find, that those ports which are
 contiguous to that sea, as from *Mazura* to *Dancali*, have
 their winter in *December* and *January*, much like what
 it is in *Portugal* ; and this mildness reaches about 12 or
 14 leagues up the inland, without any extreme cold, or
 excessive rains ; as if nature only dispensed the latter
 to moisten and refresh the earth, without incommoding
 its inhabitants ; whilst farther up the inland, they are
 troubled with very fierce and lasting rains, till you come
 to the high mountains of *Byzan*, two days journey short
 of *Dowaro*, where the winter begins about the middle of
June, and lasts till almost the end of *September*. And

thus, we are told by father *Emanuel d'Almeyda*, he found
 it to be, in all parts of the empire through which he
 travelled (1). So that according to these observations,
 the winter, through all the inland of *Ethiopia*, is in the
 same months as it is on the coasts of *India*, from *Diu* to
 cape *Comari* ; and on the coasts it is the same as in *Portu-*
gal : whereas it is the reverse on the opposite coasts of
Arabia, from the mouth of the *Red-Sea* to the islands of
Curia-Muria, where the winter is from *June* to *Septem-*
ber ; as on the coasts of *India*, and up the inland of
Arabia, it lasts from *November* to *February*, as in *Por-*
tugal (2).

(1) *Tellix Travels of the Jesuits*, lib. i. c. 7. *vid.* & Ludolph, Davity, Dapper, & al.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

Their inconveniency and danger.

storm arises, mixed with dreadful lightning and thunder, so that the whole atmosphere seems a to be turned into fire and water; during which time, those that cannot get under some good shelter, run great hazard of their lives from both; for the lightning is no less hurtful and destructive to men, cattle, trees, houses, &c. This storm commonly lasts three or four hours, more or less; after which the sun shines again on the sudden as clear as ever; and thus it continues to be during the whole winter season: for which reason, they seldom build their houses on low, but always as much as they can on high ground. There is another great inconvenience attending these violent and tedious rains, viz. that they make most of their rivers impassable, there being neither bridges nor boats among them to help them over, so that passengers are often confined some considerable time before they can pursue their journey: they have, indeed, in some provinces, a way to convey themselves over by the help of a rope, b which they throw across the river, and fasten to some tree, or post, on both sides. Some will venture over upon some rafters, or floats, fastened together, which is not done without great danger, and many of them lose their lives by it ^d.

Unwholesomeness.

BUT the greatest inconvenience which attends these great and continued rains, is, that they infect the air with a dangerous malignancy; for, falling upon a ground that hath lain dry and quite parched up near nine whole months, as soon as they begin to fall upon it, they naturally raise such vast quantities of unwholesome vapours, as seldom fail of producing some grievous distempers, from which even those that keep themselves altogether at home are seldom exempted ^c. Neither doth the danger end here; for the waters that are left in divers parts, begin, with the return of the spring, to corrupt and stink, and cause an infection c in the air, and fresh distempers in men and beasts; so that if it were not for these violent stormy winds, which begin to blow early in the spring, the air would be quickly stagnated, and a pestilential disease reign through the whole empire ^f.

Bad diseases caused by the stagnated waters.

The soil mostly fertile.

Wheat and other grain.

Harvest.

THE soil is various, according as the ground is higher or lower, stony, sandy, or flat; but, for the generality, where it can be tilled and well watered, it produces very large crops of wheat, barley, millet, and other grain; and would much more, if the people were more diligent than they commonly are in cultivating it. They have, indeed, two harvests, which in some measure supply their want of industry. Their trees are crowned with a constant verdure; and, if they labour under a scarcity of fruits, it is rather owing to their negligence, than to any fault of the soil, it being manifest it is capable of bearing as great a variety of d them as any country in *Afric*. The only kinds they cultivate here, are the black grape, peach, four pomgranate, sugar-canes, almonds, and some citrons, oranges, &c. ^e. Roots and herbs they likewise have, which, notwithstanding the heat of the country, grow naturally among them; and more they might have of other kinds, if they were not so idle and incurious about them.

Make no wine.

THEY do not so much as make wine of their grapes, though in all likelihood they would yield a very good kind; whether it be owing to their ignorance or indolence, or that they prefer those liquors which they draw from their sugar-canes and their honey, which is here very excellent, and in most prodigious quantities, and of many different sorts, as we shall observe in another place. They have a kind of fig, among other sorts, which they call e ensette, and the *Arabs*, mauz, which is not unlike the celebrated one that grows in *India* to a prodigious size, and is that which Mr. *Ludolph* hath endeavoured to prove the dudaim of *Moses*; which ours, and other versions, render mandrakes; of which we have taken notice already in our Ancient History ^b.

Grain most in use.

THE chief grain that is most in use in this country, as being in some measure natural to it, is a small one, which they call teff, and yields a good nourishment. It is thin and slender, and so small, that one of mustard will out-weigh eight or ten of it, and would make very good and palatable bread, were it but made in a more cleanly way than they generally know, or care to do. But this is not the only instance in which the *Abissinians* display their slovenliness, for they are so in every thing else, even to a very offensive degree. f

Cattle, how fed.

No hay made.

THEIR cattle fare much better; for though here is neither oats nor hay, yet they have plenty of barley, with which they feed their horses, camels, dromedaries, and other large beasts. Though their low lands produce very good grass, sufficient to nourish vast numbers of cattle; yet, as they do not make any hay of it, they are obliged to supply that defect with that, or some other sort of grain. One misfortune is, that notwithstanding their plentiful crops, they are often reduced to a kind of famine, either through the vast swarms of grasshoppers that infest them, or, which is still worse, by the frequent marches of their soldiery from one province to another; the former destroying only what they find growing upon the ground,

^d TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & al. ubi sup. sup. citat.

^e TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, &c.

^c LOBO, ubi sup. p. 80. PONCET, & al.

^f Id. & al. Vol. i. p. 441, (Y) vid. Hist. Ethiop. lib. i. c. 9.

a whereas the latter devour all that is laid up in their storehouses, the inhabitants being obliged to find them in provisions where-ever they pass ⁱ.

THEY have not only the same variety of medicinal and odoriferous plants, herbs, and roots, that are to be met with in *Europe*, and which here grow spontaneously, and without cultivation, but a great many more which are unknown to us, and are all excellent in their kind: amongst them, that which they call amadmagda, hath the specific virtue of recovering and healing dislocated or broken limbs, of drawing out splinters of broken bones that were left in the flesh. The affazoe hath the most singular virtue, not only against all poisons, but against all venomous creatures; insomuch, that the very touching them with it, stupefies and deprives them of sense; and what is still more surprising, if not exaggerated, the very shadow, or scent of it, drives away the most poisonous serpents, or so benumbs their limbs, that they may be handled, or killed, without danger. Those that eat of the root, we are told, acquire such special virtue from it, that they may handle, or wallow naked with, all sorts of serpents, without receiving any hurt ^k, which virtue they retain for some years (B). This extraordinary plant is so much the greater blessing in these parts, as, we are told, they have some kinds of serpents that kill by their breath, at three or four yards distance: they are short, and thick about the middle, and have a wide mouth, at which they suck in a great quantity of air at once, and then breathe it out in as great a quantity, and with such force, against the man or beast they intend to kill, that they seldom fail of effecting it ^l.

BESIDES the plants above-mentioned, the country produces great quantities of fenna; whole plains are seen covered with cardamom and ginger; the last of which hath a most agreeable scent, and is four times as large as that of *India*. Here is also plenty of cotton, which grows on shrubs, like the *Indian* ^m. Flowers are here, likewise, in vast quantities, and surprising variety; insomuch, that the banks of their rivers are adorned, the greatest part of the year, with jasmins, roses, lilies, jonquils, and a vast number of other kinds, which are unknown in *Europe*; and among these is the rose, which grows upon trees, and is much more odoriferous than any that grow upon shrubs.

THERE is scarce any country that produces greater quantities, or variety, of animals, both domestic and wild, than this of *Abissinia*: among the former, horses, mules, asses, camels, dromedaries, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, &c. are bred in vast numbers, they being the principal wealth of its inhabitants; and a stranger cannot but be delightfully surprised to see the vast herds of stately cows and oxen grazing in the fields, especially in the kingdoms of *Tigre*, *Gojam*, and some others of the empire; their fat oxen, in particular, are of so monstrous a size, that they have been mistaken, at a distance, for elephants; whence the notion came, that this country bred horned elephants. These horns are so large, as to contain above ten quarts of liquor, and are used by the people instead of pitchers, or wooden vessels, to carry water, wine, milk, or other liquids; and four of them full, are a load for an ordinary ox. But besides these large ones, that are fatted for slaughter, and have the milk of three or four cows given them every day, they have an ordinary sort, designed for labour and carriage, whose horns are so soft and flexible, that they hang down like a dead weight ⁿ. Neither doth it yield a less delightful prospect, to behold the sheep, goats, and other small cattle, browsing at a distance, and covering the adjacent mountains and steep rocks, where they feed upon such aromatic herbs, as give a particular flavour and taste to their milk and their flesh.

THEY have likewise here some of the finest breed of horses, of all colours and sizes, and as sprightly and mettlesome as those so much famed ones which are bred in *Andaluzia*, and other parts of *Spain*; and, when all broke and managed, will gallop, trot, pace, curvet, and wheel about, with as much docile agility, as the best of ours; but the choicest breed among them is the black, of which they have the greatest quantity (C); though there is no want of those of the roan, bay, grey, dapple, cream-coloured, pye-bald, and other colours;

ⁱ Id. ibid. ^k TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. PONCET, & al. ^l Vid. LOBO Relation, ubi sup. p. 116, & seq. ^m PONCET, p. 65. ⁿ DAPPER, TELLEZ, & LUDOLPH, ubi sup. l. i. c. 10. LOBO, ubi sup. p. 70, & al.

(B) This seems most likely to be the plant, which the *Psyllæ*, a people of *Africa*, mentioned by *Pliny* (3), and much famed for their skill in enchanting all sorts of serpents and venomous creatures, and being surprisingly familiar with them, made use of among them; but concealed the secret from the rest of the world.

For we are told by several of the jesuit missionaries, that they have seen much the same juggling tricks played by some *Abissinians*, and other *Africans*, in several places,

both in and out of *Abissinia*, with such dexterity, as make them much admired by the populace (4).

(C) Accordingly we are told by *Elmakin*, an *Arabic* historian, that *Cyriacus*, king of *Nubia*, who is also said to have reigned at that time over *Abissinia*, appeared in the field against the *Saracens*, with whom he was at war, at the head of 100,000 of his negroes, mounted on the like number of these black horses (5).

(3) *Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 2.* (4) *Vid. Ludolph, Tellez, Lobo, Poncet, & al. ibid. & Pliny. ubi sup. lib. xi.*
(5) *Vid. Dapper Abissin. & al. sup. citat.*

Way of riding. none of which are shod as ours are; they are commonly used for the war only, and must be led by the bridle over the mountains and defiles; but on the plains they are mounted, and run very swift. Their saddles are very light, but sure, like those of our managed horses, only rising a little higher both before and behind; their stirrup-leather is commonly long, but the stirrups are small, as they only clap their great toe into them.

Mules. INSTEAD of horses, for long marches, they make use of mules, which are commonly very gentle, sure-footed, and fit to go over craggy mountains; these they train up to an easy, yet quick pace, and are most commonly preferred to horses by the *Abissinians*, not only on that account, but much more out of regard to their own pedigree; for, as they boast themselves to be descended from the *Jews*, whose princes, and great ones, are recorded in scripture to have chiefly rode upon mules, so they count it an honour to do the same here, and to have their horses led by the bridle, till some martial engagement obliges them to mount.

Camels and dromedaries. THE last domestic animals worth naming, are, the camels and dromedaries, which are likewise bred up in great numbers, on account of their extreme usefulness for carriage, and long journies, through those hot and barren deserts: but as these differ little, either in shape or use, from those we have described in our general account of *Africa*, we shall refer our readers to what has been said there of them^a. There is one sort, however, of them in this country, which, though of the camel kind, yet is well worth our notice here; they call it *giratacacheme*, or *slender-end*, on account of its uncommon shape, it being much taller than the elephant, but as finely and slenderly made, as that is clumsy and unwieldy; insomuch, that a man on horseback may easily pass under its belly: the common height of its fore-legs is reckoned about twelve spans, or four yards; but that of the hinder somewhat shorter. The neck is proportionable, and long enough to reach to the ground, and graze, grass being its proper food, and the whole, in most respects, answerable to the description which the ancients give of the camelo-pardus.

Elephants all wild here: AMONG the animals of the wild kind, the elephant deserves our first notice, as they breed here in such prodigious numbers; and yet none of them were ever known to be brought up tame in the whole empire; for which reason, we may justly rank them among the wild kind, though they are of a different nature in several countries we have seen through the course of this history^b: however, they seem quite natural to this climate, or rather, a native nuisance to the country, by the dreadful havock they make among the corn, and other grain, of which they destroy ten times more with their large feet, than with their mouths, &c. They root up large trees, and break small ones, to feed on their leaves; by which, in time, they destroy whole forests, as they commonly go in large droves, from fifty to a hundred, or more. The food they affect most, is that of a tree, not unlike our cherries, but which is full of pith, like our alder, but of a delicious taste to them. Their size is so monstrous, that a man, mounted on a tall mule, cannot reach their back by some spans^c. As to their shape, extraordinary docility, and other particulars relating to them, they have been so amply described in some former volumes, that we shall not need add any thing to it^d. The next is the rhinoceros, a creature of a monstrous bulk and make, and a mortal enemy to the elephant: but this creature hath been likewise described already^e; and though most of the *Portuguese* writers affirm it to be a native of this empire, yet we do not meet with any that pretend to have seen it there; from which we may conclude, that they may be as scarce as the elephants are numerous in it.

Lions large and numerous. (D). Lions are here likewise in great numbers, and very destructive and dangerous: they have them of several sorts and sizes, and particularly those that are stiled of the kingly or royal breed: and as they do a great deal of mischief among the large cattle, the *Abissinians* are no less industrious and adventurous in destroying them, and will even encounter them with their lances, or with a dagger^f; for that noble animal, fierce as it is amongst other brutes, will not encounter a man, except he be assaulted by him, or greatly pinched with hunger. They are so large, that some which have been killed by the inhabitants have measured eight cubits in length, from neck to tail^g, particularly one in the kingdom of *Tigre*, near

^a TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, DAPPER, & al. ubi sup. ibid.

^b See before, vol. v. p. 681, & seq.

^c Idem

^d LOBO, ubi sup. p. 69. TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al.

^e See before, vol. ii. p. 545, & seq. iii.

p. 271, 713, & alib. pass.

^f See before, vol. v. p. 684, & seq.

^g See LOBO Voy. 2. p. 69. TEL-

LEZ, LUDOLPH, lib. i. c. 10.

^h Id. ibid.

(D) Some think that the fathers *Gaspar*, *Schot*, *Coyar-ruvias*, and others, have confounded this animal with the *Bada*, or *Abada*, mentioned by *F. Johan dos Santos*, which is about the size of a colt of two years, and hath two horns, differently placed, the one on the fore part of the head, which is about three or four spans long, and of a dark brown, or quite black hue, smooth, and sharp-

pointed, with a small rising on the top; the other on the back of the head, but shorter, and more slender than the other. We are told, that the bones of this animal, burnt to ashes, and mixed with water, make an excellent pulice against all kinds of tumours, draws the peccant matter out of the flesh, and heals the wound it makes in it (6).

a *Maegoga*, an. 1630, which was destroyed by a shepherd in the open field, with a throw of his dart: this fierce creature was coming down from the mountains, all covered with the blood of the many creatures it had gored and rent in pieces, when the shepherd seeing him at a good distance making towards him, took that interval to dig a great hole in the ground, and upon his approaching within reach of his weapon, he cast it at him with such force, that it pierced him through the shoulder: the monster, after many dreadful roars and leaps, fell luckily into the pit, where he was dispatched by the victorious countryman, not without many grievous wounds^w, as well as great danger and difficulty. We shall say nothing of their tigers, leopards, wolves, foxes, various kinds of apes, and other beasts of prey; which, though numerous, fierce, and mischievous, have nothing particular in this from those of other hot countries. Many of the *Portuguese* authors affirm the famed unicorn to have been seen in some parts of the empire, particularly in the kingdom of *Damot*, and territories of the *Agaus*, which are both woody countries; but add, that its flight from one wood to another is so swift, that they had not time enough to examine, much less to shoot at it, though they have ventured to give a description of it, which we shall not repeat here, but refer our readers to what hath been said of it, and its various kinds, in a former volume^x.

*Killed by the
Abissinians.*

THE wild mule, or, as some falsely call it, afs, and the *Abissinians* zebra, or zecora, is also a native of this empire; but having been already described in a^y former volume, we shall only say of it, that the *Gallas* are now possessed of the countries where it mostly breeds: it is, however, so much admired for its beautiful shape, colour, and stripes, that kings and emperors look upon one of them as a present fit for them; especially as they can, it seems, be easily tamed, though naturally wild: two thousand sequins have been given for one of them by an *Indian Moor*, in order to carry it to the great mogul^z. The wild afs hath been often confounded with the zecora, though it be different from it, as it hath horns and cloven hoofs, like the deer kind: it commonly hath a white strake, that comes down from its buttocks to its hams: its fur is harsh, and of an ash colour; its flesh tender, and good to eat. There is another much of the same kind, but with a dark-brown skin, very smooth; its legs are much shorter behind than before, and yet is much swifter of foot than a buck. We shall conclude this article of wild animals, with the description of a singular one, which we shall give in the author's own words. "This extraordinary animal," as he styles it, "is no bigger than one of our cats, and hath the face of a man, with a white beard, and its voice mournful; it always keeps upon a tree; and they assured me, that it is there brought forth, and there it dies. It is so very wild, that there is no possibility of taming it: when they have caught one of them, with a design to bring it up, all the care they can take of it, cannot prevent its pining itself to death. They shot one of them in my presence, which clung fast to the branch of the tree, twining its legs about it, and died some days after^a."

*The zecora, or
wild mule.*

Wild afs.

*An extraordinary
animal.*

AMONG the amphibious kind, the crocodile and hippopotamus, or sea-horse, are the largest, and the most destructive to man and beast. The *Nile* is, as it were, their nursery, from whence they make their excursions into the adjacent lands, and destroy all that come in their way: but, as they are likewise common in *Egypt*, where we have already given a description of the former, we shall refer our readers to it^b. The latter, or sea-horse, is twice as large as an ox, and hath a head near three times as big as that of a bull: its legs are short; the fore-feet, or hoofs, divided into five clefts, and the hinder into four: its skin is sleek, hard, and of a dark-brown; the jaws wide, and full of teeth, and from the under one come out four fangs, near two spans in length; two of them are sharp and strait, and the other two crooked, like the tusks of a wild boar: some describe him with the same number in his upper jaw, but without any foundation, unless these of *Ethiopia* differ, in that respect, from those of *Egypt*, and other countries^c. His head is the only part which hath any resemblance to that of a horse, having a white strake, which comes down between his nostrils, and a white star on the forehead: he spends the day commonly in the water, and the night on land, where he hath his pasture, and falls foul on all that comes in his way; and as he is very clumsy and large, destroys as much with his feet as he doth with his rapacious mouth; and, like the elephant lately mentioned, not only devours, but tramples all down, grass, corn, herbs, roots, *Turkey* wheat, and all that the poor inhabitants had sown for their subsistence: but what is still more terribly destructive, it stifles both man and beast that come under the reach of its claws, with its huge weight, and sucks only the blood out of their bodies, leaving the

*Crocodile and
hippopotamus.*

*The latter de-
scribed.*

*Its dreadful
jaws.*

*Terrible
havock.*

^w Jesuits Travels, l. i. c. 7.
Travels, l. i. c. 7. vid. & LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat.
Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 181, & seq.

^x See vol. v. b. xxi. c. 1.

^y See before, ibid.

^z PONCET voyage to Ethiop. p. 66.

^a See

^b Conf. LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 11. MAILLET, LOBO, & al.

Subject to the
gout.

White teeth.
More valuable
than ivory.

Skin proof
against wea-
pons.
Monstrous size,
and dreadful
voice.

The water-
lizard.

Fishes plenti-
ful.
The torpedo;
its strange
qualities.

Fowls and
birds.

Ostriches.

Ibis, or serpent-
eater.

rest to rot on the ground, or to become a prey to crocodiles, and other voracious creatures^d: a yet is it of so fearful a nature, that it flies at the sight of an armed man, and much more so at that of fire, or fire-arms: but is much more bold in the water, where he will attack boats and barges, and often overturns them; especially the females, when they come to have colts, at which time they part from all the rest, and keep solely to them, and attack all that come in their way: at other times they keep with the male; and it is as common to find one of them with many females, as with us to see a bull among many cows; yet so jealous are they, that one never sees two males together in one herd. They are often troubled with a kind of cramp, or gout, in their limbs; at which time they have no power to defend themselves, but lie flat upon the ground, with one of their fore-feet under their belly, and shew all the tokens of an acute pain. At such times as these it is that the inhabitants destroy them, b chiefly for their teeth, which are of a finer white, and retain it much longer, than any ivory: they likewise esteem their left hoofs, as a sovereign remedy against melancholy. Their skin, bones, fat, and almost every part of them, is turned to some advantage; which is an encouragement to the natives to hazard their lives in search of them. The misfortune is, that their hide, which is smooth, and near two inches thick, is proof against any of their weapons; so that there is but one small spot on its forehead at which it may be wounded. The hide of one of them, they say, is a sufficient load for three or four camels; and a man that stands upright in the belly of one of them, can hardly touch the back-bone with his hand. We do not find, however, that any *Nubians*, *Abissinians*, or people of any other nations, ever caught c one of them alive, or ever could discover any creature that is its mortal enemy, as the ichneumon, or water-cat^e, is to the crocodile, the sword-fish to the whale, or the ibis to the flying serpent^f; though that doth not prove that the Divine Providence hath left him without such a one, notwithstanding they have not been yet able to discover it: and thus much may suffice to give our reader an idea of that dreadful monster, whose very roaring is so loud and terrible, that it chills the blood of every creature that hears it^g.

To this we shall only add the water-lizard, called by the natives angueg, and by the *Italians* caudiverbera, from the vast strength and keenness of its tail, with which, they tell us, that creature, which is scarcely bigger, and more slender, than a cat, can cut a man's leg off at one blow: its skin is smooth, and without hair; its aspect foul and frightful; it feeds on grass when it gets out of the water; and Mr. *Ludolph's Gregory* gives it the shape and form d of a dragon, whatever he meant by that name^{*}.

HERE is likewise great plenty and variety of fish, both in their large lakes and rivers, of which we shall have occasion to speak in some following section: at present we shall just mention one, on account of its strange properties; we mean, the famed torpedo, or torpid fish, which is frequently caught in both of them, and is affirmed to be of so cold a nature, that it conveys an immediate chillness and numbness into the blood of every one who but barely touches it; insomuch, that the inhabitants make use of it to allay the excessive heat which they suffer under some of those burning fevers which are so very frequent in most parts of this empire; and this is done by the bare touch of the creature. Some think it might be as efficacious against the gout, though the experiment cannot but be somewhat dangerous: but e the *Abissinians* apply it in the cure of tertian and quartan agues; though the application causes such excruciating pains in all the limbs of the patient, that they are forced to tie him fast to a board all the time: they are even superstitious enough to think it an efficacious remedy to drive devils away^h. However, as to its strange chilling quality, several *Portuguese* fathers have confirmed it by their own experience; and add, that the pain that follows the touch is instantaneous, and almost intolerableⁱ.

WE should certainly tire our readers, were we to go through the vast variety of fowl, of all kinds, with which this country abounds, or even with those that are in some measure peculiar to it. Those that most deserve attention, among the latter, are the ostrich, the largest and most unwieldy of all the volatile kind, and which, though its feathers are not able to f raise it from the ground, yet by the strength of them, and the motion of its feet, can move with greater swiftness than the fleetest horse in his full speed. We have formerly given some account of this strange bird, and of the manner of catching it^k, as well as of the ibis, or bird which destroys those innumerable flying serpents, which annoy this country at some times of the year, and would soon reduce it to a wilderness, if the Divine Providence had not appointed that beneficial race to destroy them^l. This bird is more properly a native of

^d See LUDOLPH, lib. i. MAILLET descript. of Egypt, vol. ii p. 126, & al. mult. vol. i. p. 181.

^e Ibid. p. 182.

^f TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LUDOLPH, MAILLET, & al. plur.

^g LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 11. TELLEZ, DAPPER, & al. vid. & BOCHART, l. iv. c. 3.

^h LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 11.

ⁱ §. 13. & seq. TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, & al.

^j Id. ibid. vid. & codig. l. i. c. 11.

^k Anc. Hist.

vol. vii. p. 200.

^l Ibid. vol. i. p. 182. vid. LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 12. §. 8. & seq. & al. sup.

a *Egypt*, but is no less a benefactor to *Abissinia*, in clearing it from so destructive a plague; for which service he is called, in the *Ambaran* language, the serpent-eater.

THE pipi, so called from its constantly uttering those two syllables, hath an admirable instinct in directing huntsmen to their game, and will not leave them till they follow them to the place where it lies; but they must take care not to do so unless they are well armed; for it often leads them to some fierce wild beast, or monstrous creature, as it did once a friend of Mr. *Ludolph's*, and a native of *Tigre*, to a tree, to which hung a serpent of a prodigious size, which obliged him to run away back faster than he came^m. This extraordinary bird, it seems, chiefly lives upon the blood, or flesh, of those creatures that are thus killed by his direction. The abagun, or stately abbot, as that name imports, is in some measure peculiar to this country, it being found no-where but here and in *Peru*. It is only remarkable for its beauty, and for a kind of horn growing on its head, instead of a crest, which is short, round, and split at the upper end like a mitreⁿ. The feitan, favez, or the devil's horse, resembles a man armed with feathers, commonly walks with a majestic gravity, or runs with surprising swiftness; but when too closely pursued, expands his wings, and flies away. Its height is near that of a stork, but its shape more genteel and beautiful. That which they call the cardinal, from the beautiful redness of all its feathers, except those on its breast, which appear of the colour and smooth gloss of the finest black velvet, is another of the charming birds that are natives of this country: as is also that which they call the white nightingale, with a tail of the same colour, about two spans long, which, when it flies, looks like a white piece of paper fastened to its rump^o. Pipi, or hunter's guide.
Stately abagun.
The devil's horse.
Cardinal.
White nightingale.

WE should never have done, were we to go through all the great variety of the feathered kind, both wild and tame, with which this empire abounds, in common with ours, and other *European* countries, but which excel them, for the most part, either in beauty, goodness, largeness, &c. For we are told, for instance, that their partridges are as big as our capons^p, and that they have several kinds of them, as well as of pigeons, turtle-doves, and a great number of others. We shall therefore conclude this article with one species of them, which seems peculiar, as well as of singular use to it, viz. the maroc, or honey-bird, so called from its particular instinct in discovering the hidden treasure of the industrious bees, of which they have also a great variety; some of which are domestic, and kept in hives, others which lay up their honey in hollow trees, and a third sort which hide it in small holes and caverns in the ground, but which they take surprising care to cleanse for their use, and afterwards to stop them so close and so artfully, that it is next to impossible to find them out, though they mostly lie along the highways. This last, though of somewhat a darker colour than that of the hives, is not inferior to it in goodness; and it is this kind that the maroc discovers to the inhabitants, by an unusual noise and fluttering of its wings, which, when perceived by the passenger, he has nothing to do but follow him to the place, where the feathered guide takes up a more delicious note, and pursues it till his man hath taken possession of the hidden store; in the plundering of which he takes care to leave behind a small quantity to his songster, it being the chief food he lives upon. These last kind of bees are in the greatest plenty; and, we are told, their being deprived of the sting, which the others are provided with, by the wise Author of nature, is the reason of their thus laying it up safe under ground: its wax is much whiter, and fitter for chirurgical applications, as well as the honey is for physical compositions, and both a kind of unlaboured treasure to the inhabitants^q; on which account, as well as for the vast herds of cows they keep, and the plentiful quantity of milk they yield, this land may be said to have the second title to *Palestine*, of being stiled, A LAND FLOWING WITH MILK AND HONEY. Large partridge.
Maroc, or honey-bird.
Honey laid up under ground by one sort of bees.

To counterbalance these, and other blessings we have already mentioned, they are not without a proportionable variety of obnoxious animals, serpents, and insects, equally hurtful, besides those wild and dreadful beasts, lately described; among which, we may place in the first rank those devouring and frequent swarms of locusts, which, in one season, leave whole kingdoms and provinces desolate; and the dire effects of which destructive vermin are inimitably described by the prophet^r. *A fire devoureth before them, and behind them a flame consumeth: the land is before them as the garden of Eden, and behind them a desolate wilderness; yea, and nothing escapeth them, &c.* This country being extremely mountainous and rocky, is so much the more apt to breed them; and accordingly doth, in such vast multitudes, that they come like very thick clouds, which cover the whole surface of the earth, and even eclipse the light of the sun at noon-day. Their teeth are so sharp and hard, that they not only devour every blade of grass, root and branch, and the leaves of the trees and bushes, but also the wood of the small twigs, and even the bark of the largest trees, leaving

^m LUDOLPH, *ibid.* §. 12, & seq.
ub. sup.

ⁿ LOBO, *relat.* p. 71.
^q TELIEZ, ALMEYDA, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & al. plur.

^o Id. *ibid.*

^p Id. *ibid.* & al.

^r Joel. ii. 3, & seq.

Time of their
going off.

Depopulate
whole pro-
vinces.

on every thing they have touched a nasty burnt hue, as if it had passed through the fire, a which exactly answers the description above quoted out of the prophet; so that the sad effects of them are felt sometimes for two or three years after. They commonly range the whole season, shifting from place to place till about their *Michaelmas* tide, which they celebrate in the month of *November*; about which time a westerly wind begins to blow, which drives them all into the *Red Sea*. We need not trouble our readers with a fuller description of them, they having of late made such threatening approaches to these isles. Heaven grant they may never come nearer us! for if they did, we should soon be reduced to a worse plight than the *Ethiopians*, and other *African* nations, whom necessity hath taught to turn that destructive plague into a delightful nourishment (E). Notwithstanding which precautions, the devastations they make are so terrible and universal, that whole kingdoms and provinces become depopulated; and the inhabitants being obliged, by the famine which they commonly leave behind, to remove into others for subsistence, where they appear, at their arrival, more like ghosts than men, having nothing left but the bare skin upon their bones, and being scarcely able to crawl or speak. What is still more deplorable, is, that this famine is commonly attended with some pestilential distemper, no less destructive than those which, as we lately hinted, are caused by the stagnated waters, after their violent and continued winter rains.

THIS country hath likewise its full share of serpents, and variety of reptiles, insects, and other vermin, infesting either men or beasts, or the fruits of the earth: we have already mentioned some of their serpents, and other venomous creatures, as well as the salutiferous herbs with which Providence hath furnished them, by way of antidote and preservation against them; beyond which we cannot add any thing worth our readers attention, seeing they so nearly resemble those which we have had occasion to describe in other parts of the world, through the course of this history.

* LOBO, ubi sup. p. 81—86. TELIEZ, ALMEYDA, & al. vid. & LUDOLPH, lib. i. c. 13. pass. † Id. ibid.

(E) They have, it seems, found out several ways of destroying, and dressing them for food. As soon as they see them coming at a distance, the whole country rises up in arms against them: they knock them down with flat wooden or leather weapons, not unlike our butchers fly-flaps, but larger, and heavier in proportion; and as they fly in such thick swarms, the ground is soon covered with their carcases, which they sweep up in heaps, about three or four feet high: to some of these they set fire, which burns their legs and wings, and parboils the rest of their flesh, which is now become such a delicious

morsel with them, that after they have eaten their fill of them, they strew the rest with salt, and preserve it for future food. Others dry them only in the sun, and preserve them for use; and having pounded them in a mortar, make a kind of thick spoon-meat of them; which one of our authors, who tasted it, tells us, had an ill flavour and taste (7); owing, probably, to their having been kept too long; but the people, to palliate it, told him, that they only eat them out of devotion and respect to *St. John the Baptist*, who is recorded to have made them and wild honey his constant food (8).

(7) Lobo, relat. 2. p. 81 & 86. vid. & al. sup. citat.

(8) Matb. iii. 4.

S E C T. IV.

Of the several people and nations that inhabit the Abissinian empire; their complexion, features, genius, disposition, arts, trades, and occupations, dress, food, drink, and other customs.

The various
nations inha-
biting this
empire.

Jews anciently
settled here.

HAVING now gone through the several climates and soils of this country, and given d an account of its chief products, vegetable and animal, we come now naturally to describe the various people that inhabit it, whom, for distinction sake, we shall at present in general divide only into *Christians*, *Jews*, *Mohammedans*, and *Gentiles*, without entering into any particulars about their respective religions, which will be better seen in a subsequent section. By the *Christians*, we chiefly mean, not only those of the *Abissinian* church, who are the principal natives of the country, but those whom the *Roman* missionaries brought over to their own communion, and continue still in their adherence to it; of whom we are told, there are great numbers scattered about, notwithstanding the grievous persecutions that have been raised against them and their teachers^a. The *Jews* have been settled in this empire time immemorial, exclusive of those who are said to have come hither from *Palestine*, with *Meni-* c *leck*, the son whom the queen of *Sheba* had by *Solomon*, of whom we shall say more hereafter.

^a De his, vid. TELIEZ, ALMEYDA, ALVARES, CODIGN. LOBO, LUDOLPH, JARRIK, DAM DE GOEZ, LE GRAND, & al.

- a These looked upon themselves as natives of the empire, and were settled in *Dambea*, *Vegora*, and *Samen*, where they defended themselves a long series of ages, in some of the most strong and rocky parts of these kingdoms, till they were at length dislodged and driven from thence by the emperor *Susneus*, commonly called *Soltan Segued*. Of these ancient *Jews*, many embraced Christianity, from the earliest times of its being propagated in this empire, which lessened their number considerably: since which, the empire has been so streightened and mangled by the *Gallas*, vast numbers of them having been slain, and the rest so severely handled by that emperor, that many of them fled into other countries; others were obliged to embrace Christianity, and lived comfortably there, by their several trades; some by weaving, others by making darts, javelins, ploughs, and other iron instruments of husbandry and war, they being reckoned the best workmen in that branch in the whole empire; by which means their number is very much decreased to what they were even in the twelfth century^b; and those that remain, are forced, for the most part, to live in some of the most craggy and mountainous parts of the country. Neither hath their extreme indigence and misery been capable of making them forget or set aside their ancient distinction of caraites and talmudists, of which we have formerly given a full account^c, but retain it with as vehement zeal and inveteracy as ever (A).

Persecuted by Soltan Segued.

Embrace Christianity.

Exercise trades.

The others keep their old distinction.

- NEXT to the *Jews* are the *Mohammedans*, who are in some measure dispersed through the whole empire, in such numbers, that they are reckoned to make up near one-third part of the inhabitants of the *Abissinian* empire, yet live friendly and quietly with the Christians, with whom they are every-where intermixed. Many of these give themselves up to agriculture and farming; but those that make the greatest figure, and get the most riches, are the factors: for since the *Turks* have deprived the *Abissinians* of their sea-ports on the *Red Sea*, they allow not any of the Christians to resort thither for commerce, so that they have engrossed it wholly into their own hands; and whatever gold and other commodities are exported, must be conveyed thither by the *Mohammedans*, who there exchange them for silks, stuffs, and other merchandizes, which they sell to them at a very high price; and as they are not over-conscientious, making the greatest gain of this traffick with the Christians, they quickly grow immoderately rich, and get vast estates by this factorship, to the impoverishing of the Christians^d. How *Mohammedism* was first introduced into this empire, will be seen in a more proper place; and we have had frequent occasion, through the course of this work, to observe how very much that religion, if it deserves that name, is apt to inspire its professors with a more than ordinary contempt for all others, and to behave with singular haughtiness and tyranny towards all other nations, where-ever they gain the upper hand^e; and though the frequent attempts of the *Turkish* Soltans, to make themselves masters of this large and noble country, have hitherto proved, in a great measure, abortive, yet it is much to be feared, that their stripping it of all its sea-ports and commerce, seizing on so many of its frontier provinces, joined to their having introduced their religion not only into most of the neighbouring kingdoms, but even into every part of this empire, will some time or other furnish them with the unhappy means of enslaving it, especially as the ignorance and indolence of the *Abissinian* clergy, and their subjection to the patriarch of *Alexandria*, who is a subject, and too often a creature, to the Porte, and sends such delegates among them as are the most unfit to rule over that sinking church, doth so largely contribute to the still farther propagation of *Mohammedism*.

Mohammedans very numerous.

Engross the whole commerce and riches of the empire.

The danger of its being at length subdued by the Turks.

Gentiles inhabiting part of this empire.

THE Gentiles, which inhabit several considerable parts of this empire, are chiefly the *Gallas*, of whom we have already given an account; some tribes of whom the emperor having suffered to settle in his dominions, in order to make use of them against those of the same nations who have seized on so large a part of them, are ever at war with him; and the *Agaus*, who are settled in the kingdoms of *Bagameder* and *Gojam*; in the former of which

^b Id. ibid. vid. & BEN. DETUDELA Itinerar.

^d TELLEZ, ALVAREZ, LUDOLPH, & al. sup cit.

^c See Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 597, & seq. iv. p. 174, & seq.

^e See before, vol. i. p. 17, & seq. 97, & seq. & alib. pass.

(A) There is still a third sort of them, we are told, who inhabit some parts of the *Abissinian* frontiers, between them and the *Caffres*, who dwell along the *Nile*; these own no dependence on the emperors, but are a kind of republic of themselves, and are supposed to be descended either from those whom the kings of *Affyria* and *Babylon* (1) carried away captive, or from those who dispersed themselves over the world, or were sold by *Titus Vespasian* after the destruction of *Jerusalem*. On

which account they were never incorporated with those that came hither with *Menileck*, the son of *Solomon*, king of *Israel*, but looked upon as aliens, and bear to this day that epithet, being called by the rest *Salaxa*, or strangers, or exiles. They retain still their *Hebrew* bibles, though in the corrupt talmudic dialect, and have their synagogues like the rest; but where their worship and singing is performed in a more careless and slovenly manner, if possible, than it is amongst the rest (2).

(1) 2 Kings xvii. pass. xxiv. & xxv. pass. vid. & Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 891, & seq. Travels of the Jesuits, l. i. c. 8, & al. ub. sup.

(2) Ludolph, l. i. c. 14.

The Agau,
their high si-
tuation and in-
trenchments.

their territories, which are called *Lasta*, are so mountainous, rocky, and so full of inacces- a
sible passes, that they could never be subdued, but have been able to maintain themselves in
it against the united forces of the emperor. Those of the kingdom of *Gojam* inhabit likewise
a large territory, about twenty leagues in length, and about seven or eight in breadth, very
rocky and mountainous, though nothing like that of *Lasta*. It is divided into about twenty
districts, each under its particular head: the inhabitants are stout and fierce, and have their
habitations along the *Nile*. Their mountains abound in provisions, and are full of thick
woods and bamboos, which grow likewise so close, that they serve them instead of ramparts
and trenches against their enemies. Through these, they cut such straight and narrow ways,
and with such variety of turnings and windings, that one would take them for some spacious
labyrinths. Within these they intrench themselves, in time of war, at about a mile distance b
from the entrance, which they take care to stop, as well as all the avenues and ways, by
laying large trees across them. These close thickets they call *scutes*, or *secutes*; and, being
thoroughly acquainted with all their avenues, they fall out like so many wild beasts, and
almost with the same savage fierceness, and with their bows and arrows make a dreadful ha-
vock among all that venture to attack them^f. But besides these kind of out-works, they
have their *furtatas*, or deep caverns, some in the solid rock, others under-ground, supposed
to be the work of nature; but whether so, or of art and labour, are equally strong and dif-
ficult of access: the entrance of them is very narrow, but the inside spacious and convenient;
and in some of them they have springs of good water, for their own and their cattle's drink-
ing. In these they commonly live in time of war; in them they keep their hoards of mil- c
let, barley, and other grain, together with their cattle and families, whilst the enemy is in
their frontiers; and from these they make their sallies and armed excursions upon them,
through the crooked and intricate paths and defiles, through which it is next to impossible to
pursue them back to their dens.

Excursions on
all invaders.

Spacious dens.

Way of living.

Dress.

Bravery.

Subdued and
converted.

Other gentiles

Languages.

Ethiopic the
learned lan-
guage.

We know little of their religion, if they have any, except that they are addicted to many
superstitious customs; and those of *Gojam* to some kinds of sorcery. They have great plenty
of honey, of which they make a pleasant liquor; and abundance of cattle, on the milk and
flesh of which they live, much after the manner of the *Gallas*. Their cloathing is no other
than the skins of those beasts, which they beat with large heavy clubs, till they have brought
them to a sufficient thinness and pliability; these they throw, men and women, over their d
bodies, and tie them about their middle, without any other garment. They are commonly
of a very dark complexion, though not quite black like the negroes, and, for the most part,
tall and well-shaped, stout, and warlike, yet far from the rapacious temper of the *Gallas*,
and other neighbouring invaders, living contented within their territories, more solicitous to
preserve them from invasion than to intrude upon theirs^e: by which means they have been
able to defend themselves against the free-booting *Caffres* on the one side, and from the im-
perial forces on the other, from time immemorial; though they have been since forced to
submit to the superior arms of Soltan *Segued*, a warlike prince, who not only subdued them
to his obedience, but obliged them to embrace Christianity, about the year 1614, as we shall
see in the sequel of this chapter. We shall say nothing of the *Gafates*, and some other e
terior heathen nations, dispersed through other provinces of this empire, concerning which
we find little else mentioned by our authors, except their names, and the part they have
acted in some of the wars, or other transactions that are to be met with in their history, with-
out any farther particulars relating to them, worth our readers notice.

Among such a variety of nations, and such a number of kingdoms and provinces, there
must be supposed a proportionate variety of languages, the major part of which are wholly
unknown to us. The *Jews* that still remain there, speak a kind of *Hebrew*, but as corrupt
as is their religion and morals. The *Moors* use their own *Arabic*, but no less short of the
purity of that ancient tongue. Every nation, province, and almost district, hath its own f
dialect: that which is in use at court, and amongst the most polite, is that of the kingdom
of *Ambara*, but is spoken more or less corruptly in other provinces^h: that of the kingdom
of *Tigre*, however, is that which comes nearest to the old *Ethiopic*, which was forced to
give place to that of *Ambara*, after the failure of the *Zuguan* line, though it had been, time
out of mind, the current language of *Ethiopia*, and comes indeed nearest the ancient *Ethiopic*.
This last still retains its pristine dignity, and is yet in use, not only in all their religious and
learned books, in the king's letters patent, and all their records, but in their liturgies and re-
ligious worship. But of this we shall have the less to say, having formerly given as full a
description of it, and of its peculiar character, and affinity to the ancient *Hebrew*, *Syriac*,
and other oriental languages, as the narrowness of our limits would permit, and to which we

^f Travels of the Jesuits, lib. i. c. 8. §. iii. c. 5. LUDOLPH, & al.
DOLPH, & al. ub. sup.

^e Id. ibid.

^h TELLEZ, LU-

a shall now refer our readers, and to the more elaborate account which Mr. *Ludolph* hath given of it ⁱ.

THIS character and language is by them still stiled *Leshona Geez*, which may be properly enough translated, the learned language, as it is in constant use, and that in which not only all their sacred and religious books are written, but which is, or should be, understood, at least, by all their bishops and clergymen; though the generality of those of the latter sort think themselves sufficiently versed in it, if they can but read and perform their clerical functions in it: in all other respects, both they and their greatest dignitaries are not only very ignorant, but very zealous to continue so; thinking it both useless and dangerous either to hold any disputes with those that are of a different church or opinion, and even to read any of their books; and that it is sufficient for them implicitly to adhere to all the articles and rites of their own, as we shall further shew, when we come to speak of their religion. As for arts and sciences, or any branches of what we call polite literature, one may as well look for it among the *Caffres*, and other wild *Africans*, as either among their clergy or laity. *In use in their liturgies, sacred books, &c.* *Clergy very ignorant.*

In all other respects, the *Abissinians* in general, both priests and people, have a very good character given them by most *Portuguese* and other writers, both with respect to their persons and minds, their natural disposition, and moral virtues. With respect to the first, they are commonly well made, though of a brown olive complexion; their shape is tall, and in some even majestic; their features well proportioned, their eyes large, and of a sparkling black, their noses rather high than flat, their lips small, and their teeth exceeding white and handsome. *The Abissinians tall and handsome.* some (B), contrary to the inhabitants of *Senaar* or *Nubia*, who have flat noses, thick lips, and their complexion of a very deep black ^k. With respect to their inward disposition, we are told they are, for the far greater part, a sober, temperate people, naturally inclined to virtue and piety; one finds them commonly less addicted to those vices which reign with us in *Europe*; one may likewise observe, in their mutual conversation, a great degree of simplicity and innocence ^l. They seem quite averse to all kind of cruelty, and would, in all likelihood, have continued so to this day, had not the *Portuguese* exasperated them into an equal abhorrence of all *Franks*, or *Europeans*. They seldom have any quarrels one with another; if they have, and their anger rises to any height, as it sometimes happens on particular occasions, or when they have drank a little too plentifully of wine, or sava, which is a kind of ale made of barley-flower, mixed with some intoxicating drugs, they never decide it by the sword, as is done in *Europe*, but, at the most, by cuffs and cudgelling; and as soon as their heat is allayed, by that, or the intervention of cooler reason, to which they are ready to give a listening ear, they immediately submit to an arbitration, or lay the whole matter before the ruler of the place. Here they are allowed to plead their own cause by word of mouth, without the help of a lawyer, or the tedious and chargeable train of bills and answers; and when judgment is once given, whether by the judge or the arbitrator, they faithfully stand to it, without grudge, murmuring, or appeal: by which excellent method they save a great deal of time, charge, and discontent, and are quickly rid of all the other anxieties that constantly attend our law-suits (C). *Disputes and quarrels quickly decided, without lawyers.* *Naturally sober and good-natured.*

THEY

ⁱ See Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 197, & seq. vid. & LUDOLPH, l. xv. c. i. & al. pass. PAYS, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat. PONCET, p. 90, Fr. Edit. & 70, Engl. relat. 1607, 1608, p. 38.

^k TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, ^l GUERREIRO, Ann.

(B) This is the general character that is given them, with regard to their persons, by the consent of all the writers above-mentioned, but was most eminently displayed in that of *Zaga Christus*, a native, and, according to his own pretensions, a prince, of the *Abissinian* empire, and the son of the emperor *Jaacob*, who was slain in a battle against *Susneus*, or *Sigued*, his competitor. This prince appeared in *France* in the year 1653, and was treated there as such; but whether deservedly or not, which hath been much disputed, he is yet allowed to be a native of that empire; and such a one, as (according to the description which the learned *Bochart*, who saw him there, gave to Mr. *Ludolph*) eclipsed all the princes of the blood, with the gracefulness of his person and conversation (4). Yet is not this last gentleman the only one that believed him an impostor, by many; tho' others, no less numerous and judicious, made no question of his being really descended from the imperial family of

Abissinia (5). However that be, he died in *France*, in the 26th year of his age, at *Ruel*, near *Paris*; and the picture which so many eye-witnesses have given us of him, sufficiently shews how far the *Abissinians* exceed the *Nigritians* in the comeliness of their shape and features (6).

(C) This admirable disposition of the generality of the *Abissinians* is unanimously confessed by all the relations we have of them, and even by father *Tellez*, who is seldom, in other cases, inclined to speak well of them; however, we must except those of the kingdom of *Tigre*, who commonly indulge their resentment to a much greater length, especially in case of bloodshed; in which not only the nearest relations, but all the kindred of the deceased, live years together in open enmity to the slayer, and all his family: this they called having blood between them, which is seldom expiated without shedding a great deal more on each side. The truth is, if

(4) *Ludolph*, lib. ii. c. 7. §. vii. p. 53, & seq.

(5) *Renaudot contra Ludolph*, *Rogers*, *Palestin*, & al. vid. & lib. cui Titul. *Les etranges Evenemens du Voyage de S. A. Serenissime Prince Zaga Christi*, &c. (6) *Vid. Tellez*, *Almeyda*, *Lobo*, & al. sup. citat. *La Croix*, *Hist. du Christianisme d'Abissinie*, l. i. p. 76.

Genius for
learning.

The Nareans
the most esteem-
ed of all.

The genius and
disposition of
the Abissinians.

Decent beha-
viour at
church.

Regard for
their saints,
relics, and
images.

Their women
enjoy great
liberty.

Their dress.

The peculiar
privileges of
the women.

The habit of
the men.

THEY are naturally docile, and fond of knowledge; which was one of the main motives ^a that induced them to give the jesuit missionaries so kind a reception at their first coming: and if there is not more learning found amongst them, it is rather for want of proper means than of capacity of attaining it, especially since they are so hemmed in on all sides, that they cannot venture out of their country without imminent danger, nor receive any strangers amongst them, on the same account. But the most esteemed of all the subjects of this large empire, for sense, ingenuity, courage, equity, and other social virtues, are those of the kingdom of *Enarrea*, which is one of the last conquests of the *Abissinian* monarchs; though, as we have hinted heretofore, it hath continued the most faithful of all their native subjects ever since ⁿ.

ALL the *Abissinians*, in general, are naturally religious, even to a high degree of bigotry and superstition; great frequenters of their divine worship, devotees to their numerous saints, ^b strict observers of their fastings and long Lents (D). They behave with great respect and modesty, not only towards their clergy, but more especially in their churches, which they never enter but with their bare feet; on which account the pavement is commonly covered with carpets, or something equivalent: they are never heard to speak or whisper to each other, to blow their noses, nor even to turn their heads on one side. They are denied entrance, if they neglect to appear clean and neat, both in their bodies and dress. Perhaps they have learned this from the *Mohammedans*, who are intermixed among them, and who, however remiss soever they are in other particulars of their religion, yet always behave with the most exemplary respect in their mosques ^o.

THEY pay no less a regard to relics and all kinds of religious imagery, of which they have ^c great variety, both in their churches and domestic oratories; such as crucifixes, pictures and statues of the virgin *Mary*, and all their saints. They even affect to wear their little images about them, by way of ornament as well as devotion; and a present of this nature is more regarded amongst them than one of a far more intrinsic value ^p. Their very women, though far from that recluseness and strictness which is so common over all those warm climates, affect much to mix these superstitious ornaments among those which are more peculiar to their sex and different ranks; the meanest amongst their trinkets, and those of quality among their finest jewels. The latter usually go gorgeously dressed in the richest silks and brocades; their upper garments are wide and full, not unlike our church surplices. They attire their heads and hair an hundred different ways, and take care to have their ears adorned with the ^d richest pendants. They spare no cost to embellish their necks with the most costly ornaments of chains, jewels, or other embellishments ^q: and in these vanities they are the less to be wondered at, as they indulge themselves in a much greater liberty of going abroad and visiting than the *Turkish* and other ladies of this part of the world; who, though mostly confined at home, and seeing none but their husbands and slaves, yet are no less curious and lavish to shew themselves to them in the most advantageous and rich attire. The habit of men of quality is a long fine vest, either of silk or cotton, tied about the middle with a rich scarf: that of the citizens is much the same, but of cotton only, they not being allowed to wear

ⁿ See before, p. 17.

^o See before, vol. i. pass.

^p PONCET, & al. sup. citat.

^q TELLEZ,

LUDOLPH, PONCET, & al. ub. sup.

we may believe the accounts which the missionaries give us of them, they are of a light unsteady temper, cruel, treacherous, and vindictive, equally ready to break, as to take, the most solemn oaths; to swear allegiance, and rebel, against their lawful princes; who, on their sides, are no less readily disposed to forgive the greatest crimes and affronts, and to receive them again into favour. But the worst charge of all, and perhaps that which hath been the mother of most of the rest, from that quarter, is their apostasy from the *Roman* catholic faith, after they had once so readily embraced it; of which, more in its proper place (7).

(D) They observe four Lents, like the oriental churches; viz. the great Lent, which lasts fifty days; that of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, which lasts forty days, more or less, according to the nearness of their Easter; that of the Assumption of our Lady, which lasts fifteen days; and that of Advent, which lasts three weeks. In all which Lents they abstain from eggs, butter, cheese, and do not touch any eatable or drink till after sun-set; but after that they may eat and drink till midnight. Instead of butter they use oil; but as they have no olives,

they extract theirs from a small grain, which is far from unpleasant.

With the same strictness they fast on all *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* of the year; and always go to prayers before they begin their meals on those days. The very peasants leave their work to have time enough to perform that duty before they offer to break their fast.

They dispense neither old nor young, nor even sick persons, from fasting, though in some cases they abate something of the rigour of it. Their children themselves are bound to it, from the first time of their being admitted to the holy communion, which is commonly about ten years of age (8).

The monks are still more strict and rigorous. Some of them eat but once in two days of their meagre fare; and others, we are told, eat only on *Sundays*, and spend the rest of the week in devotion: some of them spend the whole holy week without eating or drinking. Many other instances of mortification are practised by those monks, and other devotees, which are scarcely credible, and for which we shall refer our readers to the authors themselves (9).

(7) *Jesuits Travels*, l. i. c. 8.

(8) *Tellez, Almeyday, Ludolph*, l. iii. c. 6. §. 81, & seq. *Poncet, & al.*

(9) *Ibid. ibid.*

- a silk, neither is their cotton of the same fineness. The common people have only a pair of cotton drawers, and a kind of scarf, or piece of the same linen, with which they cover the rest of their body; and, till about a century ago, this was the common dress of all the country; none but the emperor and royal family, and some distinguished favourites, were allowed to wear any other: and that piece of cloth served them at night for a blanket or sheet to wrap themselves in. As to the women, we may suppose that they were allowed to go as fine and genteel as their circumstances would allow them, seeing they were permitted to appear abroad, and visit their friends and relations. How they came by such an uncommon privilege in this, above all eastern countries, we cannot find; only this one may plainly perceive, that their husbands are far from being pleased with it; and rather bear with it as
- b with an ill habit, against which they can find no remedy, than as a mark of politeness and grandeur.

It is still harder with those who have married princesses of the royal blood, and who, on that account, stretch their privileges much farther, and think no gallantries, how injurious soever to their honour, ought to be denied to them: in which liberties they are so far upheld by their own relations, that all complaints against them will not only be in vain, but be taken very ill.¹ It is not so indeed with those of inferior rank, who, excepting these gadding excursions, which custom allows them, are generally very observing and faithful to their husbands. These are obliged, for the most part, especially among the meaner sort, to condescend to some of the most laborious offices of the family; such, particularly, as that of grinding all the corn that is used in it, which the lowest male slaves will refuse to do: for as they have no mills, they are forced to grind all things by hand, whether it be for bread or for drink; and this must be repeated every day, because what is made one day will be good for nothing by the next, which makes the task still harder; because it requires much labour and firing to prepare them. If these were the mills an *Abissinian* once boasted of, saying, "That the emperor had no less than 500 of them in his camp," he might as well have said 5000; for a less quantity could have hardly been sufficient for it; and this shews rather their want of industry, than their grandeur.

In their marriages they are in some points rather too strict, as in forbidding it to persons in the second, third, and even fourth degree of consanguinity; but in others very remiss. They allow marriage to be of divine institution; and (if we will believe the relations of the missionaries²) they give it even the title of sacrament; in consequence of which they think it unlawful for a man to have more than one wife at once. Neither do they allow any to be lawful, unless the persons have been joined by a priest: and yet there are numbers of them that have a plurality of wives, and live with them unmolested. Such are, indeed, deprived by the church of the benefit of the holy communion, on account of the scandal it brings to religion: but the state, not deeming polygamy to be detrimental to society, suffer it to go unmolested (E).

DIVORCE likewise is reckoned unlawful, except in case of breach of conjugal fidelity; and yet nothing is more commonly practised amongst them, even where no such plea is so much as pretended. Nay, we are even told that, till the coming of the missionaries thither, they used to contract their marriages in such a manner, and with such reserves, as they thought would render them invalid, and open a door for such divorces; that is, with such tacit or express consent that they should part from each other, whensoever they found that they could not mutually agree; and even gave each other some security for the performance of their promise. The principal motive for these divorces, besides that allowed by the gospel³, were want of children, or strife about them, a mutual dislike or disagreement, bodily infirmities, a linger-

Women of quality highly honourable to their husbands.

Lower class of women grind corn for the family.

Have none but hand-mills.

Marriage abused among them.

Polygamy tolerated by the state.

Divorces, why so frequent.

How obtained.

¹ Id. ibid. vide et Lobo ubi sup. p. 73.

² See LE GRAND ubi sup. dissert. 13. p. 335, & seq.

³ MATTH.

(E) The missionaries boast of it as a great piece of merit, not only that they reformed these abuses among all their converts, but likewise that their example excited the *Abissinian* clergy to do the same among their laity. Thus one of them tells us, that a man of his acquaintance had lived so long peaceably with his three wives, that he had had no less than thirty-seven children by them, without receiving any other censure or molestation than that of his being debarred from the sacred communion and church-worship. But, upon his repudiating the two last, he was again re-admitted to both

(10). So remiss had they been in that point, till the coming of these fathers among them.

Father Tellez moreover mentions an ancient custom among the *Abissinian* emperors, of having not only a great number of wives, but likewise a multitude of concubines, supposed to have been introduced among them, in imitation of their progenitor, *Solomon*, king of *Israel*: but adds, that when *Susneus*, or rather *Soltan Segued*, came to be converted to their church, these good fathers refused him absolution, till he had cast them all off except his first (11).

(10) *Alvarez Hist. Abiss.* c. 20. Vide *Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 6. § 99, & seq.* (11) *Hist. Abiss.* l. i. c. 19.

ing sickness, and such-like ; in all which cases the woman hath the same privilege of abrogating a the marriage contract with the man. The dissatisfied party, in such cases, applies first to the *Abuna*, or patriarch, or to their bishop ; and having obtained the desired divorce, which is seldom denied, if the party cannot be prevailed upon to withdraw his or her suit, they next petition for a licence for contracting a fresh marriage, and obtain it with the same ease ; even where the reasons alleged are so frivolous, that the prelate cannot admit of them, they may have recourse to some inferior priest, of a more pliable nature, who will make no difficulty to marry them ; in which case they are only liable to be excluded from the sacred communion for some time more or less. This makes these divorces as frequent as they are easily obtained ; among married people, especially those of the richer sort ; whilst, with regard to the grand motive, the breach of fidelity on either side, they find often a gentler way of salving that sore, b by some fine, or present, equivalent to the wrong, or at least such as the wronged party deems to be such : for married people, it seems, have here each of them their own lands, goods, and chattels, *in proprio*, and so can make a suitable compensation for the transgression^u. But where such a composition cannot be agreed on between the injurer and the injured, the women are commonly the most severely punished of the two, and in a way that is something singular ; for first she is condemned to the loss of all her goods, and to go out of her husband's house in a mean or ragged dress, with an express prohibition never to come into it again. 2. All that she is allowed to carry out with her is a sewing needle, by which she may get a livelihood. 3. Sometimes she is condemned to lose her chief ornament, her head of hair, and to be closely shaved, except one single lock on her fore-top, which only disguises her the more. All c this wholly depends on the husband's will, who, if he thinks proper, may take her in again ; or, if he doth not, they may both marry where they will or can. If the husband be the offender, he is likewise liable to be punished, as well as the woman with whom he hath offended ; but that seldom mounts higher than a fine upon them both, which is appropriated to the plaintive wife. Thus likewise the paramour of the adulteress, if convicted, is condemned to what they stile the *Circo-arbah*, that is, to a fine of forty cows, horses, suits of clothes, &c. and, if unable to pay it, he remains a prisoner with the husband, at his discretion, till he doth ; or, if he lets him go before, he obliges him to swear that he is going to fetch what will satisfy him ; upon which the guilty person sends him some wine, and a piece of cow's flesh, and they eat and drink together ; and, upon his asking pardon of the offended, he first d remits him one part of the fine, and then another, and a third, and at last forgives him the intire fine.

UPON the whole, marriage among them is no better than a firm bargain or contract, by which both parties engage to cohabit and join their stocks together, as long as they like each other, after which they shall be at liberty to part. So that there can but little gallantries or courtship be required before-hand, or any other ceremony, except the consent of the parents, and the interchange of a few presents ; excepting what is performed by the priest at church, or at the church door. This custom of meeting and blessing the candidates for marriage at the church doors, is doubtless derived to them from the *Jews*, among many others ; none but priests and deacons being married within the body of the church. We find something like it practised e formerly in *England*, and taken notice of by old *Chaucer*, in his *Wife of Bath*, in this distich ;

*She was a worthy woman all her life,
Husbands at the church-door had she five*.*

IN this part of the matrimonial celebration, the officiating prelates or priests are very liberal of their ceremonies, prayers, incensing, and singing. We shall give an instance of one, as related by an eye-witness[†], in which the *Abuna*, or patriarch, officiated in chief. THE bride and bridegroom were waiting at the church-door, where a kind of bed or couch f had been prepared for them, and on which the patriarch ordered them to seat themselves : he then, with his cross in one hand, and an incenser in the other, makes a kind of procession round them ; and then, laying his hands on their heads, tells them, that as they now become one flesh, so they ought to have but one heart and one will : this is followed by a short exhortation, suitable to the occasion ; after which he goes into the church, and celebrates the divine office, at which they both assist ; and that being ended, he gives them his blessing, which makes the marriage valid, and so dismisses them. The more religious sort not only attend divine service, but receive the holy communion either just before or after their being

^u See TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, ALVAREZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, and LE GRAND, ubi sup. Hebr. lib. ii. c. 27.

[†] ALVAREZ ubi sup. Vide & LE GRAND, dissert. 13. p. 340.

* SELDEN UXOR

a joined (F) ^w. What other festivities and rejoicings attend those nuptials, we are not told; except that, even after consummation, the husband and wife keep their separate tables; or, if they agree to eat together, each bring their own victuals, ready dressed, with them, or send them in before, by their servants or slaves. *ex- Husband and wife keep two tables.*

We have already hinted, in part, how sober and moderate they are in their eating; and we might have added, that no food can be well coarser, meaner, or more disgusting, than theirs, even among the better sort. A piece parboil'd, or half broil'd, but for the most part quite raw flesh, mostly beef. This is served up on an *Apas*, or cake of bread, ground and made by the women, of wheat, pease, millet, teff, or other sorts of grain, according to their circumstances: so that this *Apas* serves them not only instead of a dish or plate, but like- b wise instead of a napkin or table-cloth, which they never use at their tables. For whenever they have any chicken or mutton broth served up, or any other spoon-meat, the *Apas* serves them instead of spoons to eat it with, and of a cloth to wipe their mouths and hands. These last dishes are commonly served up in black earthen porringers, or dishes, covered with what they call *Escambias*, which are like caps made of fine straw. Those of the greatest quality, and even the emperor himself, have no better at their tables; and that which is oldest is most esteemed among them ^{*}. As their meats have nothing that is inviting, so neither have the sauces which they eat with them; they commonly swim with butter turned into oil, and taste even a *Spaniard* or *Portuguese*, can hardly tell how to behave, when invited to their table (G), and are usually obliged to rise with an empty stomach. They have one cleanly custom at their meals; viz. to wash their hands before they sit down, because they touch every thing they eat with them; and those of high rank are still more nice in that particular, who have their victuals cut into bits, and conveyed to their mouths by some young pages ^y. *The rich are fed by hand.*

THEIR tables are commonly round, large enough among the rich for twelve or fourteen persons to sit about them; but so very low, that the guests only sit upon carpets, and the meaner sort upon mats, or on the ground. They observe the good old custom of not drinking any thing till they have finished their meals; their common rule is, *Plant first, and then water*. But after the table is cleared, the cups and flaggons are brought in, and plied so merrily about, especially at their feasts, that the quantity makes ample amends for the small- d nefs of the liquor, and seldom fails of setting their tongues a running, till their brain being quite turned, their legs can hardly carry them from their seats. For their common liquor is neither wine, cyder, fine ale, or strong beer, but is made of five or six parts of water to one of honey, mixed in a jar, with a handful or two of parched barley meal, which sets it a fermenting; after which they put into it some chips of a sort of wood which they call *Sardo*, which, in five or six days, takes off the fulsome taste of the honey, and makes the whole very palatable and wholesome, tho' nothing so strong as our wines, and other fuddling liquors. They *Carousing at their feasts.* *Common drink weak.*

^w De his vide TELLEZ, lib. i. c. 16. v. 35, & seq. ALVAREZ, LUDOLPH, lib. iii. c. 6. § 102. iv. c. 4. § 2. Lobo, voy. 3. ^{*} Vide TELLEZ, &c. ubi sup. ^y lid. ibid. ubi sup. Jesuits Travels, l. ii. c. 12, & al.

(F) It is not to be supposed, that all their marriages are celebrated with such pontifical ceremony: nevertheless whether this office be performed by a bishop or a priest, the same rites of incensing, processioning, chanting, &c. at the church-door, and assisting at the divine service, are always observed, whenever there is a mutual desire in the married couple that their marriage should be made as valid as possible; because, in such cases, a divorce is not obtained without great difficulty, unless it be for breach of conjugal fidelity. But when they enter that state only with a view and tacit reserve to cohabit no longer than they can like each other, then the ceremony is only performed either at the church-door, or in any other place, by any obscure priest; for then they think their union less binding, as it is indeed deemed less valid by the clergy (12).

This is the sad account our missionaries give us of the shameful prostitution of that holy rite, both by the priests and laity; if their joint and strenuous zeal against these holy fathers and their church, which hastened their expulsion out of the whole empire, hath not, perhaps, too far induced them to exaggerate it.

(G) And this is not only on account of the ill look, relish, and flavour, of their nicest dishes, but because it

is reckoned amongst them a piece of high breeding to gobble large mouthfuls, and to make as much noise as they can in chewing their meat; it being a common saying amongst them, *That none but beggarly wretches chew their meat only on one side, and none but thieves and robbers eat without making a noise*. All which, added to the uneasy posture of sitting, and other parts of the oeconomy of their table, render their best treats almost insupportable. Their greatest regale is a piece of raw beef, brought in reeking warm from the beast; and if they invite company to eat with them, the whole quarter is served up at once, with plenty of salt and pepper. The gall serves instead of oil and vinegar. Some add a kind of mustard, peculiar to them, which they call *Man-ta*, and which is made of what they draw out of the paunch of the ox or cow. This they stew some time on the fire with pepper, salt, and a sliced onion, before they bring it to table, which, when covered with such a large piece of warm raw beef, and seasoned with the above-mentioned sauces, is as highly esteemed among them, as one furnished with the greatest dainties would be among us (13). But this dish can only be purchased by the rich, on account of the pepper, which is very scarce and dear in this country.

(12) See Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Ludolph, & al. sup. citat. & al. sup. citat.

(13) See Lobo, ubi sup. p. 72. Tellez, Ludolph,

Make no
wine.

Mean furni-
ture.

Beds.

Indian quilts.

Other bed-
clothes.

Nicety in
adorning their
hair.

Go bare-
headed.

How men and
women adorn
their hair.

Their dress
suited to the
climate.

Meanness of
their houses.

might, indeed, make excellent wine from their grapes; but whether thro' indolence, or ignorance of managing it so as to keep², they content themselves with the hydromel above-mentioned, or with a sort of beer made of barley meal, mixed with some intoxicating drugs for their common drink: though they make a kind of extempore wine for the holy communion, which is extracted from dried grapes, soaked some days in fair water: this is done to avoid its contracting any acidity; which, according to their canons, renders it unfit for that use (H)^a.

THE furniture of their houses, even among those of higher rank, is much of a piece with that of their tables. No fine paintings, tapestry, or other ornaments, are to be seen in them; and indeed their way of living is in some measure incompatible with any such finery. Even their beds are no better than couches, the best of them; on which they lay their upper garment to wrap themselves in; whilst underneath they have nothing but hides, more or less fine or soft, to lie upon. Some of their princes, and great and rich men, have, indeed, since the Portuguese opened a kind of import of *Indian* commodities, got the way of purchasing *Indian* quilts, with silk borders, which now come to them from the ports of the *Red Sea*; and these they spread upon their couches, chiefly in their outward chambers, that they may be in full view of those that come to visit them, and serve them instead of chairs. As to the meaner sort, they mostly lie on mats on the ground, or perhaps with a hide or two under their upper day garment, with which they wrap themselves about at night^b. But the oddest furniture of their beds is their bolster, if we may give that name to a forked piece, which serves not to lay their heads upon, which would greatly discompose the much studied oeconomy of their head^c of hair, about which they are extremely curious, both men and women; but to support their necks in such a manner, that the least curl be not ruffled by the pillow underneath. By which means also the butter, which they lavishly bestow upon it, in order to give it a shining smoothness, is preserved from being licked up by whatever they lay under their heads.

BUT our readers will perhaps less wonder at this piece of vanity, when they are told that the hair is the only ornament of their heads^c, none but the emperors alone being allowed to wear either cap or any other covering: which is a great inducement to them, as they have a great deal of idle time upon their hands, to bestow some part of it in this pleasing amusement. And this they do even to a degree of emulation, each striving for the most elegant symmetry in the plaiting and curling their own. The truth is, their hair not being apt to grow thick^d and long, but mostly thin and frizzly, there seems to be some additional art required to keep it in a tolerable order, answerable to each sex; and therefore, whilst the men take much pains in braiding it up in various forms, the women strive to have it hang loose in the like variety of curls and ringlets, excepting the fore-top, which they are still more curious and nice to adorn with jewels and trinkets, according to their rank. Upon the whole, their dress is chiefly accommodated to the climate, and where they are situate so long a time under the scorching beams of the vertical sun, that they are hardly able to bear any clothes to touch their flesh, their chief care is to have them as light, and to hang as loose as possible, during that season. Hence it is, that their cloak, or piece of cloth that covers their bodies, and their breeches and womens drawers, are made so wide and long, as to let in as much air as possible; which in the cooler seasons they bring much closer to their bodies; and then the richer sort appear in handsome banyan vests, open only to the waist, and closed with small buttons: these have little collars, and very long and streight sleeves, gathered in at the wrist. Some authors have mistaken them for shirts; though they have another light garment under them, next to the skin, which is made of thin taffety, sattin, or damask, according as the season and their circumstances will permit^d.

AND as they are thus negligent and inelegant in their dress, food, and furniture of their houses, so are they, and much more, with regard to the symmetry and architecture of their buildings, which is owing to their living in tents or camps, after the manner of their monarchs.

² TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. § 19. et al. ubi sup.
§ 81, & seq. & al. ubi sup.
^c Ibid. ibid.

^a Ibid. ibid. Vide LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 6.
Vide & Jesuits Travels, l. i. c. 8. & alib. pass.

^d TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, PONCET, & al.

(H) Their ritual expressly enjoins the priests to take special care, that the wine which they use in the divine service be neither sour, nor without its natural taste and flavour; and, in cases of necessity, to make use of such as they shall express from the dried grape. And we are told, that one of the Jesuit missionaries, being in doubt about the lawfulness of such wine for the service of the mass,

was answered by the physician Poncet, often quoted in this chapter, that the water which soaks into the dry grape doth only restore it to its natural state, and supplies the place of that which was conveyed into it by the root or sap of the vine, and had been since evaporated in its drying (14).

(14) Vide Le Grand, differt. 12. p. 328. Gregor. Abissin. apud Ludolph, l. i. c. 9. § 19, & seq. iii. c. 6. § 81, & seq. & al. sup. citat.

- a So that, excepting some few old royal palaces and churches, of which we shall speak among their artificial rarities, here are neither public structures nor private buildings to be seen throughout the whole empire ; and those which they stile houses, would hardly deserve the name of huts amongst us ; being built of nothing but clay and laths, or splinters, put together in the meanest and most slovenly manner ; so as to be easily reared, and as readily abandoned, when they think proper to remove their quarters ^e. The same method is taken by the inferior sort who follow the royal camp, and are not able to purchase pavilions or tents, and as quickly build themselves such huts, and with almost as little trouble, as is commonly taken up in rearing of a large tent. Thus, whatever some authors have romanced concerning their stately edifices, number of their cities, towns ^f, &c. is found by experience to be all ^{No palaces, cities, castles, &c.}
- b false. We have taken notice of the once-famed city of *Axuma* being reduced to a poor despicable village ^g, though it still retains its antient dignity, and title of metropolis of the whole ^{Their pretended cities were villages.} empire. All the rest, if ever any of them made any figure heretofore, were either encompassed with walls, or adorned with noble structures, are now reduced to the same dismal plight ; excepting, perhaps, that they contain a greater number of such scattered huts as we have described, and so ought rather to be called large villages, than cities or towns. And this is so far evident, that Abbot *Gregory*, and as many other *Abissinians* as have travelled into *Europe*, could not forbear being astonished at the largeness and magnificence of our great cities, and looking upon them as so many prodigies of human industry, and much more so, when they found them stand at such small distances from each other ^h : they being unable to conceive
- c how it was possible to find sufficient quantities of wood, victuals, and other necessaries, for the vast number of people and cattle which they contained.

WHAT other places worth naming are to be met with in the whole empire, are only these few ; viz. 1. *Fremona*, of which we have already spoken ⁱ, and which owed its grandeur to the *Portuguese* missionaries, whose residence it became in the reign of the emperor *Adam Segued*, who chose it for them, on account of its being at a great distance from his court, as he was no friend to them, but, as they pretend, was more inclined to *Mohammedism* than to Christianity ^k. So that it is most likely to have fallen into utter decay, since their total expulsion (I). 2. *Gubay*, in the kingdom of *Dembea*, remarkable only for being the residence of the empress. 3. *Dobarna*, in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and the residence of its viceroy.

d 4. *Nanina*, in the kingdom of *Gojam*, formerly inhabited by the *Portuguese*, till their total expulsion. And lastly, *Macana Gelace*, in the kingdom of *Ambara*, worth naming only for being the native place of abbot *Gregory* ^l.

NEITHER had the emperors either castles or palaces to keep their court in, till the coming of the *Portuguese* missionaries among them, but lived altogether in their stately pavilions, attended with all their nobles, guards, and other retinue. And such strangers were they to all kinds not only of stately, but even of common regular buildings, that when the celebrated ^{Father Pays builds a sumptuous palace for the emperor ;} *Father Pays* undertook to build a magnificent edifice for Soltan *Segued*, in whose high favour he then was, none of that prince's subjects knew so much as how to dig the stones out of the quarries, much less how to square or work them fit for use : infomuch that he was obliged to

e teach them both that, and how to make the proper tools for the carpenters, joiners, masons, and, in a word, for every part of the work, and how to join the stones with the red clay mentioned in the last note, instead of the usual mortar made of quick-lime. Hence the reader may guess at their great astonishment, when they, who had never till then been used ^{which astonishes the whole nation :}

^e Ibid. ibid.

^f See URETTA's fabulous account of them in the appendix to this chapter, and all the maps of this empire, &c.

^g See before, p. 172.

^h See TELLEZ & al. sup. citat.

LUDOLPH, lib. ii. c. 11. § 18,

& seq.

ⁱ See before, p. 172, & seq.

^k LOBO, & al. sup. cit.

^l Lib. i. c. 3. § 10. ii. c. 11. § 20.

(I) This place, which stands near the conflux of two streams, from whose murmuring noise it had the name of *Maegoga* (for that of *Fremona* was given it by the Jesuits, from the famed *Frumentius*, or *Fremonatius*, the first bishop of *Axuma*), had been well fortified by those fathers against the robbers and freebooters of that territory. They had built a strong house of stone and clay on the second head of the abovesaid brook, to which several others were added quickly after, which lay scattered at a distance from each other, upon the declivity of the hill, and each of them had a good inclosure of stone and clay.

The whole was surrounded with a stout wall of the same materials, flanked with seven or eight bastions, and lofty curtains between each of them. Within they had

between twenty and thirty muskets, and a drake, which were managed by the sons of the *Portuguese* ; so that the place was looked upon as impregnable. They had likewise built a stately church in it, of the same materials, which were here to be found in great plenty. The quarries furnishing them with a stone almost fit for any work, and which is digged about three or four inches thick, and of what breadth or length one will, without the help of either pick-ax or wedge ; and is easily parted with slight iron crows. The clay likewise, which is here of a reddish hue, is of so glutinous a nature, that it makes a good strong cement, without the help of quicklime (15).

(15) *Travels of the Jesuits*, lib. iii. c. 6. Lobo, ubi sup. voy. 3. p. 79. Le Grand, dissert. 2. p. 202. Ludolph, lib. ii. c. 11. § 19.

to see even a few stones regularly set upon one another, did now behold not only a large stupen- a
dous structure, reared with so much strength and regularity, but even high and stately stories
raised one upon another, and for which they had not so much as a proper word, but stiled them
Babeth-Laibeth, or house upon house. How must they be surprised at the elegance and sym-
metry of the several wide and noble stair-cases, by which one ascended from the one to the other ;
to say nothing of the spacious galleries that led through all the apartments of the whole
building ; and of a vast variety of other ornaments, within and without, as might have made
it a fit residence for the greatest monarch in *Europe*. What extraordinary idea must this stu-
pendous fabric, of which we shall give a sketch in its proper place, give to that whole nation,
of the greatness and magnificence of the *Romish* church and its sovereign pontiff, as well as of b
the city of *Rome*, his metropolis, in which alone so many hundreds, not only of the like, but
even much grander and more superb structures, are the common palaces of his inferior cardinals
and bishops, and almost of every ambassador that is sent thither by their respective crowned-
heads ? a powerful motive, of a worldly one, to make the whole indigent clergy of *Abissinia*
feel the immense difference between the *Roman* and the *Egyptian* patriarch ; between the rich-
ness and splendor of the *Romish* court, and the poor and slavish one of *Alexandria*. It served
no less to convince the *Abissinians*, who came from all parts of the empire to see and admire it,
of the truth of what they had told them, concerning the magnificence of the *European* edifices,
and of the superior genius of those nations, who could contrive and complete such incredible
monuments of art ^m. What became of it after the universal expulsion of the *Portuguese*, we c
can only guess ; and that if it escaped the fury of the natives, it must of course have soon
fallen into decay, for want of proper hands to keep it in repair.

And shows
them the mag-
nificence of the
Europeans.

Few trades or
manufactures.

THEY have but few manufactures among them ; and tho' linen and cotton be their chief
dress, and their country as proper for producing them as any in *Africa*, their indolence is such,
that they cultivate no more than just serves their present want ; and the less quantity of either
serves them, as they make no use of any, either at their tables, or for their beds, and a scanty
portion will suffice the common sort to cover their bodies with. The *Jews* are said to be their
only weavers, as they are in most parts of the empire their only smiths, in every metal, and
every branch of their manufacture, which are likewise very few and inconsiderable. What
carpenters, joiners, masons, &c. this country produces, may be easily guessed, from the
meanness of their buildings and furniture ; and the same may be said of such other trades as d
are in use in other countries, as taylor, shoe-makers, &c. from the plainness of their dress.
The potters, and makers of horn trumpets, and drinking cups, are indeed in the greatest
request : these, and some still inferior sorts of tradesmen, are incorporated into tribes, or
companies, and have their several quarters, neither intermingling, nor intermarrying, with
the rest, but the children commonly following the business of their parents ⁿ.

Turks engross
the whole
commerce.

Their brokers,
who.

Commodities
exchanged.

GOLD and silver smiths, jewellers, and other such curious arts and trades, are altogether
unknown to them, unless it be by some of their manufactures being brought among them by
way of traffick or exchange ; and these are only to be met with among the great and opulent.
The same may be said of their silks, brocades, velvets, tapestry, carpets, and other costly
stuffs, which are all brought hither by the *Turks*, by the way of the *Red Sea*, and exchanged e
for gold-dust, emeralds, and fine horses. The *Jews*, *Arabians*, and *Armenians*, are the
common merchants, or brokers, between them and the *Abissinians* ; these last seldom or ever
travelling out of their own country, or being indeed suffered to do so by the *Turks* ; who, as
we have elsewhere hinted, being become masters of all their sea-ports, enrich themselves by
this monopoly, and are extremely careful to prevent any trade or traffick being opened into this
country by any other nation, or of its being carried on by any other hands but their own ^o.
Besides the commodities already mentioned, which are exchanged between them, the *Turks*
bring them several sorts of spices, and among them, pepper ; all which are but too few to
give their common food a tolerable relish ; and yet the pepper, which is the most coveted by
them, is brought thither with such privacy, and the price of it is so very high, that none but f
the very richest of all can purchase it. In return for these, the *Abissinians* bring them skins,
furs, leather, honey, wax, and ivory, in great quantities, for which they are forced to take
what the brokers please to give them ^p.

Their singular
hospitality.

THEY have neither inns, taverns, nor public houses, for the entertainment of strangers,
but are beyond measure hospitable to them, considering their extreme indigence. If one of
them stays longer in a village or camp than three hours, the whole community is obliged to
lodge and furnish him with proper necessaries for himself, servants, and cattle, at the public
charge. In that case, he need only enter into the first hut or tent he likes, and acquaint the
master of it with his wants, who immediately goes and informs the lord, or chief of the

^m TELLEZ, PAYS, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup.
al. ^o See before, p. 168, & alib. pass.

ⁿ LUDOLPH, l. iv. c. 5. pass. TELLEZ, LOBO, &
^p LUDOLPH, ibid. c. 7. pass. TELLEZ, & al.

a place, of it ; upon which, a cow is forthwith killed, and so much of it sent to him as will suffice him and his company, together with a proportionable quantity of cake or bread, and beer or hydromel, and other proper conveniencies for their lodging : and all these they are the more careful to supply him with, because their neglect would be liable to be punished with a fine of double the value of what they were bound to furnish him with, should he prefer a complaint of it to a proper magistrate. This laudable custom, however, is not without some great *Abused by va-* inconveniencies, inasmuch as it gives encouragement to a parcel of idle vagabonds to abuse it, *grants.* and causes the country to swarm with that destructive vermin ^a.

^a Vide int. al. LOBO, p. 73; & seq. LUD. ibid. c. 6. § 46.

S E C T. V.

Of the natural and artificial rarities of Abissinia.

b **A**MONG all the natural rarities of this country, which may justly challenge our admiration, we may reckon the surprising longevity of the men, under the various changes of their climate, from the extremes of the most sultry and burning heats, to the most vehement and continual rains and inundations, and the many distempers which they naturally occasion ^{Natural rarities.} And next to that, the liveliness and fecundity of the women, and especially the ease and quickness with which they are delivered, though they commonly bear two or three children at a birth ; insomuch, that without the assistance of doctor or midwife, of cordial, or other medicines, they go through their pregnancy without qualms or uneasiness, and without feeling any of those dreadful and tedious pangs of child-birth, which commonly terrify and affect that tender sex, in ours and other parts of the world : here they have little else to do but kneel and stoop before they are delivered of their burthen, and rise up strong and active ; and, in a very little space of time, are able to return to their domestic employments. They scarcely allow themselves the formality of a few days lying-in, nor any of the comfortable changes of diet proper to their condition ; and suckle and rear up their offspring, whether they have more than one or two at a birth, without any intermission from their other family concerns ^{Agility and fecundity of the women.} This fecundity is still more remarkable in their domestic animals, as well as wild beasts ; about which we need not repeat what we have said in the foregoing section, and to the vast product of their ground, in spite of the epidemic indolence that reigns amongst the inhabitants.

THE next we are to speak of under this head, is, that of their metals and minerals, salts, and other fossils. Of their mines of gold, we have already hinted something, tho' with diffidence, on account of the fear which the natives are in of tempting the *Gallas*, and other incroaching neighbours, to seize on them, should they once be apprised of them ; so that tho' this country may be as likely as any other in *Afric* to produce plenty of that valuable metal, yet they prudently chuse to have so tempting a treasure concealed from strangers, and content themselves with what is, or perhaps they pretend to be, brought to them from *Cafraria*, *Nigritia*, and other parts, rather than to hazard the enslaving of their country, by owning their having any of their own ; for it is plain that they gather quantities of that which the tor-rents bring down from the mountains, and which often comes in large grains, and of a fine pure nature, some of which, we are told, is even found about the roots of their trees ^{Gold mines.} Silver is still more scarce among them ; but whether owing to the same policy, or to the want of proper hands and skill to manage them, we do not hear of any mines they have of it ; though by their having some of lead, one would be apt to conclude, they must likewise have some of silver : but what they want of the latter, is richly compensated by what they have of the former ; and much more so, by the great quantity of iron they draw from their mines, and which is reckoned of greater use and value. The misfortune is, that they are not only quite ignorant of every branch that belongs to the digging of it, but look upon it as a slavish, dismal, and hazardous business, and far beneath the high opinion they entertain of their own nation above all others. To dig and labour so far in the dark bosom of the earth, with a small glimmering light, to be forced to bear with the unwholsome damps and vapours of a subterranean dungeon, to be in continual danger of being overwhelmed by the ground over their heads, which they know not how to prop, or of being annoyed, if not drowned, by springs from beneath, which they neither know how to drain, or draw away ; these, and many other difficulties and dangers, which they frame to themselves, make them look upon such a work as fit only for the worst of slaves, and content themselves with so much of that

^a See before, p. 181, & seq.

^b Vide TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, PONCET, CODING, & al. plur. ^c Id.

ubi sup. Vide LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 7. § 1, & seq.

useful metal as they find on the surface of the ground^a; so that we need not wonder if we hear of no mines, or any other metals, such as copper, tin, &c. nor of any other minerals, which require digging at any distance below it.

Mines of salt.

THEY are much more expert and ready at working at their salt mines, where there is less labour and danger, and of which they have a considerable number, especially on the confines of the kingdoms of *Tigre*, *Dancali*, and *Angot*. This salt is not like that which we make in *Europe*, of sea water, or salt springs, but is ready made to their hands, by the Divine Providence, and in such vast quantities, that those mines, which are no other than huge rocks or mountains of solid salt, are in some measure inexhaustible. These rocks are hewn in pieces, somewhat in the shape of our bricks, but of different sizes and weights: the salt, though very solid and hard on the surface of the rock, is much softer within the mine, till consolidated by the sun, and is no way inferior in taste and goodness to the best of our own. From these parts, in which these huge rocks grow, and called from thence the land of salt, those pieces are dispersed through the whole empire, where they are bought, especially at the fairs, not only as a necessary commodity, but as the most current money, by which they can furnish themselves with all other goods they want, and where they bear a greater or lesser value, according to the distance of the place from whence they are brought; thus, in those parts which are near the mine, one hundred weight of it will purchase what they reckon equivalent to about five of our shillings; at a greater distance eighty pounds will do the same; and so at a farther distance, will sixty, fifty, &c. do the same. At the imperial camp, or court, ten pounds will still be equivalent to a crown; and, in some of the most distant provinces, three pounds of it will fetch a small piece of gold, called a *darim*, but of what value our author doth not tell us^f.

Salt the chief coin of the country.

Its different value in all parts of the empire.

THERE is still a farther use made of this salt by the *Abissinians*, which is that of being a condiment to mutual love and friendship; so that they never go out without a small piece of it in their purse, which commonly hangs at their girdle. Whenever, therefore, any two friends or acquaintance meet, their first greeting is, to take the piece out of the bag, and offer it to the other's mouth, and each gives a lick at the other's piece with his tongue: to refuse this compliment, on either side, would be looked upon as a gross affront, and an open declaration of some inward resentment or private grudge; or, at best, as a piece of ill-manners and unpoliteness^g, and is, for that reason, readily complied with (A).

A vast plain of salt.

A red salt used for physic.

THEY have also some large spacious plains, whose surface is incrustated with another sort of salt, and in the fetching of which, many hundreds of camels, mules, and asses, are daily employed; particularly in the confines between *Dancali* and *Tigre*. This salt, like the former, is carried in bricks about a span long, and four inches in breadth and thickness, is very white, hard, and in the greatest plenty, though the caravans are continually going and coming with it; the plain that yields it being said to be four days journey in length. To this last we may add a third sort, of a reddish colour, which is hewn from an intire rock: this is commonly used in physic; and the mountain must be passed by night, the heat being so violent in the day, that it often stifles both man and beast; and the very shoes are parched, as if they were laid upon burning coals^h.

High and stupendous rocks and mountains.

An impregnable barrier to the empire.

THE next sort of natural rarities, is their stupendous, high, craggy, and almost inaccessible mountains; in comparison of which, the *Apennines*, *Alps*, and *Pyrenees*, are but mere hillocks, and little eminences; and yet are here in such vast numbers, that there is not one province, or kingdom (except that of *Dembea*, which is for the most part a fertile plain, especially about the large lake of its name, of which we shall speak in its place), but what is covered thick with them; so that one can scarcely travel a day's journey without meeting with them; some of which are so lofty, steep, and craggy, that they are at once dreadful to behold, and no less dangerous and difficult to go over; and yet of such singular service are they to the country, that they seem designed by Providence as impregnable fortresses, without which, that small part which is left of that once vast empire, would long ago have been swallowed up by the *Turks*, *Gallas*, and other hostile nations, if those impenetrable barriers had not stood there to guard it on every side. Whilst their inaccessible summits seem vastly to

^a LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 7. § 1, & seq. TELLEZ, LOBO, & al. ^f LOBO, ubi sup. p. 74. ^g Id. ibid.
^h ALPHONSO, MENDEZ. See Jesuits Travels, l. iii. c. 8. LOBO, & al. sup. citat.

(A) It is not unlikely that this custom of carrying a piece of salt in their bag, was at first introduced with no other view than to moisten their parched mouths, as they travelled thro' those broiling climates; whence common civility and good nature might induce them to offer it to those strangers they met, and were perhaps destitute of it. It might very probably be the natural clamminess of

their tongues, which is usually occasioned by excessive drought and heat, caused some difficulty of speaking to one another, till it was diluted by the salt, that gave birth to this odd, and, to all appearance, unpolite ceremony. But this we only offer as our private conjecture, no author having given us any account how it was first brought in among them.

- a out-top the highest clouds, the vallies beneath look as if they were going to hide themselves in the lowest abysses of the earth; the former partaking of the keenness of the second and third regions of the air, and the latter, by their excessive heat, remind you of the central fire of the earth. These stupendous ridges, which the natives call *Dambas*, present you, at a distance, with a delightful variety of shapes; one sort bearing such a resemblance to some vast extensive city, that you can hardly forbear thinking that you see the high walls, towers, bastions, and a great diversity of other structures, as you approach nearer towards them. Another sort of them appears, some like pyramids, others like towers of various shapes, some of an exact square, others of as perfect a round from top to bottom, as if they had been turned, or wrought with the chissel; some appear of a vast and most difficult ascent; and when you come up to what you supposed to be the top, you find it to be only the foot of another, full as high, craggy, and difficult¹.

Dreadful vallies.

Various shapes.

- Of this nature is that which is called *Guça*, or *Guza*, in the kingdom of *Tigre*, which travellers, who come from the *Red Sea*, must cross, in going to that of *Dembea*, and which, when you have gained the top of it, presents to you a handsome spacious plain, in the midst of which stands another mountain of equal height, which you must likewise go over, after you have sufficiently refreshed yourself on the fertile and delightful top of the *Guza*. The ascent takes up about half a day's journey, and goes winding all the way up; the paths are very narrow, and cut into the side of the solid rock; and all the way you go presents you with the most deep and dreadful precipice, the bottom of which cannot be reached by the naked eye, but only offers a gulph, which at once makes one's head quite giddy, and fills the heart with a continual dread. Should any of the caravans, that keep going up and down these steep and narrow roads, chance to meet another in its way, they are in the greatest danger, both man and beast, of being thrown down the precipice, and broken into a thousand pieces before they reach the bottom, unless they take the utmost care in passing by one another. The mules are by far the best for those that ride, because they are the surest footed; but they have an ill faculty with them, that they will always go close to the edge of the precipice, and cannot without great risk be turned to the other side of the road, or to keep to it when one hath. What adds still more to the horror of the journey, whether it be up or down the steep declivity, is, that at the bottom of the valley below, there commonly runs a swift torrent of water, with a most hideous roar, which being echoed by the adjacent rocks, and often heightened by loud winds, as well as by the continual trampling of the men and beasts upon the rock, increases the horrid din to such a degree, that one cannot possibly hear one's self, much less one another, speak, though ever so loud, or ever so near^k.

Is only the basis of Lamel.

Difficult access.

Frightful access.

- BUT the wished-for summit once attained, which is reckoned above three hundred fathoms perpendicular above the plain top of *Guza*, and the most difficult part of all the way, being only provided by nature with a sort of steps like winding stairs, two or three cubits high, and uncouth, on both sides of the rock, one is made ample amends by the beautiful prospect it at once presents to the view, which is not that of rugged and intersected peaks above, and deep gaping valleys beneath, as one might expect, and as the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* afford, but of a small, tho' delightful, plain, about two miles in compass, and a musket-shot in breadth, and terminated at one end by a new, flat, and upright rock, like the back of a chair, of which this little plain is the seat; so that, take the whole mountain together, that of *Guza* seems to be a kind of pedestal to this; and this, which the natives call *Lamalmou*, represents, in some measure, a chair without arms, the back of which is the upright rock at the end of the plain, which is as perpendicular as if it had been hewn out with a chissel. Along what we call the seat of this wonderful and supereminent chair, is pleasantly situate a town of the same name, whose inhabitants make a handsome livelihood by helping the caravans to load and unload the beasts of burthen, a good part of the way of the craggy ascent above-mentioned, in order to help them to leap from one step to the other; so that one would be surprised to see with what facility they make them climb and keep their feet, and they themselves convey their burthens from one stair to another, thro' every difficult part of this ascent.

The fine prospect from the top of Lamalmou.

Beautiful shape.

Difficult ascent.

A town upon it.

- BUT what yields a still more surprisngly delightful prospect from this little lofty spot, is the unbounded view of the whole kingdom of *Tigre*, though the largest of the whole empire, and of the ridges of mountains of *Semen*, which run across, and intersect it in various parts, and which, at that height and distance, appear no higher than small hillocks. The misfortune is, that this little town, though strong and populous enough to defend itself against all assaults of any enemy, is but poorly furnished with all necessaries for human life, except water, which they have in plenty, and very good; every other kind, almost, they are obliged either to fetch from the lower lands, or to purchase at a dearer rate from the caravans, which doth not a little lessen the gain of their labour, and keeps them still poor and indigent^l.

The people poor.

¹ TEIJER, PAYS, KERCHER, PONCET, ALMEYDA, LUDOLPH, LOBO, LE GRAND, & al. mult. See the Travels of the Jesuits, l. i. c. 7. ALVAREZ, ALMEYDA, &c.

^k Id. ibid.

^l Id. ibid.

Guexen, a famous rock.

Described.

The princes of the blood confined upon the top of it.

Mount Tadbaba-Mariam described.

The burial-place of the emperors.

Whispering-place.

Beasts, cattle, and goods, craned up and down.

Way of travelling.

Lakes.

The large one of Dembea. Its extent.

MUCH of the same nature is the famed mountain, or rock, of *Guexen*, situate between the kingdoms of *Ambara* and *Xava*, on the summit of which was such another, but larger plain, well watered and wooded, and with some ground for tillage and pasture, and guarded on all sides with strong and difficult passes made by the natural rock, and in which the princes of the blood were formerly kept prisoners, and whence they were fetched to be raised to the imperial throne. This stupendous and impregnable mountain is a perpendicular rock, in the nature of a fortress, the breadth of which, on the top, along the slope, may be about half a league, but at the bottom is about half a day's journey in circuit; the height is such, that the strongest cannot cast a stone with a sling high enough to reach the top. The ascent, tho' not very steep at first, grows by degrees so difficult and painful, that even their cows, which in this country climb and skip like wild goats, cannot be hoisted up without slings and pulleys. On the top is nothing to be seen but a parcel of poor huts, dismally put together, of stone and dirt, covered above, and lined within, with straw, with scarce any tolerable furniture besides. These served for mansion-houses both for the unfortunate princes, who were sent thither, and for their guards. About the middle of the plain were two springs which supplied them with water, the one to drink, and the other to wash themselves in. A few corn fields they had for tillage, and some pasture ones for their cattle, and some few trees, in form of a thicket, served them for a shady refreshment *: in this dismal solitude they spent their lives, till either raised to the empire, or set at liberty by death. This rigorous custom was, however, set aside about two centuries ago, as we shall see in its proper place: but the most considerable of them all, according to father *Alphonzo Mendez*, is that which they call *Thabat Mariam*, or more properly *Tadbaba Mar-jam*, whose summit vastly out-tops all the rest, and even the clouds, by far, and is likewise very spacious. This famed mountain, whose bottom is watered by two large rivers descending from it, hath seven handsome churches built upon it, one of which, dedicated to St. *John*, is very rich and beautiful, having been formerly the burying-place of the *Abissinian* monarchs, of whom there are five monuments, covered with tapestry, which hath the arms of *Portugal*; from which one may conjecture them to have been presented for that purpose by king *Emanuel*, to the then emperor *David* ^m.

THE last we shall mention under this head, is that celebrated hollow high rock, in the kingdom of *Gojam*; just opposite to which stands another, much of the same height and bigness, so exactly placed by nature, that it echoes back a word barely whispered in the other, with such force, that it is heard at a great distance; and the joint voices of three or four persons speaking together, sound as loud as a great shout from a numerous army ⁿ. And thus much shall suffice, for the extraordinary mountains of this empire. Those who want a large detail of them, may read the description which father *Almeyda*, who had gone over most of them, hath given us of the rest of these dreadful and gigantic piles; the very reading of which fills one with a chilly dread, rather than delight. We shall only add here, that some of those craggy ascents we have spoken of, would be wholly inaccessible in many places, had not necessity forced those, otherwise indolent, people, to have recourse to cranes, and other such shifts, by which they draw up, and let down, both the beasts and their burthens, by dint of ropes and pulleys; inasmuch, that even their mules and oxen, which naturally climb like wild goats, must be craned up and down in the same manner ^o. Their way of travelling through this rocky and mountainous country is upon mules, or asses, which are the best, and, as we lately hinted, the most sure-footed beasts, to clamber up and down those craggy ascents; but in the plains the camels are the most commonly used, as the best fitted by nature for those hot, dry, and sandy climates, their horses being only to be mounted in time of war, to charge the enemy.

THE next natural rarities of this country are their lakes and rivers. Of the former, we meet with few of any note, except those of *Zoai*, or *Zowaia*, in the kingdom of *Xaoa*, out of which springs the river *Matchi*, which falls into the great *Hawash*, or *Xaoax*, and with it is buried or absorbed in the sandy deserts of the kingdom of *Adel*, and that of *Dembea* in the kingdom of that name, and stiled by the inhabitants *Bar-Dambea*, or the sea of *Dembea* (B). This last is by far indeed the most considerable of the two, on several accounts, but more particularly of its largeness, and its vast length and breadth, it extending itself from the

* Id. *ibid.* ^m Id. *ibid.* vid. *LOBO*, & *LE GRAND*, *Dissert.* l. ii. p. 206. ap. *Ludolph*, l. i. c. 6. §. 15. ^o Id. *ibid.*

ⁿ *KERCHER* & *PAYS*,

(B) It hath had several strange names given to it, both by ancients and moderns, for which we can see no foundation. *Ptolemy* calls it *Colue*; *John de Barros*, *Barceau*, probably from one of its islands; as *Ludolph* calls it *Lacus Tzanicus*, from that of *Tzana*, one of the most con-

siderable in it (1). Some geographers give the lake two names, and call the south part *Zambre*, and the north part *Zaira* (2); though there be not the least ground for such a division, the inhabitants giving it the name of *Bahr*, or sea. It is not therefore unlikely, that those

(1) *Hist. Ethiop.* l. i. c. 8.

(2) *Vid. Atlas of Mercator & Johnson*, an. 1635.

- a the 12th to the 14th degree of north latitude, almost thirty in most places, and thirty-five leagues where longest; and in breadth from ten leagues, where narrowest, to almost fourteen or fifteen where broadest, and about ninety miles in circumference, exclusive of its deep bays, creeks, and other windings: the waters of it are sweet and clear; and breed great plenty and variety of fish. The country round about is plain, fertile, and delightful; and the inside of the lake abounds with a multitude of islands of different sizes, the largest inhabited by *Abissinian* monks, and very pleasant and fertile: about seven or eight of them have monasteries, which, though going to decay, appear to have been formerly stately edifices; and among the various products which they yield, they have such fine citron and orange trees, as exceed any in the empire for beauty and fine taste. One of these islands, and the most barren of all, which the inhabitants called *Dek*, is made the prison, or place of confinement, for great prisoners of state ^P.

- THIS great lake is navigable, and the *Abissinians* sail on it in flat-bottomed boats, which they call *tancoas*, and which are not made of wood, but of a kind of rushes they call *tambuas*, with which its waters abound, each of which is of the thickness of a man's arm, and about two yards in length. This *tambua* grows likewise in other lakes, and all along the banks of the *Nile*, and is used for the same purposes, though this last is thinner and longer than that which grows in the lakes, and is the same which *Pliny* hath described to us ¹, and which the ancients called *papyrus*, and was serviceable to them not only in making of their paper, but likewise their boats, sails, and other tackle; the like of which is done by the *Abissinians* with their *Dembean* reeds. The misfortune is, that this lake breeds multitudes of hippopotami, or sea-horses, which not only endanger the navigation but destroy great quantities of fish, and make a dreadful havock where-ever they come, as they usually do, to graze upon the land. However, it breeds neither crocodiles nor alligators, as the *Nile* doth; so that the cattle may safely feed on the fertile pasture grounds adjacent to it, and come and drink of its wholesome waters, without any danger from those amphibious monsters: and as for the sea-horses, there are people who make it their business to destroy them, and live upon their flesh, and cut their skins into long straps, called *allengas*, which the *Abissinians* use instead of whips and spurs to their horses. Much less is it infested with tritons, mermaids, and other sea monsters, as some authors have pretended ², who have been since confuted by others of greater authority, who have resided in that kingdom ³.

- WHAT is still more singular of this lake, is, that it receives the *Nile* into its bosom, and gives its waters a free passage across it from west to east, without intermixing its own with it. Hence it is that the ancients, and many of our modern geographers, have imagined that celebrated river to have its rise from thence, though the contrary hath been since discovered by eye-witnesses, who have been at the pains to trace it back from the place where it falls into the lake, quite up to its famous, and so long sought-for springs, which are above twenty leagues in a direct line distant from it, as we have formerly had occasion to shew in our ancient history of this country, to which the reader is referred for a more particular account ⁴.

- It will not be, however, foreign to our general design, to observe here, with the ingenious Mr. *Maillet*, an author who was not only personally conversant with most of the missionaries, and other *Portuguese* authors, who have wrote so decisively concerning the two sources of this famed river, but with many others who have had occasion to visit those parts, how little reason there is to acquiesce in the account they give us, of this so much boasted discovery, especially as the merit and reputation of it is so apt to inspire one with an ambitious desire after a title, or even some bare pretence to it.

- THIS seems no less evident to us, from the artful preference they have given us of these two springs, to a vast number of others, which, by their flowing into the same common stream, though perhaps from a much greater distance, might intitle them, with as much justice, to that dignified name: for when so many different brooks thus join their waves into one common stream, as they do here, how can one, with so much seeming certainty, assign that title to any one or two of them, exclusive of the rest; and yet unless this can be done,

^P TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat. Atlas, an. 1653.

¹ Nat. Hist. lib. xiii. c. 11.

² Vid. JOHNSON'S Anc. Hist. vol. i. p.

³ TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup. 177. vii. p. 187, & seq.

authors followed the common error, that this vast receptacle received its waters from the two great rivers of *Zaida*, or *Zaira*, and *Coanza*; the former of which discharges itself, on the contrary, into the *Abissinian* sea, near the coasts of *Kongo*; and the latter runs its course eastwards, towards the kingdom of *Angot*; whereas it

is plain, that the river *Nile* is the only one that is known to flow into this lake, which is the cause that its waters rise to such a prodigious degree in winter, by the many other rivers flowing, as well as by the torrents that fall from the adjacent mountains into it, in such vast plenty (3).

(3) *Id. ibid. vid. Corneille, la Martiniere, & al. sup. citat.*

the head spring of that river may justly be deemed as unknown to us as it was to the ancients. ^a What is the *Nile* itself, with all that multitude of streams that flow into it, but a mere brook, before the *Jemma*, which falls from the distant mountains of *Dengla*, with a much greater force, and a much larger quantity of water, swells it into the bulk of a river; or, to speak perhaps more properly, receives it into its bosom, and by a strange and un-natural requital, is forced to yield at once its waves and dignity to that proud intruder.

BUT here we are told, that this last is stamped by nature with the marks of the sovereign dignity: its forked head, tipped on the top with two wonderful bottomless springs, running down from two small hillocks, adorned with delightful trees leading to it, into a small lake, the clearness of the streams, the hollow ground through which it runs, the pleasant track of verdure which it leaves above-ground all the way that its waves run under it, the hollow ^b trembling ground through which it glides, and the constant tribute of water paid to it by a great number of brooks on both sides, these, and a variety of other topographical embellishments, whether real or imaginary, whether peculiar to that river, or common to those that flow into it, are what hath determined the good fathers to fix the diadem on its head, preferably to the *Jemma*, or any other pretender.

THUS much may suffice with regard to the source of this celebrated river. As to the cause of its not mixing its proud waves with those of the *Dembean* lake, a fact founded on frequent and unquestionable observations, it is rightly supposed to be the largeness and violence of its stream; which having received several other large rivers into it, and running its course downwards, with an unusual rapidity and sundry dreadful falls, carries all before it with an irresistible force, ^c and makes itself a chanel of twelve or more leagues through the *Dembean* waters, for so far it is from the place of its entrance to that of its falling out of that lake ^u.

Chief rivers
of the Nile de-
scribed in the
Anc. History.

Tacaza.

Its course along
the famed de-
sert of Aldaba.

THIS river is justly esteemed by far the most considerable of all *Ethiopia*, on many other accounts besides those already mentioned; but as it hath been fully described, both with regard to its springs, windings, cataracts, rivers falling into it, and other particulars relating to it, in our Ancient History ^w, we shall refer our readers to the place above quoted, to avoid needless repetitions, and go on with describing those which have not been at all, or but transiently, mentioned there. Among these last is the *Tacaza*, which, as we formerly hinted, is one of the principal ones that falls into the *Nile*, and is supposed the *Astaboras* of *Ptolemy* ^x. It hath its source on the ridge of mountains called *Arywagua*, on the frontiers of the kingdom of ^d *Angot*, next to that of *Bargemder*, where, at the foot of the higher-seated mountain toward the east, break forth with great force three several springs, within a stone's throw of each other, and joining their streams together, make up a considerable one, which runs eastward some days journey, between the territories of *Daphana* and *Hoage*, which lie north of it; thence crossing the kingdom of *Tigre*, it runs through the province of *Sire*, leaving its fertile lands on the east, and its celebrated desert of *Aldaba* on the west, once as famed for the number and austerity of its anchorites, as that of *Thebais*; thence continuing its course still northwards through the province of *Holeait*, and the low-lands of the *Caffres*, it at length enters into the kingdom of *Dequin*, inhabited by a kind of Moors, called *Baulons*, where it soon after loses itself in the *Nile*. This river, though not so large quite as that it runs into, ^e is in many places very deep, and abounds with crocodiles and sea-horses, both of an extraordinary size, and the fish, formerly mentioned, called torpedo ^y.

The Zebec, its
rise and course.

THE *Zebec* rises in the kingdom of *Nerea*, and is said to be larger than the *Nile*; it rises in a canton of *Boxa*, belonging to that kingdom, and taking its course first westward, and then eastward, and thence southward, surrounds in some measure the kingdom of *Gingiro* into a peninsula, as the *Nile* doth that of *Gojam*; after this, it continues its course southward beyond *Ken*, and is supposed to be the same that disembogues itself at *Mombaza* ^z.

The Mareb
runs part of its
way under
ground.

THE *Mareb*, another considerable river, hath its source at about two leagues distance westward from the town of *Debaroa*, since called *Fremona*, in the kingdom of *Tigre*, whence winding itself to the south, and entering into the sandy territories of the *Caffres*, ^f it comes down with a dreadful fall from a rock thirty cubits high, and buries itself a long way under-ground, yet not so low, but that if one digs a few yards deep, as the *Portuguese* did when they carried on the war in those parts, one finds not only plenty of sweet water, but of good fish. A little farther southwards the river rises again, and winding itself into the more fertile kingdom of *Dekin*, or *Dequin*, distributes all its fattening treasure of water on those lands, as if it had forgot to go any farther, or to return into the ocean ^a. In the winter season, this river, we are told, takes a different course before it buries itself

^u TELLEZ, PAYS, ALMEYDA, LOBO, & al. ibid.

^y ALMEYDA, LOBO, TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al.

Santos Ethiop. orient. l. v. c. 1.

^w Ubi sup.

^x Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 189 (I).

^z TELLEZ Travels of the Jesuits, l. i. c. 4. JOHN DOS

^a TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al.

- a in the sands, and runs between the provinces of *Suroa*, *Affa*, *Harve*, and *Towat*; and gliding along the foot of the monastery of *Halleluja*, which stands at a small distance from *Fremona*, above-mentioned, and consequently from the place where it rises; after which it enters into the sandy lands, and there sinks itself out of sight ^b.

ANOTHER river, almost equal to the *Nile*, is the *Hoax*, *Haoax*, or according to Mr. *The Haoax*. *Ludolph*, *Hawash*, which rises between the kingdoms of *Xoa* on the north, and of *Ogge* and *Fattegar*, on the south, and directing its course eastward, receives several large rivers, particularly the *Machi*, or *Matsbi*, which flows from the great lake of *Zawaja*, or *Zoaj*, *Machi*. in the kingdom of *Ogge*, above-mentioned; thence, with this new addition, it hurries its rapid stream into the kingdom of *Adel*, which it enters at a place called *Anca-Garrele*, where the fathers *Pereira* and *Machado*, two jesuit missionaries, were beheaded, by the *Mohammedan* king, in hatred to Christianity. This noble river makes ample amends to the inhabitants for the scarcity of rains, which fall here but seldom; and being, like the *Nile*, drawn into numerous chanel, enriches all that tract, by watering their fields and fertilising their vallies, so that they produce the greatest plenty of corn and cattle; and at length, like the *Mareb* above-mentioned, buries itself in the earth ^c, as if it thought it a more honourable sepulchre than the sea (C).

OTHER rivers of this empire having little in them worth our reader's attention, we shall content ourselves with the bare naming of those of most note; such as the *Bachilo*, or *Baxilo*, which divides the kingdoms of *Begemder* and *Ambara*; the *Guexem*, or *Queccam*, which divides the latter from that of *Valaka*, or *Olaca*; the *Anguer*, which joining its stream with the *Maleg*, carries their fertility through the kingdoms of *Damot*, *Narea*, *Bizamo*, and the cantons of the *Gaffates* and *Gongas*; all which, and many others we omit, may be best seen in the map of this empire, at the beginning of this chapter. And thus much may suffice for the natural rarities of this empire.

THEIR artificial ones, at least such as may be relied upon, are much fewer in number, as the reader may judge by what hath been said above of their trade and manufactures; yet some of them are of such an uncommon nature, as to deserve the attention of a curious reader: we mean those ten stately churches cut out of the solid rock, by dint of the hammer and chissel, and so highly extolled by the patriarch *Alvarez*, and father *Tellez*; the latter of whom hath only given us the names, but the former hath obliged the world with a description of them. What still increases the wonder, is, that they were all completed, by the command, and at the charges, of one of their great monarchs, named *Lalibela*, of whose glorious reign and actions we shall give a further account in its proper place. Their names are, *St. Emanuel*, *St. Saviour*, *St. Mary*, the *Holy Cross*, *St. George*, *Golgotha*, *Bethlehem*, the *Martyrs*, *Marcoreos*, and *Lalibela*; which last bears the name of its noble founder, and is by far the noblest structure of all the rest, though himself was interred in that of *Golgotha*. This pious and magnificent prince, being sensible of the scarcity of archi-

^b LOBO, ubi sup. p. 212, & seq.

^c TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

(C) It will not be improper here to acquaint our readers, that this is the same river which a fabulous author calls the *Niger*, or black river, for no other reason than because it runs through the country of the blacks; as if no other rivers of this and the circumjacent empire did the same, but run through the countries of the whites. This river, of which that writer makes the *Nile* to be only a branch (though it be certain there is no such river in this *Ethiopia*, as we shall see when we come to speak of it in its proper place) he goes on to tell us, in his romantic way, forms three lakes; from the one of which a river flows, which always runs over stones of great value, such as rubies, sapphires, emeralds, garnets, &c. besides gold-dust; and falling into the sea at *Melinda*, hath a great fishery of pearl and ambergris at the mouth of it (4).

To this imaginary river of our monkish author, we shall add another no less fabulous, and no less celebrated by the romantic *Hebrew* rabbies, viz. the *Sabbation*, or *Sabbatic* river, which is affirmed to flow with a swift and loud current, during the six first days of the week, and to be dried up during the whole sabbath, or seventh day. *Josephus* is the first who tells us that *Titus* saw it in his way through *Syria* (5), but makes it to flow only on the

sabbath day, and to be dry all the other six; which is the reverse of what its name imports. *Pliny*, upon the credit of some *Jewish* fabulist, speaks more properly of it (6), when he says that in *Judea rivus omnibus sabbatis exsiccatur*, a river in *Judea* is dried up every sabbath day.

But the rabbins abovementioned speak of the *Sabbation*, or *Sabbatic* river, in a much higher strain, and place it in different parts of the world; some beyond the *Euphrates*, some in *India*, and some in the *Abissinian* empire (7), and pretend that it is so rapid, wide, and deep, that it is impossible to cross it, and that on the sabbath it is quite dry; for which reason, the *Israelites*, who are pretended to possess large territories and dominions on the other side, place guards along its banks, to prevent being invaded by strangers on that day. *Jonathan Ben Uziel*, the pretended author of the *Chaldee* paraphrase, an author more ancient than *Josephus*, mentions likewise this *Sabbation*; but few of the learned believe that paraphrase to have been his. So that, upon the whole, *Josephus* seems to be the first broacher of that fabulous river, of which no mention is made by any other author, except *Pliny*, who probably had it from him (8).

(4) *Ludow. Urett. Hist. de Ethiop. lib. i. c. 29.*

(5) *De bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 24.*

(6) *Lib. xxxi.*

(7) *Vid. Rabinos citat. in Bibliot. Bartoloc. vol. i. p. 100, & seq. Bibl. Rab. Wolfii.*

(8) *Vid.*

Ludolph, l. iv. c. 8. §. 115. Buxtorf Lexic. Talmud. sub voc. Calmet, & al. plur.

And finished in 24 years. tects and workmen in his own empire, for the carrying on of such vast designs, sent for a competent number of them out of *Egypt*; a kingdom which hath been always famous for them, ever since the building of the celebrated pyramids; and these, by his munificence, completed all these churches, we are told, in the space of twenty-four-years, in the wonderful manner above-mentioned ^d. We shall refer our reader to the description which *Alvarez* hath left us of these stupendous structures, the completing of which in that singular manner, and in so short a time, would appear at least very incredible, were we not told at the same time, that the rocks out of which they were thus curiously hewn, were of so soft a nature, that the workmen's tools went easily through them; though they hardened afterwards to such solidity when exposed to the sun and weather. Neither is it improbable that they might have naturally something of that form before-hand, since we find such variety of other figures ^b represented by them, and as exact and regular as if they had been cut with a chissel: a few instances of which we have seen under the last article.

Ancient churches belonging to monasteries.

SOME of their other churches, particularly those which belonged to their most celebrated monasteries, appear to have been formerly large and sumptuous structures, and might be deservedly ranked among their artificial rarities, not only on that account, but much more for their singular form, they being mostly built after the model of the temple of *Jerusalem*, and divided into the same three atria, or partitions. Some of them are of a round figure, and have a square chapel in the centre, of square stone, with four gates, facing the four cardinal points; the portals and windows were of cedar, or some other curious wood, neatly wrought. The roof above rises in the form of a cupola, but within appears always gloomy, ^c as having no first light. Without the square, between it and the round walls, was the body of the church, which looked more like a cloister, and was well lined all over with cedar wood, and the roof was supported with pillars of the same, very costly and beautifully wrought. Most of them, however, are gone to decay: and of some of them, little more was left than their ruins, or at best some few fragments, still serving to the same religious uses ^e.

Run to decay.

The imperial palace described.

WE omit sundry other such rarities, both natural and artificial, mentioned by *Athanasius Kercher*, which those who can give credit to them may see in his large collection. And the last we shall mention here, is the famed imperial palace, built after the *European* taste, by father *Pays*, of which we promised to give a short account under this head. This stately edifice was faced within and without with large square stones, neatly wrought and joined together. ^d Among the stately apartments of it, was one fair spacious room, fifty feet in length, and fifteen in breadth; and on the same floor, a square bed-chamber, together with a spacious stair-case in the middle, leading from the lower to the upper floor. From this ascended a second, leading to the flat roof of the house, which was guarded about with a handsome parapet. On the top of this upper stair-case was built a little room, like a closet, in which the emperor used to delight himself much, because he had from thence a distant view of the whole *Dembean* lake, and all the adjacent country, the palace being built on a rising ground, in the large peninsula called *Gorgora*, on the northern side of the lake: from thence also he could see nearer at hand all that went in and out, without being perceived by any body ^f. This delightful spot being the the place where that monarch used to spend the greatest part ^e of the winter, and had caused it to be beautified with stately gardens after the *European* manner.

^d ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, KERCHER, & al. plur.
^f TELLEZ, & al. vid. & LUDOLPH, l. ii, c. 12. LOBO, & al. sup. p. 116.

^e TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

S E C T. VI.

Of the government, laws, emperor's court, power, coronation, pompous titles, camp, retinue, army, revenue, and other prerogatives.

Government of Abissinia; **I**T plainly appears, by all the records of this once vast and opulent empire, that its government was from its first foundation monarchical and despotic, and that, though its origin and uninterrupted series of monarchs, which the *Abissinians* so much boast of, be at best very precarious and doubtful, yet there cannot be found, either in their tradition or annals, or through any of those great revolutions which it hath undergone during so long a series of ages, a period of time, in which those princes did not rule with despotic sway, and claim an absolute right over the lives, liberties, and fortunes of their subjects, as well as an uncontrollable

The emperors power absolute.

a troublable authority in all matters ecclesiastical as well a civil^a. There never were among them any written laws concerning their government, much less any to restrain their exorbitant power, or secure the subjects the least privilege or property; but his sole will is the universal law. Notwithstanding which extensive prerogative, derived to them from time immemorial, we find not that the clergy have so wholly acknowledged or submitted to it: but that they have, upon various occasions, strenuously opposed it, not only in matters wholly religious and ecclesiastical, but even in some that were merely political, such as the succession or coronation of some of their emperors, as we shall see in the sequel.

WE have already observed^b, that these princes boast themselves descended from *Menilebeck*, or *David*, the son of the great *Solomon* king of *Israel*, by the queen of *Sheba*. This prince, according to them, did, after her return from *Judea*, reign twenty-five years, and was succeeded by this son, from whom descended a series of princes, in a direct line, down to the year 960, when the crown passed into another family; in virtue of which noble descent, they stile themselves *Nagush*, and are always addressed either by that of *nagusha nagasht*, or king of kings; or by that of *hatzeghe*, equivalent to the *French* sire. But, besides these, they assume commonly some other pompous ones in their edicts, letters, and other public writings: such was, for instance, the letter of the emperor *Lebna Danguil*, al. *David*, al. *Soltan Segued*, (for he bore all those names) to *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*; in which he stiles himself *David* the beloved of God, pillar of the faith, kinsman to the race of *Judah*, son of *David*, and of *Solomon*, son of the pillar of *Sion*, emperor of the great and high *Ethiopia*, and of its great kingdoms and provinces, &c. They likewise bear in their arms the lion of the tribe of *Judah*, holding a cross, with this inscription in *Ethiopic*, *The lion of the tribe of Judah is conqueror*^c. The respect that is paid to their presence, is answerable to their title and dignity, none of their subjects approaching it without the deepest marks of submission, and such as come little short of adoration, that is paid to several *Indian* princes, of whom we have had occasion to speak in some former volumes^d. They do not indeed affect, like them, that majestic piece of grandeur, of being seldom seen by their subjects; for these will often shew themselves to them in public, and even admit them into their presence; but this is never done without the greatest solemnity; and those who are thus far honoured, are obliged to fall prostrate on the earth before him, and kiss the ground as they approach his person. Something like it they observe even in his absence, insomuch, that they never hear his name mentioned without bowing their bodies very low, and touching the ground with their hand. As for all the other marks of their boasted grandeur and magnificence, it chiefly consists in the retinue that constantly attends their court, or rather their camp, for we have already observed that they chiefly live in tents. In these one may indeed see something of imperial pomp and state, though vastly short of that of the *Chinese*, and other monarchs, in their progress from place to place^e. They are not only accompanied by their own household and guards, which make up a numerous shew, but by all the grandees and officers of the empire, which out-vie one another, not only in the largeness and splendour of their retinue, but in the richness of their dress, and the sumptuousness of their pavilions; so that their camp always takes up a large space of ground, and makes a very magnificent shew; to which the regular disposition of the streets, and great variety of tents, streamers, and other ornaments, and especially the many lights and fires at night, contribute not a little; so that the whole appears like a vast open, and regular city, in whose center, or on some eminent part of which, is displayed the imperial pavilion, outvying all the rest, in height, bulk, and richness. Next to it, are those of the empresses and royal family, and then those of the lords and ladies of his court, all appearing with a proportionable, though inferior lustre. To these, we may add those stately large ones which serve them instead of churches, upon which they likewise bestow no small cost, to adorn and enrich them both within and without. As to the rest of this imperial camp, we must expect nothing extraordinary in it, except its vast extent, and the good order that is commonly kept in it, together with its market-places, courts of judicature, and other tribunals of justice, and the places where the young nobility perform variety of exercises on horseback, which afford likewise a delightful sight. All the rest appears only a huge variety of long extensive lanes, made up on all sides either of mean ordinary tents, or low miserable huts of laths and clay covered with straw, which serve for his guards, soldiery, and a prodigious multitude of sutlers and other attendance^f.

WHEN the emperor removes this his camp, or, as it may properly be stiled, his metropolis, which is done oftener or seldomer, according to his pleasure, or the condition the empire

^a TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LUDOLPH, PONCET, & al. plur.

^b See before, vol. v. p. 623.

^c 1 Kings, x. pass. vid. & TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO. Vid. & LUDOLPH, Ethiop. lib. ii. c. 1. pass. & al. plur.

^d See before, vol. iii. p. 576, & seq. & vol. iv. pass.

^e See before, vol. iii. p. 582, & seq.

^f TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, PONCET, LUDOLPH, DAM. GÖEZ, & al. plur.

*Vast havock
made by it.*

*How the em-
peror marches.*

*His army how
supplied with
provisions by
the country
people.*

*Camp how
pitched.*

*Method of
marching.*

is in (D), (some princes having changed places in two, three, or more years, others but once a in six or seven, or even as far as ten years) their chief care is to chuse a most convenient spacious spot, well furnished with water, and especially with wood, because when that begins to fail them, they are obliged to remove; and it is scarcely conceivable what havock they make of it, for want of observing a due order in felling of it; so that vast forests, mountains, and vallies, are frequently laid bare in a little time; insomuch, that whenever this huge unwieldy incampment removes, there is then no more to be seen for a long while after, but the mere naked ground; and it is looked upon amongst them as a great, if not an incredible wonder, that such great cities as are in other parts of the world should be able to subsist so long a time in one place, without being in extreme want of wood. The emperor, in his march, whether in time of peace or war, is always attended by his azaques and chief ministers: he b appears with a crown on his head, which is made up of pieces of gold and silver, embellished with some sea pearl; for other kinds of jewels were never so much as seen in *Abissinia*, if we may believe abbot *Gregory*, and the generality of *Portuguese* missionaries; though *Poncet*, on the contrary, describes the empress as covered all over with jewels, when he had the honour to be admitted to her presence *. He also wears a kind of cap, or hat, made after the *Indian* manner, and commonly brought from thence. It was likewise the custom formerly, for these princes to be surrounded with a set of *Indian* curtains, to keep them from public view; but that having been long ago set aside, they will now frequently leave their mule, and shew themselves on a stately prancing horse. Some time before they begin their march, proper officers are sent all the way before, to the governors of every province and place where c they are to pass, with orders not only to provide them and the whole army with all necessaries, but likewise to clear and repair the roads, and especially to clear the woods, through which their way lies, of all superfluous branches, briars, and every thing else that may retard their march; though they can travel but slowly, and by short journies, by reason of the multitudes of women, children, cattle, and other luggage that commonly follows them. These orders seldom fail of being executed with the utmost exactness by the country-people, because, upon the least deficiency, they are sure to be severely fined; and, which is still worse, are frequently undeservedly so, through the knavery of the overseers; so that on the time appointed, they all punctually come with their quotas of cows, corn, beer, hydromel, &c. all which are afterwards distributed with the same exactness among the several ranks and orders of the army; d it being a standing law, throughout the whole empire, that every district and canton, through which the emperor or his army are to pass, shall find them in all those necessaries, and make the roads fit for them e. Besides these purveyors above-mentioned, the *Titmerari*, or officer that commands the van-guard, takes upon him the office of quarter-master general, and fixes his pike on the spot he chuses for the imperial pavilion; after which, every one of the rest knowing his own rank, and the ground that he is to take up, they easily guess by their eye where their tents are to be pitched; so that the whole encampment is completed in a trice, and with its usual readiness; and with such regularity and exactness, as well as dispatch, that, notwithstanding their being so frequently removed, yet every one knows the ways and paths so well, that he can go to the tent of any one with the same facility that he can to his own, or as we can find a lane, street, or house, in any of our cities, or most populous towns.

THE camp is divided into seven parishes, every one of which hath its head priest, with all his deacons and inferiors under him, who assist him in the instruction of youth, in performing the divine service, and other functions of the priestly office. Whenever the enemy hap-

* English edit. p. 53.

e Id. Ibid.

(D) These removes are chiefly occasioned either thro' the want of wood and provisions, or by the different wars which those princes have in hand, sometimes with one enemy, sometimes with another, they being in a great measure surrounded by them on every side. During some part of the time of the missionaries residence in those parts, the emperor had his camp at a place called *Dencas*, where it continued ten whole years; but before that, he had five or six other places, in which he had tarried only one, two, or three years. The emperors have likewise a place for their winter quarters, where they retire with their wives and household, as it were from business, especially in the time of war, and return to the camp with the return of the spring (9).

The imperial army, as we shall see by-and-by, is supplied with provisions, in their march, by the people of the country thro' which they pass; but if it stays any time in one place, the emperor, or, in his absence, his head general, have no other way to subsist them, than by assigning certain towns to them; in virtue of which, they not only strip the poor people of their provisions, but carry off all that they can lay their hands on; by which means, whole cantons, and sometimes provinces, are quite ruined, and almost depopulated; the poorer sort being forced to abandon their dwellings, and either to go and settle in some more distant ones, or, which is often the case, to turn vagabonds, and live upon the hospitality of the people (10).

(9) *Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Ludolph, Dam. de Goes, Codign. & al. al. pass.*

(10) *Id. ibid. See before, p. 199, &*

pens to be near, the army is ordered to march close, and in the best order; the van-guard and rear drawing up close to the main body. The wings spread themselves out; and the emperor keeps in the centre with his guards, great officers, ladies, &c. leaving still a sufficient interval for inclosing the baggage. At other times they observe little or no order in their marches, saving that there is always a number of warlike instruments, with kettle and other drums sounding before, and a set guard marching around him. He always mounts and alights in his tent; and, if he hath occasion to alight by the way, the guards immediately make a ring about his person, and spread their cloaks to keep him unseen; and if it is with a design to take rest, a couch, which is commonly carried near at hand for that purpose, is brought to him, on which he lies on cushions covered with carpets of the finest silks. We omit some other curious, though less material, instances of the power and grandeur of the *Abissinian* monarchs, which some writers have given us an account of ^b, as we do not find them mentioned by the principal authors we have hitherto followed. To come therefore to some more important ones:

We have already hinted, that the *Abissinian* crown is altogether hereditary, and must be preserved in the same family, that is, in the posterity of *Menilebek*, their first monarch; but the succession to it is not so absolutely tied to the primogeniture, but an emperor, if he pleases, may set aside his eldest son, or any other of them, for the sake of a younger, whom he favours more, or thinks more worthy of it. This often proved the cause of much jealousy and misunderstanding between the young princes, and sometimes of long and cruel wars between them; and in all probability gave birth to that severe custom, held in this empire, of confining all the princes of the blood to the fortrefs or rock called *Amba-Guexen*, lately described. The occasion of it, as well as that of its being afterwards abrogated, appearing more singular than clear, the reader may see in the margin (E). But, whatever gave rise to it, sure it is, that the successor to the crown was always fetched from thence while that custom lasted, in order to be invested with the regalia of that empire. Till that time, they were kept, with the rest of those unfortunate prisoners, under such a very strict guard, that no creature was permitted to come near them; nor could any message or letter be conveyed to them, till it had undergone the examination of their gaolers, whose business it was to keep them under the strictest and severest discipline; insomuch that they would not allow them to wear any better clothes than those cotton ones, which were the usual garb of the common people, lest a more distinguished dress should inspire them with ambitious thoughts ⁱ.

We have a remarkable instance of this related by father *Tellez*, which is as follows: One of these guards or gaolers, who was naturally very rigid, observing that one of those young

A notable instance of one of them.

^b DAM. GOES Mores Abissin. pass. ILLESC. Pontif. Hist. l. vi. c. 22, & al. DOLPH, & al. ubi sup.

ⁱ TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup.

(E) This rigorous custom, we are told, was not introduced till the year 1260, when the then emperor *Iqubnu*, or *kon-Amlacus*, having bequeathed the empire between his five (some say nine) sons, with a restriction, that they should reign alternately, every one his year, according to their seniority; the youngest of them, named *Free-Hecam*, not having patience to stay till his turn came, and being vexed to see those of his brethren, who had already reigned in theirs, sitting at an upper table, whilst he and the rest were obliged to take up with a lower, and to go and wash their hands in another room, because it was thought unseemly to do so before their betters; all these, joined together, inspired the ambitious youth with a design to abolish that shifting annual government, and to grasp it all into his own hands.

He found it difficult to carry on such a project without imparting it to some friend; and that friend found it no less dangerous to keep a secret, so that, instead of succeeding, he found himself intrapped in his own snare: for, as soon as it came near his turn to mount the throne, as he was studying all proper measures to secure all his other brethren in some such strong place as that of *Guexen* above-mentioned, his confidant revealed the whole secret to the then reigning brother; who liked the project so well, that he sent both the projector, and all his other brethren, under a strong guard, to the *Amba-Guexen*, as the fittest place for his purpose. Soon after which, He-

rod-like, growing jealous of his own sons, he sent them all likewise into the same dismal confinement. This is the substance of what our authors tell us (11) gave rise to this unnatural custom, which continued in use somewhat above two hundred years.

As to the occasion of its being afterwards abrogated, it was as follows: *Nahod*, the prince then on the throne, and the father of *Onak Segued*, the last prince of that country who came out of that dreadful confinement, had a son about eight or nine years old, of whom he was exceedingly fond. A counsellor, who came to court one day, seeing him standing by his father's side, could not forbear taking notice to the emperor, how big his son was grown; whereupon the young prince, who had a ready apprehension above his years, was struck with terror at the expression; and, fixing his weeping eyes upon his father, said, in a moving tone, "What am I then grown up for *Amba-Guexen*?" Which words made so deep an impression upon him, that he immediately resolved to abolish that inhuman custom; and not only swore himself, but obliged his counsellors, and officers of his court, to do the same; viz. that no son of his, nor of any other emperor, should thenceforth be ever confined to that place; which oath hath been so faithfully observed ever since, that no prince of the blood hath ever been sent thither from that time (12).

(11) *Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Poncet, Ludolph, & al. sup. citat.*

(12) *Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Poncet,*

princes was better clothed than the rest, and was more nice and careful in his dress, not only a severely reprimanded him for it, but tore it off his back; and threatened him, that if ever he caught him again in such finery, he would provide him a dress that would not please him. Some years after, this prince was raised to the imperial throne, and ordered that guard to be brought before him; who, coming with a heart full of the deepest apprehension, cast himself at his feet, and begged pardon for what he had formerly done to him. His fears, however, were soon turned into joy and gratitude, when that generous prince, bidding him rise, presented him with a rich suit, and a gold bracelet of great value, and dismissed him with words to this effect: *You did your duty as became you, and I am highly pleased with it: and, as you have served my father so faithfully, I doubt not you will do the same by me: return to your former charge*^k. This behaviour, which chiefly tended to make those guards b more rigid and severe, plainly shews, that, however hard that prince might deem his condition to be whilst under that cruel restraint, yet he did not think it politic or safe, now he was on the throne, to abate any thing of that severity and harsh confinement. And we may very well question, whether any thing less than the extreme grief and tears of so tender a young prince as he, whom we have just mentioned in the last note, could have prevailed upon the emperor *Nabod*, his father, to abolish a custom of such long standing, and which had been till then looked upon as one of the greatest securities to the monarch upon the throne, against any domestic faction or rebellion.

That custom
since abrogat-
ed;

and revived
again.

WE may add, that (if what father *Alvarez* tells us of his own knowledge may be credited, and all his brethren own that he may be safely depended upon so far^l), this custom was not c so thoroughly banished out of the empire as *Tellez* would insinuate, since he, *Alvarez*, positively tells us, that *David*, one of the sons of that very *Nabod*, having been raised to the throne, and defeated by his elder brother, was sent with all his younger brethren to that doleful confinement; and adds farther, that he saw one of the youngest of them, who had found means to escape, taken, and relegated to the same place. We shall not take upon us to reconcile two such different accounts; but only observe, that it is not at all likely, in such a fierce contest between so many young princes for the succession, he that proved conqueror over the rest should scruple the reviving such a custom for his own security, tho' ever so justly and reasonably, and, we may add, ever so solemnly, abolished by their father, and all the nobles of his empire^m.

F. Uretta's ac-
count opposite.

NEITHER shall we trouble our readers with the opposite account which father *Uretta*, the *Dominican*, hath given us of that princely prison; who rather describes it as an earthly paradise, in which those princes enjoy every kind of pleasure and happiness, except their liberty, and are educated in a manner suitable to their birthⁿ. That author is esteemed too fabulous to be credited against the consentient testimony of so many missionaries, whom he point-blank contradicts, not only in this, but in most other parts of his history, which is for that reason generally looked upon as fabulous, and by them represented as a heap of romantic forgeries^o; yet is he not the only one who contradicts those fathers in many material points (F); and it will perhaps remain a doubt, on whom we may most safely rely, till a fresh access to these dominions be opened again to the *Europeans*. However, with respect to the nature of this e manner of confining these young princes, we shall only beg leave to observe, that the delightful description which *Uretta* gives us of it being the most natural, and by far more for the honour of the *Abissinian* monarchs, than the dismal and melancholy one of *Almeyda* and his brethren, it is scarcely credible that so zealous a subject as the abbot *Gregory* would have confirmed the latter, had he not been convinced that it was the most agreeable to truth.

Ceremony of
coronation;

THE manner in which any of these young princes was brought out of that wretched abode, to ascend the throne, was as follows; which, by the way, was not done till after due consultation, and a strict enquiry into the character of the happy person. If the emperor, indeed, did declare him during his life, there was then no debate or opposition; but if he had not done it, the nobles and officers of the army had a right to chuse him whom they thought most f worthy of the crown. As soon as they had agreed upon a successor, the viceroy of *Tigre* went at the head of some forces, and incamped at the foot of the mountain, whence, with a

^l TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat.
DOLPH, ubi sup. lib. ii. c. 8. § 35, & seq.

¹ See before, p. 202, & seq.

^m Ibid. ib. Vide Lu-

ⁿ Hist. de Ethiopia.

^o THEVENOT, LUDOLPH, TELLEZ, & al.

(F) The reader may see, in particular, *Poncet's* description of some of the royal palaces, especially of the great city of *Gondar*, its vast concourse of merchants, and affluence; description of its houses, churches, and other buildings; the apparel of the empress, whom he repre-

sents as covered all over with jewels (13); and many more of the like kind; all which are quite contrary to the account of the missionaries, and Mr. *Ludolph's Gregory*.

(13) See *Poncet, English*, p. 53, &c.

a proper retinue of grandees and officers, he went up to the top; and, entering the hut or cell of the prince elect, he, with the usual formality, fixed the *Belul*, or imperial ear-ring, to his ear, which was the token of his election; immediately after which, the other young princes were sent for, to come and pay their homage to, and congratulate him, on his happy accession to the crown. The reader will easily conceive with what a heavy, not to say envious, heart they paid him that compliment, and took their final farewell of him.

As soon as the new emperor was come down, the governors, and other officers, came at the head of the army to meet him; and, as soon as they approached him, they all alighted together and saluted him; and, upon his giving them the signal, they all mounted again, and taking him into their center, conducted him to the *Debana*, or imperial pavilion, with loud acclamations of joy, heightened by the sounds of the trumpets, kettle-drums, and other musical instruments. Here he alone alighted within, whilst all the rest did the same without the *Debana*, and was soon after solemnly anointed by a proper prelate, called the *Saraje* *and anointing*: *Macare*, whilst the rest of his clergy accompanied the ceremony with psalms and hymns suitable to the occasion ^p. Presently after that ceremony, he was invested with the imperial robes, and the crown was set upon his head, which, as we lately hinted, was made of several pieces of gold and silver, shaped like lillies, or flower-de-luce's, intermixed with pearl seeds, and fixed on a kind of hat or cap, of blue velvet; on the top of which was a cross of the same metal: the sword of state was drawn and put into his hand, and he being seated on the throne, a herald (or, as father *Tellez* styles him, the *Ker Ace*, or head chaplain) immediately pro- *Other ceremonies on their coronation*. claimed him emperor, in words to this import; *We have caused—to reign*; whose words were on a sudden answered by the loud acclamations of the whole assembly and army, who came to pay homage to him.

THE sceptre, or an equivalent to it, is unknown amongst them, though it bears such a lively representation of the regal power and dignity in the sacred books of the *Old Testament* ^q. Some have indeed fancied, that the cross which they hold in their hand, was used by them instead of it; but that is a mistake, and this last is carried by the clergy in general, in token of their sacred function, the emperor being obliged to be ordained priest or deacon before he can be crowned, as we shall shew in the sequel. A kind of ritual, which we suppose contains the whole duty of a good sovereign, is next read and explained before him, either by the metropolitan that anoints him, or by some of his substitutes; but whether that prince promises, or swears to the observation of it or not, we are not told. From thence the new monarch goes and assists at the divine service, and receives the holy communion; and is afterwards accompanied by his court and army to the royal tent, through the joyful acclamations of the people, and with the sound of the trumpets, silver kettle-drums, and variety of other musical instruments; and the whole solemnity closed with feasting, and other tokens of joy ^r. We have *That of cutting the cord* omitted the whimsical ceremony of *cutting the cord*, which is peculiar to this country, and is to precede the coronation; but which being below the grandeur of such a solemnity, we shall give it our readers in the margin (G).

THE

^p TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al.

plur. ^r TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat.

^q Vide int. al. Gen. xlix. 10. Ps. cx. 2. & al.

(G) This ceremony is performed in the old ruined city of *Axum*, formerly described (14), that being still the place where the *Abissinian* monarchs are crowned. The same authors have added some other circumstances to it, which, tho' ludicrous, and beneath the dignity of a coronation, yet, thro' long standing, received as an irrevocable sanction; and there are few nations that have not adopted something, at least as whimsical and trifling as this we are going to speak of, in their grandest solemnities; witness the champion's office at the coronation of our monarchs.

There is an ancient stone, all over carved with unknown characters, standing at about the distance of two bow shots from the cathedral of *Axum*, at which the emperor elect is obliged, as he goes thither, to alight, and perform the ceremony called *the cutting of the cord*, which is commonly a silk line, or ribbon, which the maidens of *Axum* hold across his way. The place, before his coming, is spread over with rich carpets; and those of his retinue that go before, open the way to him through the crowds on both sides; and he, being alighted,

marches three times towards the silk line, and is asked by the maidens who hold it, Who he is? to whom he answers, *I am king of Israel*; and they reply, *Then are you not our king*; and he draws back. But being asked the same question at his third approach, and answering, *I am king of Sion*, he draws his sword, and cuts the cord with it; upon which they joyfully cry, then are you truly our king, the king of *Sion*; upon which the air is immediately filled with the loudest acclamations of joy, with the firing of the army's small arms, and the sound of variety of warlike and other instruments. The cord being cut, the abuna, or metropolitan, and his clergy, who stood at some small distance from it, and come on purpose from *Dembea* to perform the ceremony, march forwards towards him, and introduce him into the outward court of the church, with proper psalms or canticles, in their own tongue; where being crowned and anointed, he is thence conducted into the church to hear divine service, &c. Thus far father *Tellez*, and his brethren (15), concerning the coronation of the *Abissinian* monarchs.

(14) See before, p. 172.

(15) *Tellez*, l. iii. c. 53. *Ludolph*, l. ii. c. 11.

They have
plurality of
wives of dif-
ferent reli-
gions.

Chuse them
from among
their subjects.

Ceremony of
their nuptials.

Feasting and
carousing.

The queen
how pro-
claimed.

THE next grand ceremony relating to the *Abissinian* monarchs, is their nuptials, and the manner of marrying, and declaring their empresses. We have already observed, that they allow themselves the liberty of having a plurality of them, like their ancient progenitor *Solomon* king of the *Jews*^a: and they not only imitate him in that, but likewise in taking those of different religions, whether *Gentiles* or *Mohammedans*; and some of them have carried this licence so far, as, like that *Jewish* monarch, to allow their heathen wives to have their own temples and idols; so that one might see, on one side, the church of God, and on the other, a *Pagan* temple, as it was the case in *Soltan Segued's* reign; though others indeed had so much regard to religion, as to cause those *Pagan* or *Mohammedan* princesses to be instructed and baptized in it before they married them. The generality of them, however, chuse to marry the daughters of noble families, of which there are abundance in some of their chief provinces and kingdoms, especially in that of *Tigre*; whilst some of them, paying a greater regard to the natural endowments of the mind, or the beauty of the person, than to the nobleness of their extract, which they thought added nothing to their own grandeur, chiefly chose them for the former; they being thought sufficiently ennobled by being preferred to the imperial bed^c.

As soon, therefore, as the monarch has pitched upon any young lady for his wife, she is brought away from her parents, and lodged in the house of some of his relations, in order to come to a better knowledge of her good qualities. If he is satisfied with her in that point, he takes her with him to church on a *Sunday*, where having assisted at the divine service, and received the holy communion, they are led back to the imperial pavilion, attended by the whole court, in their richest attire; there the abuna, or chief prelate, commonly performs the matrimonial ceremony; which ended, the emperor, as is usual at all other times, dines by himself in his own apartment, and she in hers, in company with a number of other ladies. The nobles, clergymen, and deptaras (H), are likewise sumptuously treated at other tables and tents, with variety of meats and liquors; and the feast generally does not conclude among the male guests, till all the plenty of liquors, which had been prepared for them, be quite drank out: after which, every one lays himself down on the next convenient place that comes in his way, and sleeps it out till the next morning; a custom observed, not only at these royal weddings, but in most of their other feasting; but in such royal ones as these, care is taken that there be a plentiful supply of those liquors lodged before-hand in some convenient part of the pavilion, where the guests may come as often as they please to replenish their cups^d.

THE conclusion of the nuptial festivity ended, the bride is not immediately declared empress (K), but is kept some days, weeks, or months, according to the emperor's pleasure;

^a See before, p. 207.
§ 99, & seq.

^c TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, ALVAREZ, LOBO, & al. See LUDOLPH, lib. ii. c. 6.
^d TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

In that at which father *Pays* was present, of the emperor *Segued*, on *Sunday, March 23, 1609*, the imperial army that accompanied him to that solemnity, consisted of 25,000 men and 1500 horse, all dressed in their best accoutrements. The emperor, together with the grandees of his court, appeared richly clad and mounted, and their horses in most sumptuous furniture. The monarch had on him a costly vest of crimson damask, and over it a *Turkish* robe of rich brocade; which, like the ancient *Roman* gowns, had narrow, but long sleeves, hanging down to the ground: the vest, as well as robe, would have done the same, had it been let loose; but the former was girt with a broad girdle, all of pieces of gold, curiously wrought: a thick golden chain went several times round his neck, whence hanging down on his breast, and the ends falling very low behind, gave him a grand majestic air, as he was himself a handsome man (6).

Father *Uretta*, in his usual way, adds many other pompous circumstances attending this coronation ceremony; which, if true, would greatly add to the grandeur and magnificence of it (17): but being rejected by *Tellez*, and the rest of his society, as fictions and fables, or, at best, as devised by a fertile brain, to shew how such a grand ceremony might be performed with a more suitable splendor (18), we shall not trouble our readers with them (19).

(H) The deptaras, or deptaras, we are told, are a peculiar sort of ecclesiastic chanters, or singers, they have among them upon these occasions; and who boast themselves not only of *Jewish* extract, but to be descended from the ancient *Jewish* scribes. Their office here, as well as at church, is to sing, and beat a kind of a drum, and to dance and skip with such violent gestures and dreadful noises, that one would imagine the church, or place where they play their antics, was coming down about one's ears; and yet these men are in great vogue and esteem among the great, as we shall see elsewhere.

(K) The title of *Itigue*, which is the most honourable that is given to the emperor's consort, is variously rendered queen, empress, and highness. When joined with their proper name, it is then shortened into *Ite*, or, as some pronounce it, *Ethie*, as *Ite Miriam*, *Ite Hamelmal*, queen *Mary*, or queen *Hamelmal* (20).

It is, however, to be observed, that though she be declared queen in the manner we are describing, yet she is not permitted to take the high title of *Ite*, or *Itigue*, as long as the late emperor's mother is living, to whom alone that title is given; insomuch that not only the wife of the reigning emperor, but he himself, calls her mother, though he be not her son, and pays her the same honour as if she had been really such (21).

(16) *Jesuits Travels*, l. iii. c. 13.
l. i. c. 9.

(17) *Hist. de Ethiop.*
(19) *Tellez, ubi sup. Jesuits Travels*, l. i. c. ult. *Vide & Le Grand dissertat.* 7th.
Ludolph, l. ii. c. 1. § 66. iii. 10. 66. See also his index under Itigue.

(18) *Tellez, ubi sup. Jesuits Travels*,

(20) See

(21) *Tellez, ubi sup. Ludolph,*

ubi sup.

- a nor is she admitted to dwell with him in the royal pavilion, but hath one assigned near, yet separated from it by a different inclosure, and comes from thence to it when sent for. On the day she is to be installed Itigue, or empress, she appears in his tent, seated on a couch near the imperial throne, on which his majesty sits likewise, but higher by one step; and both are clad in the richest apparel, as well as the nobles and officers of his court, who assist at the solemnity. Upon a signal made, one of the dignified chaplains, who is commonly a prelate, goes out into the court, and standing on a chair, or desk, proclaims her empress in these words, *Anagafna danguecera shem*, that is, We have have ordained our slave to reign (L); or, as *Ludolph* words it, *the king hath created his servant—queen*^w. This is immediately answered by the loud echoes and acclamations of the by-standers; after which she is dignified with the title of Itigue, or Ethie, which is equivalent to that of highness with us. As to the ceremony of crowning, we do not find that it was ever used to any of them, unless when the imperial dignity was solely vested in them, else the emperors alone are honoured with it.
- b We have lately hinted, that the *Abissinian* emperors are in holy orders; and, we are told, that many of them heretofore have been consecrated priests, and used to officiate as such, and to consecrate the sacred elements, and to administer them to the people; but with this restriction, however, that if they ever chanced to shed human blood, whether it amounted to murder, or only man-slaughter, they were, *ipso facto*, deprived of their priestly office, and could never more officiate in it^x. Some of these authors still carry this point much higher, as the reader may see by one or two quotations we have subjoined in the margin (M), but which to us appear of no credit. It is plain, that since the coming of the *Portuguese* among them, there have been none of those monarchs in higher orders than deacons; a privilege, which it seems is granted likewise to the nobles and great officers of the court, and which, for aught we can find, is coveted by them for no other end, than that they may not be obliged to remain with the common laity in the body of the church, but be admitted within the curtains (as they stile that part of the chapel which answers, as we conjecture, to our chancel) among the clergy, and receive the communion with them. In consequence of this ordination, they are likewise allowed to carry little crosses in their hands when they go abroad, and to give them to the laity to kiss, as the rest of the clergy do^y; which, by the way, plainly shews, that that which the emperors carry in their hands hath no analogy to the
- When allowed to be called Itigue, or highness.*
Emperors take holy orders.
Mostly that of deacon.
Their motive for it.

^w LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 1. § 68. TELLEZ, l. i. c. 10. * See LE GRAND, and the authors quoted by him, Dissert. 4. p. 240, & seq. ^y ALVAREZ, c. 97. TELLEZ, l. i. c. 10. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 7. § 30, & seq.

(L) As harsh as the word *slave* may sound in our ears, it is in such common use amongst them, that even the king's own kindred and brethren have it given to them; so that when he raises any of them to any dignity, such as that of viceroy, which is the highest under him, their commission always runs, We have constituted — our slave, viceroy, or governor, &c. without giving them the title of brother or kinsman: and well may he stile them slaves, seeing they are all such to him, from the highest to the lowest; and their lands, lives, &c. are wholly at his disposal (22).

To soften, however, the harshness of that word, the *Abissinians* set a higher value upon a slave of their own country, and will give much more money for him, *ceteris paribus*, than for a stranger; for which, some of their literati have found out this learned reason; that their emperor is called *Prester Jan*, or, according to the *Persic* etymon, *Chan*; which last signifies with them, a prince, or sovereign; so that that title implies his being chan, or prince, of the *Prester*, or best, slaves (23).

But as little undervaluing as they think the title of slave is among them, it was not so accounted by the *Portuguese* when they were there; one of whom, they tell us, having obtained some great post from the emperor, and, as a subject of the king of *Portugal*, who calls them all his children, disdaining to be stiled a slave to that of *Ethiopia*, offered a good sum of money to the herald, or crier, who was to proclaim his promotion, to

leave out that odious title, and call him only by his name; but that was more than the officer dared to do (24).

(M) The words, as quoted by *Le Grand*, run thus. *Ethiopiæ reges omnes sunt sacerdotes, liturgiam celebrant super altaria; & quamdiu regnum obtinent, nihil quidquam manu propria occidere solent. Si quis contra fecerit, amittit jus liturgiæ* (25). Another author adds some other particularities, such as, that the kings pulled off their crown when they went to officiate, and sat bare-headed all the time of divine service; that if they administered the Holy Communion, they received it themselves after all the rest. One thing more he adds, that if any of them had killed any thing, he lost all right and title to the obedience, or allegiance, of his subjects (26). The *Abissinians* likewise mention several of their kings who exercised the priestly function, particularly their famed *Caleb*, who did so during forty years. He lived, according to them, in the sixth century, and waged a long bloody war against *Danawwas*, a *Jew*, then king of the *Homerites*, and totally ruined his kingdom; by which one would conclude, that the law against their shedding of blood was not then in force.

What credit may be given to those authors, we will not take upon us to say; but if there was such a law as absolved the subjects from their allegiance to a king in priestly orders, who had shed any blood since his admission into it, we need not wonder, if they have since contented themselves with the lower one of deacon (27).

(22) Tellez & al. ubi sup.

(23) Ludolph. l. i. c. 14. § 11, & seq.

(25) Simon Episcop. Asmon. apud Le Grand, Dissert. 4. de Prestre Jean, p. 240.

(27) Id. ibid. & seq. Ludolph, l. ii. c. 1. § 40. ibid. 24. § 21, & seq.

(24) Tellez, l. i. c. 10.

(26) Abuselach apud eund.

Bestowed upon infants. royal sceptre used among other nations. This order of the diaconate is bestowed upon the children, and even sucking infants, of great men, in order to intitle them to the same privileges; by all which one may judge, what regard the *Abissinians* pay to the clergy, and their sacred functions; seeing the emperor himself, absolute as his power is in all other respects, would not be admitted into the sanctuary, or chancel, if he was not first ordained deacon, but must submit to receive the communion at the gates of it, with the rest of the laity: and these are, as far as we can see, all the orders so much talked about of this pretended *Prester John* ².

The emperor's vast power. BUT in all other respects, except what relates to church discipline (to which they usually conform), one may affirm, that his authority is boundless over his subjects. He is the only sovereign over all the kingdoms and provinces of the empire, nor hath any other king under him (N). He disposes of all the lands throughout his dominions, excepting in the kingdoms of *Tigre* and *Dembea*, where there are some noble and privileged families, whose properties and dignities he never alienates from the ancient possessors. Such are, in the former, the *Babrnagaes* and *Xumos*, or governors of *Sirave*, *Syre*, *Dembea*, &c. and in the latter, the power of the *Cautiba*, which never departs from the family: though even in these, the emperor, in one or two years, more or less, as he sees fit, takes these commands from the possessors, and gives them to some other of the same family ³.

allows no kings under him. IT was their custom heretofore, never to appear in public; and it was seldom known that they troubled themselves with the affairs of the government, the care of which they chiefly committed to their two prime ministers, whom they called the *Bahluded*, or favourites. That custom hath long ago been abolished, and they have since thought it more convenient to shew themselves to their subjects, at least three or four times a year; though none, even to this day, is allowed to see them eat, except the pages that feed them ⁴. Even the empress herself is denied that privilege, though she herself eats in company with her ladies; and when they give audience to foreign ambassadors, they always sit behind a curtain out of sight. Instead of a favourite minister, they have created a chief officer, whom they call *Rash*, or principal, and who is generalissimo. He hath under him two head overseers over all the rest; the one stiled *Bellatinoche Goyta*, or *Gouta*, that is, the lord of the servants, who is a kind of high-steward. This officer's power extends itself, not only over all the viceroys, governors, *Xumos*, and generals of the army, but likewise over the *Azagues* and *Umbares*, who are the civil judges of the empire. The other is stiled *Takak*, or *Zekase Bellatinoche Goyta*, or lord of the lesser servants, and is only a kind of under-steward to the king's household, which is commonly composed of men of a lesser rank (O).

Places all bought and corrupted. THE misfortune is, that not only these, but all places that are under them, are rather sold to the highest bidder, than given to the fittest or worthiest; and consequently more is given for them than they are honestly worth: so that to be gainers by them, or even to save themselves, the owners are obliged to oppress all that are under them; and those governors and officers, from the highest to the lowest, become rather the plunderers than the protectors of the people. What is still worst by far, these last can obtain no redress against their oppressors; for though there be appeals from the inferior to the supreme courts, and even from them to the emperor, yet the remedy proves so often worse than the disease, that few, if any, dare venture upon it. But as this is the case of all arbitrary governments, where places, and justice itself, is venable, we shall not dwell longer upon this subject; only one inconvenience, arising from that general corruption of offices and officers, we cannot forbear taking notice of, because, perhaps, more severely felt in this empire than in any other; viz. that the universal poverty and misery which it spreads every-where, fills the whole country with swarms, not

Appeals dangerous and few.

Which fills the country with robbers.

² Id. ibid.

³ Id. ibid.

⁴ See before, p. 195.

(N) Some have indeed affirmed, that those of *Dancale* and *Gingiro*, the former of whom is a *Mohammedan*, and the other a heathen, were subject or tributary to him. But they neither are dependent, nor pay any tribute to him, but only acknowledge him as a powerful neighbour, who is every way superior to them, and with whom they think it their interest to live in peace and friendship (28).

(O) We have been indeed told, by the fabulous father *Uretta*, that the emperors were served by none but kings sons, and princes of the royal blood; but if we may depend upon the rest of our *Portuguese* writers, and the *Abissinian Gregory*, these monarchs are so far from it,

that they will have none but slaves of their own breeding up to be about their person, or to wait at their court; and these, not of their own subjects, but the *Agas*, *Gallas*, *Gongas*, and *Caffres*, who are brought up there from their youth, and whom they often afterwards prefer to be *Xumos*, and raise them to such other employments, as their merit and abilities intitle them to; and they give this reason for their preference, that they find none so faithful, as those whom they breed up and raise from nothing; and that if they do not all prove so, yet they are in general more trusty than any of their own *Abissinians* (29).

(28) *Tellez*, ubi sup. l. i. c. 10. *Ludolph*, ubi sup. l. i. c. 2. § 11. iii. c. 11. § 9, & seq. *Lo'bo*, ubi sup. voy. 2. p. 48, & seq. (29) *Tellez*, ubi sup. *Ludolph*, & al.

a only of idle vagrants, such as we have already spoken of on another occasion ^c, but of desperate banditti, and murdering robbers, who range through all the provinces that are at a distance from the imperial camp, and, for want of a sufficient body of troops, or through their being too often employed in some war with the adjacent kingdoms, or through the remissness of the government, cannot be suppressed, or deterred from committing the greatest outrages on the poor natives, and the vilest cruelties and robberies on the travelling strangers, who come thither to traffick ^d. But what can be said of these enormities, if they are not only winked at, but even countenanced, by the government : and if that be really fact, which is affirmed by a late author, that those banditti are incorporated under one chief, or captain, who pays a certain yearly tribute to the emperor, and even buys that post from him ^e ? But to return.

*Whose chief
buys his post
from the em-
peror.*

b We observed a little higher, that the viceroys and governors of the kingdoms and provinces of the empire were under the Bellatinoche, as well as the military commanders and civil magistrates, or judges. All these hold their several courts of judicature, where all causes, either civil or criminal, are brought and decided ; only those of the martial kind, have martial officers to preside in them ; the others are tried before the civil judges before-mentioned : these last are called *Umbarés*, or chairs, because they alone are allowed to sit, whilst the plaintiff, defendant, and the rest, stand ; and, upon proper occasions, will even sit down upon the ground in the highway, or open field, to try a cause ; and every body that will, may be present at it. They make use of no writing, nor keep any records, much less allow lawyers, attornies, &c. to argue for or against either ; both plaintiff and defendant (or, in criminal causes, the accuser and accused), plead their own cause ; the former speaks first, and the latter after him ; each may answer and reply to the other three or four times, by turns ; after which the judge, commanding silence, asks the opinion of the by-standers ; and, according as the evidence turns the scale, for the one or the other, pronounces sentence upon the spot, which, in some cases, is without appeal, but in others may be removed to a superior court ; as first, to the viceroy, or governor ; thence to the Bellatinoche, or lord high-steward ; and lastly, from him to the emperor. In criminal cases, if the accused is cast, he is either kept prisoner by the judge till he has made satisfaction to the accuser ; or if the crime be capital, as murder, he is delivered up to the plaintiff, to be punished with death, at his discretion, and that of the relations of the deceased ; which custom they seem to have borrowed, among many others, from the *Jews* ; and these relations either sell the murderer's life for a certain value, or put him to death in what manner they please. But when a murder cannot be sufficiently proved against any man, all the inhabitants of the place are severely fined, or put to some corporal punishment ; which at once prevents all concealments of that kind, and by that means a great deal of blood-shed. The greatest inconvenience of these courts of justice, is, that they allow of no witnesses to be heard, but those of the plaintiff ; which it is not always in the power of the defendant to discredit or invalidate, though he is permitted to use all proper means to do it ^f.

*Justice, how
administred.*

*Altogether
venal.*

*Capital punish-
ments.*

*May be re-
deemed.*

c THEY have here three kinds of capital punishments ; the first is, that of burying the criminal in the earth, quite up to his mouth, and then to cover his head with thorns and briars, and lay a heavy stone upon them ; the second is, that of beating them to death with thick clubs, about two feet long, with a heavy head at one end, of the bigness of a man's two fists ; but the third and most usual is, that of piercing them through with their zagays, or lances ; in which case, the nearest relation of the deceased makes the first thrust, the rest following him in due order ; even those that come last, or after the criminal is expired, commonly dip their weapons in his blood, to shew that they are likewise concerned to revenge the murder of their relation. What is still more dreadful, and in some measure barbarous, is, the feasting and loud rejoicings which these relations make over the criminal, from the time that he is delivered up into their hands, to the time of his execution, but more particularly on the night preceding it ; to all which the prisoner is witness, as well as to the preparations which are made for it ; all which frequently exasperates his own relations to such a degree, that it scarcely fails of ending in the death of some of his most zealous prosecutors ^g.

How inflicted.

*Prosecutors
cruel in in-
flicting them.*

d THE emperor's army is nothing answerable to the extent of his dominions, nor indeed to the exigencies of them, considering how surrounded they are on all sides by enemies, and how frequently his frontier provinces are invaded and plundered by them. They seldom exceed 40,000 men, when he brings them all into the field, but often fall very short of that number. Of them, between 4 and 5000 are horse, and the rest foot ; and of the former, about 1500 are well sized, mounted, and accoutered ; and about one half of them wear

*The emperor's
army.*

coats

^c See before, p. 199.

^d Vide auct. sup. citat.

^e LE GRAND Dissertat. des Rois d'Abissin. p. 255.

^f TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, CODIGN. &c. l. 1. c. 16, & seq. also Num. xxxv. pass. Deuter. xix. 6, 12. & alib. pass. Jos. Ant. l. iv. c. 7. PHILO Legis Legat. & seq.

^g Id. ibid. LOBO, Relat. p. 98.

Their weapons.

Want of arms and martial discipline.

The soldiers stout and hardy.

Poor allowance.

Carry their families with them.

Drums and other martial instruments.

Solemn attendance of the clergy.

coats of mail and head-pieces, but all the rest are as indifferently armed and accoutred; having^a no other arms, offensive or defensive, than a spear and buckler (P). They are very little acquainted with fire-arms, and as poorly furnished with powder and ball. There is in the whole about 1500 fire-arms, and not above 3 or 400 musqueteers in any action, and they, for the greatest part, so ill trained to the use of them, that they never make above one firing, for want of a greater supply of powder and ball. They seldom have any to use at their exercises, except some few of that higher rank, and these commonly use a rest with their muskets; and those are rather an incumbrance, especially in their wars with the *Gallas*, and other such wild enemies, so that they are little the better for their exercises. The rest being still worse disciplined, their armies, battalions, and squadrons, are commonly drawn up with as little regularity; so that the very first shock frequently begins and ends the battle; one side turning^b their back, and the other pursuing, without ever endeavouring to rally, or knowing how to go about it; neither is it looked upon as a disgrace to run away from the enemy, because it is become a common practice^c.

It may be justly said, nevertheless, of the *Abissinian* soldiery, that if they perform no better, it is intirely owing to the want of discipline; for they commonly are very stout and hardy, inured to hunger, thirst, and fatigue, beyond expression, being trained to it from their youth, and continuing in the field the greatest part of the year, equally capable of bearing the most excessive heat, the sharpest cold, and the most violent rains, and all this with a surprisingly small sustenance. Even this they get out of the few lands which the emperor allows them, whilst they continue in his service, to live upon, and no longer; for as soon as they begin to fail, they are taken from them, and given to new ones. What is still harder, is, that they take their wives and children along with them; and these are commonly so numerous, that a camp of 30,000 men may be justly said to consist of above 100,000 persons, and all obliged to live on the product of the lands which are assigned to them for their maintenance: and hence it is that the *Abissinian* monarchs are able to raise such great armies upon any occasion with so little charge, all their subjects being either farmers or soldiers^d.

We have already had occasion to describe the form and magnificence of the imperial camp, in speaking of his metropolis; as likewise of the manner of its marching, both in time of war and peace; in both which he is always placed in the centre of his army. He observes the same method in all engagements, where he is always surrounded, not only by his household^e and guards, but likewise by all his nobles and chief ministers, and composes a small kind of separate army. In this, as well as in the rest of the great body, they have the use of drums and kettle-drums (these last much larger and louder than ours), besides trumpets, hautbois, flutes, and other instruments, whose music, however, is more remarkable for its confused noise and din, than for any either courtly or martial harmony. We omit a great variety of other instances of gaiety and grandeur which attends the imperial army, especially when the emperor is there in person, which some authors have lavishly heaped together^f, in order to raise its magnificence above even that of the eastern monarchs, but which we think their bare word is not a sufficient warrant for inserting here; the only thing we find worth adding to what hath been already said of the imperial army, is, that it is always attended with a vast^g number of priests, and even prelates, who not only perform the divine service in pavilions,

^a Id. ubi sup.

ⁱ Id. ibid.

^k URETTA, VINCENT LE BLANC, part ii. c. 11.

(P) To give our readers a more exact idea of each of these weapons, we must inform him, that the spears are of two sorts; the one like our half or short pikes, the other more like a halbert, or partisan. The staves of the former are slender, and the iron narrow, like our pike; the iron of the other is broad and thin: the first is to be darted by dint of strength, and the last to be used in close fight with one hand, whilst the other holds the buckler, which is usually made of buffalo's hide, very thick and strong.

Each common soldier carries two of these spears; the one they dart with such strength and fury, that they will even pierce a coat of mail, or buckler; and the other is kept to continue the fight, as we do here with sword and buckler. Those of a higher rank have likewise their swords, but seldom make use of them in a battle, but rather wear them as a mark of distinction, and chiefly in time of peace, and then they commonly hold them in their hands when they converse with any one;

but, if they walk, they make their servants carry them under their arms. They likewise wear a kind of dagger under their girdle, with the hilt towards the right, and the point towards the left-hand. Some likewise carry a club of some hard wood, very heavy, with a dagger in it: this weapon they call *bolota*, and commonly use it when they come to close engagement with the enemy, and sometimes dart it against them.

But the sword being chiefly worn as an ornament, they are most curious about, and chuse to have the hilt of gold or silver gilt, and the scabbard of velvet, or rich damask, commonly of a red colour.

The horse are pretty much accoutred and armed like the foot; but those who are allowed to wear the coat of mail do, for the most part, throw aside the buckler as an incumbrance. They are said to be all very good horsemen, mount and sit their horses to admiration; but in other respects, are not better disciplined than the foot (30).

(30) *De his, vide Tellez, l. i. c. ii. Ludolph, l. i. c. 14. pass. Gadign. Lobo, Le Grand, Poncet, & al.*

a and those not a few, assigned for that purpose, but likewise escort and attend the sacred utensils that are made use of in it, with great pomp and ceremony, and with vocal and instrumental music : among which, those belonging to the imperial court are carried about with the greatest form and grandeur ¹.

FROM what we have already observed, of the vast dominions and very extensive power of *The emperor the Abissinian monarchs*, one might be naturally led to conclude them to be immensely rich, *not so opulent as reported.* and their revenue to be answerable to so potent an empire : and yet we much question whether, comparing one with the other, he may not be more rightly deemed poor than opulent ; at least nothing like what he is represented by the two authors above quoted, and some others of no better authority.

b THE imperial revenue chiefly arises from the four following branches ; viz. from the tribute paid to him by the governors of such provinces and kingdoms as are said to have golden mines, particularly those of *Enarea* and *Gojam*, from which he receives a certain weight yearly of that metal ; but whether arising from any mines in those parts, or from their commerce with the *Caffres*, and other neighbouring nations, we cannot be certain ^m. This is reckoned one of the most considerable branches ; and yet, according to father *Almeyda's* *1st branch of it.* account, which he assures us he had from the emperor *Segued's* own mouth, amounts but to about 5 or 6,000 oukeas, or ounces, *per ann.* one with another, as the reader may see by the computation which that author has given us ; and which may be seen in the following note (Q). The next branch of the imperial revenue arises from the sale of all the great places in the *2d branch.* empire, as lately hinted ; such as the viceroyships, governments of kingdoms and provinces, and other offices and posts of trust, the yearly tribute they pay to him for being continued in them, as likewise for the product of those lands which are in their respective governments : for as all the lands in general appertain to him in chief, these governors do, in some sense, farm them from him, and pay him a yearly proportion of their product ; though, in this respect, they are very far from either cultivating them to the best advantage, or from paying him a due proportion of their income : this plainly appears from those of the two kingdoms of *Tigre* and *Dembea* ; the former of which is by far the largest, and hath the greatest number of governments ; and the latter the richest of all ; and yet the former, according to father *Almeyda* above-mentioned, brings him in no more than about 25,000, and the latter 50,000 *French livres.* The third branch consists in a tenth, which he levies every third year, upon *3d branch.* all the cattle in the empire. By this last, which it appears was unknown till about the middle of the last century, every man that hath cows is obliged to pay him one out of ten every third year ; and the country breeding vast quantities of them, makes it perhaps by far the most considerable branch of the three. It is, moreover, so well distributed between the

¹ TELLEZ, ALVAR. & al. sup. citat.

^m See before, p. 175.

(Q) According to that author, the kingdom of *Enarea* brings in the greatest quantity of gold of any in the empire ; and yet Soltan *Segued*, who reigned from the year 1563 till 1596, and is said to have received the greatest quantity from it of any of his predecessors, could seldom draw more from thence than to the amount of 1,500 oukeas, or ounces, valued at about 15,000 pieces of eight ; and, in that father's time, only 1,000, one year with another. A poor sum this from such a rich kingdom, especially considering the emperor is obliged to send one of his generals, at the head of an army, to fetch it from thence to him ; it being not only the farthest of all, but the road to it lying through the territories of the plundering *Gallas* and *Caffres*. But as we observed in a former section (31), this last is one of the reasons why he receives so little from thence, it being paid to him by that conquered kingdom, rather as a free-will offering than a tribute, seeing he cannot send a sufficient force thither through these territories, to extort a greater from them.

The kingdom of *Gojam*, according to the same author, brings in yearly about 1,100 oukeas in gold ; but this, we are told, is commonly either lavished among some favourite grandees, or distributed among his sons and brothers ; so that he hath but a small share of it left to himself. He receives likewise from the same kingdom 3,000 pieces of cotton cloth, worth a piece of eight each, besides 200 bezetas, another sort of cotton cloth,

thick, and with a shag on one side, valued at about an oukea each. He also received formerly a tribute of 3,000 horses from it, which Soltan *Segued* hath been obliged to remit, ever since the *Gallas* have made such inroads and cruel wars into that kingdom, in order to enable the people to defend themselves against them.

For the same reason, the tribute paid by several governors of provinces, equally infested with those wild ravagers, hath been either vastly diminished, or even quite set aside.

The several duties which these monarchs received on the commodities imported or exported, and paid by the two great sea-ports on the *Red Sea*, are now ceased, or paid to the *Turks*, who are since become masters of them. Some other duties were paid them by the merchants at certain passes, going from one part of the kingdom, which they have thought proper to bestow on the governors of the province where they are paid, as they have likewise a certain number of loads of corn, and other provisions, which they were obliged to pay to them. Those that came from *Dembea*, and amounted commonly to 10 or 12,000, they have been obliged to bestow upon such of their soldiers to whom they could not assign lands for their maintenance. Others of the same sort, coming from other provinces, are reserved for charitable uses, either feeding the poor, or in maintaining decayed men and women of quality belonging to their court (32).

(31) See before, p. 175, & seq.

(32) *Almeyda ap. Tellez*, l. i. c. 11. *Ludolph*, l. ii. c. 10. pass.

various kingdoms and provinces of the empire, that there is pretty near an equal quantity of a them brought in every year. This tax they call burning, or branding, because the emperor's officers brand those with a particular mark which they set aside for him: but it might much more justly be branded with that name on account of the insolence and cruelty of the officers that are commissioned to levy it, who make no conscience of ruining the poor people by their inhuman extortions ^a.

4th branch.

To this we may add a fourth, though not so considerable, which is laid upon every loom of cotton cloth; and which, if it belongs to a Christian, pays one piece of cloth, and if to a *Mohammedan*, a piece of eight, *per ann.* By this duty are gathered, in the kingdom of *Dembea*, and parts adjacent, about 1,000 of these pieces, and in that of *Gojam* 3,000; besides about 200 bissetes, which are a thicker and stronger cloth, all shagged on one side. The b same is levied in other kingdoms and provinces of the empire; but is mostly bestowed on, or swallowed up by, their rapacious governors ^c.

The whole inconsiderable; yet sufficient to make the prince rich and powerful enough.

THESE are pretty near the whole of all the so much boasted riches and great revenues of the *Abissinian* monarchs; of which, though there be no possibility of knowing the exact amount, because, for the most part, it rises and falls, according to the munificence or frugality of the prince, and many other obvious causes, yet plainly appears to come very short of what one may expect from so vast an empire, so great a number of kingdoms and provinces, and such an immense extent of pasture and arable ground, of which he is the sole proprietor and disposer. It will, however, be far from appearing so inconsiderable, if we take an estimate, not so much from the opulence of ours and other kingdoms, as from the poverty of the country, and the extreme indigence of the people; a people inured to indolence and penury, and a country left, for the most part, uncultivated and barren, because the present possessor is not sure how soon its despotic landlord may transfer it to other hands, and whether what he sows or plants in the spring will not fall to the lot of some favourite, who bestowed no labour upon it. In such an arbitrary government as this, a monarch hath cause to think himself rich enough, who hath the lives, lands, and fortunes, of all his subjects at his disposal, and powerful enough to bind them to their allegiance; whilst one part serves him, for fear of losing the lands he hath given them, and another, in hopes of obtaining them from him. This likewise induces the possessors to be more generous in their presents and tribute to him; seeing he generally gets most, according to father *Almeyda*, who gives d most, and those least who present least ^e.

^a Id. ub. sup. ub. sup.

^c ALMEYDA, ap. TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & seq. LODO, LUDOLPH, & seq.

^e ALMEYDA, ap. TELLEZ,

S E C T. VIII.

Of the religion of the Abissinians, both before and since their conversion to the Christian faith, and the hierarchy of their church.

The Jewish religion brought into Abissinia by the queen of Sheba.

WE have already hinted, that the *Abissinians* boast themselves to have received the Jewish e religion, together with a continued series of monarchs, from *Solomon*, the great king of *Israel*, who caused the son whom he had by their celebrated queen to be educated in the *Mosaic* religion, and sent him back into *Abissinia*, accompanied by many eminent doctors of the law, and particularly by *Azariab* the son of *Zadoc*, the then Jewish high-priest; by whose assistance the Jewish religion was propagated through the whole empire, and continued to be professed in it till their conversion to Christianity ^a.

THE misfortune is, that the only record they have of this remarkable transaction (except a common tradition, which hath been firmly believed by them from time immemorial), is so clogged with difficulties, and mixed with fable, that we cannot much rely on its authority. Neither hath this nation taken any care to preserve any records of the reigns that followed f this memorable epocha. What books they have are mostly such as treat of religion; and these they are very shy of shewing to Christians of any other denomination, lest they should furnish them with arguments against their own favourite heresy: so that the whole credit of the memorable event we are speaking of, rests solely on that of the book above-mentioned, and an immemorial tradition, which is no less clogged with difficulties than that.

WE have formerly endeavoured to reconcile some of them, with relation to the real country of the queen of *Sheba* ^b; and to that we shall only add, that it is far from improbable that

^a See before, p. 207, & seq. See also Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 206.

^b Id. ibid.

- a so great a prince should have a son from the *Israelitish* monarch, who had not only married the daughter of the king of *Egypt*, but had likewise a multitude of other wives of several nations and religions^c; much less that that son, and all his successors, should be so ambitious of owning so mighty and opulent a monarch for their progenitor, whom all the world so justly esteemed and revered: their retaining to this day the arms of the tribe of *Judah*^d, and of it, as well as of that famous queen introducing the *Jewish* religion, and worship of the true God, into her own dominions; especially if those, and other proofs, which the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez* hath brought in confirmation of this point, namely, the great conformity there is between not only the old religion, but likewise between the customs of the *Abissinians* and the *Jews*; various instances of which we have already had occasion to remark in the course of this chapter^e; and many more of which the reader will still find in the sequel of it; insomuch that that learned prelate, who appears to have been very well acquainted with both, makes no difficulty to own, that his becoming conversant with those of the former, did greatly help him to understand a great number of the latter, dispersed in the *Old Testament*, of which he was before wholly ignorant^f: to all which proofs, if we add their tenacious observation of the rite of circumcision, even after their conversion to Christianity, their keeping still the sabbath on the *Saturday*, as the *Jews* do, and more particularly the instance of the eunuch, or chief treasurer, of *Candace* queen of *Ethiopia* going so regularly to *Jerusalem*, and reading in his solitary return the prophet *Isaiab**, we shall be forced to own that all these circumstances cannot but reflect some considerable evidence to the book above-mentioned, so far as relates to these few principal points we are upon, though intermixed with some others which are manifestly fabulous; as the reader will see by the short sketch we shall here subjoin of that so much boasted record, which they give as great credit to as they do to their sacred books^g. The account it gives of this singular event is as follows.
- “ THAT a great and potent queen, named *Azeb*, or *Maqueda*, reigning in *Ethiopia*, being informed of the great power and wisdom of *Solomon*, by a merchant, named *Tamerin*, and being desirous to be an eye and ear witness of it, took a journey to *Jerusalem*, attended with a vast retinue of the greatest princes and nobles of *Ethiopia*, and with an immense treasure. There *Solomon* instructed her in the knowledge of the true God; and upon her return home, at the end of nine months, she was delivered of a son, begotten by *Solomon*, who was called *Menilebeck*, and by another name, *David*. This son went afterwards to *Jerusalem*, to see his father *Solomon*, and was magnificently entertained by him, and anointed, and sworn king of *Ethiopia*, by *Zadoc* and *Joash*, the then high-priests; and when he was thoroughly instructed in the law of God, which he was to cause to be observed in his dominions, he assigned him several of the first-born of *Israel* to attend and serve him in *Ethiopia*, and furnished him with officers and servants belonging to the house of *Judah*, together with a high-priest, levites, and doctors in the law of *Moses*.”
- HITHERTO there is nothing in the whole relation but what we have shewn is extremely probable; but the same book goes on, and tells us, “ That these first-born of *Israel*, at the instigation of *Azariab* the son of *Zadoc*, bound themselves by a mutual oath, to fetch away the ark of the covenant, which they stile *the heavenly Sion*; and that going by night into the temple, the gates of which, by some singular Providence, they found open, they put the ark upon a cart, and, being attended by abundance of people, and much wealth, and with loud acclamations, they marched off with such haste, that *Solomon*, who pursued them with no less speed, could not overtake them. With the same surprising expedition they went over the *Red Sea*, as the children of *Israel* had formerly done, but with this difference, that whereas the *Israelites* crossed it on foot, and without being wet, they fled over it in their chariots; so that the waters assisted the one, and the air the other, in their flight.”
- “ WHEN the queen *Makeda* was informed that her son had been anointed king, and was not only returning with such a grand retinue, but had brought with him the ark of the God of *Sion*, she went forth with great pomp and solemnity to meet them, and placed the sacred ark in the temple of the land of *Makeda*, and caused all the people of *Ethiopia* to receive the knowledge of the true God; so that there were not in the whole world, at that time, any monarchs comparable to king *Solomon* in *Palestine*, and to queen *Makeda* in *Ethiopia*.” The book farther adds, “ That the queen did afterwards resign her kingdom to her son *David*, and obliged him, and all the grandees of the empire, to swear by the *heavenly Sion*, that they would not, from that time forward, ever admit any woman to the throne of *Ethiopia*, nor any but the male descendants from him^h.”

Arms of the kings of Abissinia.

Conformity with the Jews.

An ancient record of their queen visiting of king Solomon.

Obtains a son from him.

Some fabulous additions made to it.

Menilebeck and his Jews carry off the ark.

He succeeds his mother. Women excluded from the succession.

^c 1 Kings xi. 1, & seq.^d *Ethiop. TELLEZ*, l. i. c. 13.l. i. *LUDOLPH*, l. i. c. 2. § 3, & seq.^e See before, p. 207, & seq.* *Acts* viii. 27, & seq.^f See before, p. 211.^g *TELLEZ*, ub. sup.^h *Viaggio**TELLEZ*,

The record inter-
persed with
fable.

Accounted for.

THIS is the substance of that famous record, and contains many other circumstances, which, though equally uncertain, and some of them too fabulous to deserve farther notice, is in the whole looked upon as of great authority by all the *Abissinians*. Nor is it any great wonder, that a people, no less fond of such surprising and miraculous peculiarities than the rest of the eastern and southern nations, should, in process of time, interpolate that ancient record with such fabulous stuff, in order to raise a greater veneration for the tabot, or altar-chest, upon which they celebrate the Communion Service; or, as it is vulgarly stiled by the *Portuguese* missionaries, the mass, and to their great church of *Axuma*, where that pretended stolen sacred utensil was kept. What other motives might induce them to trump up that absurd story, and how easily they might get it to pass for current, and to be greedily swallowed by their *Abissinian* converts, may be seen by what we shall subjoin in the margin (A), and yet none of it be sufficient to undermine the credit of the ancient tradition and record, whilst we have so many corroborating arguments to prove the main part of it, that the queen of *Sheba* was the person who was first instructed in the *Jewish* religion, and introduced it into her dominions. But we have still one proof more to add, to shew, that if that princess brought it not into *Abissinia*, at least that the *Abissinians* received it from the *Jews*; and we are the more willing to mention it here, because it hath not, that we know of, been taken notice of by any of the writers upon this subject.

(A) If we suppose the first part of this record to be true, that the king of *Israel* had actually such a son by the *Abissinian* queen, and that he bred him up to the *Jewish* religion, in order to convert that whole empire to it, it will be no difficult matter to conceive how this fabulous story of his carrying away the sacred ark came afterwards to be foisted in. *Solomon* might send him away, with a positive order, that in case his subjects should become profelytes to the true God, he should not presume to erect a temple to him, seeing that of *Jerusalem* was the only one where he had established his public worship; much less should he permit them to embellish it with any of its sacred ornaments, such as the sacred ark, altars, candlestick, &c. which could have no place any-where but in that in which he had ordained all the sacrifices, and other parts of the divine worship, to be performed according to his direction.

Such a prohibition, we say, could not but be necessary and proper, in order to prevent such a schism in the *Jewish* church, as was afterwards introduced in *Egypt*, by *Onias*, a dissatisfied *Jewish* high-priest (1), and to keep the *Abissinian* profelytes in a due dependence on that metropolis and centre of religion. On the other hand, as those injunctions must in all likelihood appear somewhat harsh to the young prince, whose heart could not but be greatly affected at the majestic solemnity with which he saw the divine worship performed in that sacred edifice, and had, in all probability, set his heart upon introducing it in his dominions, and assisting at it in the same splendor and magnificence that his father did: and if this was the case, how natural was it for some of those priests and levites, who were to accompany him, to procure, at least, a model, or resemblance, of the sacred ark, the most significant and most esteemed of all the sacred utensils, to be made privately, and carried with them into *Abissinia*, in imitation of that of the temple. How natural was it for him, and the queen his mother, to order that holy symbol to be deposited in some of their most sumptuous edifices, such as was then the great temple of the territory of *Makeda*. And in order to procure it a deeper and more general veneration, how easy was it for them, either then to cause it to be whispered, or in process of time to have it publicly affirmed, to be the very same which the *Jewish* lawgiver had been directed by God to erect and set up in the tabernacle, and that it was privately stolen, and brought away in that (pretended) miraculous manner: and how easy and natural to have this whole forgery to be tacked

together, as of a piece, and of the same authority with the ancient record, and to be as readily believed, and pass for current, considering the vast distance and small commerce there was between the kingdom of *Israel* and this; for this rendered the cheat more difficult to be known, and more still to be confuted, by either any of the *Jewish* kings or priests, whilst even those very ones that accompanied the young prince into his country, might easily be induced, by that very consideration, to join in it, as a sure way of securing to themselves, not only the favour of the king, and reverence of the people, but likewise some considerable income and perquisites, as the sole guardians of that sacred depositum.

Accordingly we find, that they gave it the title of tabot, or ark of the covenant, the same which they give to *Noah's* ark, and, by way of excellence, stiled it *Sion*; from whence the temple in which it was kept, being, after their conversion to Christianity, dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*, was called *St. Mary of Sion*, or *Seon*, according to their way of pronouncing that name.

It was, moreover, preserved with such veneration, and kept so closely concealed from the vulgar eyes, that even their monarchs were not admitted to the sight of it. Since the *Abissinian* emperors have taken up the custom of living in tents, this precious relique, no longer confined to a temple, doth always accompany the royal camp, and is carried about with the greatest pomp and ceremony, attended by four prelates in their pontifical habits, and about forty or fifty other priests, who go chanting before and after it, whilst one of them marches backwards before it with a censer in his hands, and incenses it all the way, till it be deposited in the grand pavilion, which serves instead of a church to the imperial court; no priest whatever being permitted to officiate or say mass before it, but he that doth it before the emperor (2).

Their veneration for it was still so great, when the jesuits came thither, that as soon as they perceived that they were likely to succeed, and bring their church under the authority of that of *Rome*, one of their first cares was, to secure this sacred chest from falling into their hands; and some of the most zealous among their monks conveyed it, with the greatest privacy, to the territory of *Bur*, near the *Red Sea*, where they hid it in some close thickets, among vast high mountains, and where, in all probability, it continued concealed till the total expulsion of those missionaries, when it was again restored to its pristine use and veneration (3).

(1) See *Ant. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 69, & seq. 79, & seq.
World, part 2d. c. 11. *Pencet*, & al.

(2) *Telles ub. sup.* Vincent Le Blanc Survey of the
(3) *Telles*, *Ludolph*, & al.

- a THE reader may recollect, from what we have already observed of some peculiarities in their way of living, such as their letting their ancient famous cities, palaces, and other structures, to go to ruin, in order to live more at large in their camps and tents; their abstaining from the juice of the grape, even in their celebration of the Lord's Supper; and either wholly neglecting all sort of agriculture, or turning that care over to the nations that live among them, such as *Jews*, *Turks*, and *Gentiles*, to apply themselves more closely to pasturage, and the breeding of numberless flocks, to live chiefly on their milk or their flesh¹: none of these customs are enjoined, or so much as hinted at, in the *Mosaic* law; nor are any of them agreeable to the practices of the *Jewish* nation, but rather quite opposite to them, till we come to the time of *Zedekiah* king of *Judah*, who reigned about two hundred and forty years after the death of *Solomon*; about which time we read of a sect of *Jews*, who called themselves *Rechabites*, from their progenitor or founder; and were chiefly famed and distinguished from the rest of their nation, for their observation of all those customs, as having been strictly enjoined them by him^k.

- FROM a comparison, therefore, of these and the *Abissinians*, we may justly infer, that the latter not only derived their *Judaic* rites from the observers of the *Mosaic* law, but that they borrowed their other customs of abstaining from wine, living in tents, &c. from some of the descendants of *Rechab*. These, we find, lived at large in tents, till the numerous host of the *Babylonish* king obliged some of them to take shelter in the city of *Jerusalem*, contrary to their founder's injunction, and either perished in that siege, with many myriads of other *Jews*, or were carried away captive by the *Babylonians*: for at their return from that captivity, we find a branch of the *Rechabites* that came back with them, and settled in the canton of *Jabesh*^l. But it is very probable, that much greater numbers of them, foreseeing the storm coming, wisely withdrew themselves, with their herds, into other countries, before the enemy's approach; and where should they seek for a safer asylum out of the kingdom of *Israel*, than in this of *Abissinia*, where the monarchs that reigned in it were the descendants of the great *Solomon*; and where the whole, or the greatest part of the nation, had so long professed the *Jewish* religion? Accordingly, a *Jewish* traveller of the twelfth century acquaints us, that he found them very numerous about these parts, and still strict observers of their old institution. He farther gives us a fine description of their country, princes, government, and other particulars, which, though interspersed after his usual manner with some fabulous circumstances, seem plainly to intimate, either that those *Jews* we have elsewhere spoken of, who formerly were masters of several parts of the empire, out of which they have been since driven by some of the emperors, and sent to live upon barren and inaccessible mountains*, were of the descendants of the old *Rechabites* of *Judea*, or else that he hath, either wilfully or ignorantly, mistaken the *Abissinians* for *Rechabites*, from the affinity of their religion, customs, and manner of living[†].

- FROM all these observations we would infer, that as it is by no means likely that so opulent and polite a prince as *Solomon* should have instructed his royal visiter, the queen of *Sheba*, and her son, in the institutions and customs of such a wandering and uncourtly sect, had it been then in being, which we have formerly shewn to be scarce probable^m, or that he would have sent any of them with her into *Abissinia*: we think it much more reasonable to suppose, that some of these last-mentioned, who fled from the conquering sword of *Nebuchadnezzar* hither for shelter, might introduce their customs among them, and recommend their wandering, active, and abstemious way of life, not so much from religious motives, as because it was the most effectual way to promote health, peace, and long life; by which means, all the large cities, spacious palaces, and other structures, that flourished in that queen's and her son's reign, became by degrees neglected, and fell to decay; and even the celebrated imperial seat of *Axum*, or *Axuma*, became a heap of ruins, by being exchanged for an imperial campⁿ.

- f THE next article relating to the *Abissinian* religion, is their conversion to Christianity; and this great change they firmly believe to have been the work of the famed eunuch, or prime-minister, of their queen *Candace*, or, as they call her, *Handake*. The account which the antient record, or book above-mentioned, gives, is, according to father *Almeyda*, much the same with that which *St. Luke* gives us of his conversion by *Philip*^o, with this addition only, that upon his return into *Ethiopia*, he gave the queen his mistress a full account of all that had happened unto him, and what had passed between *Philip* the deacon and him, in his way first

Many of their peculiarities probably derived from the Jewish Rechabites.

Some pregnant instances of it.

How they first came into Abissinia.

When first converted to Christianity. First by the queen's prime minister; but very imperfectly.

¹ See before, p. 195, & seq.

^k Vid. Jerem. xxxv. 6, & seq. See Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 820, & seq.

^l 1 Chron. ii. ult.

^m See before, p. 188, & seq.

[†] BENJ. DE TUDELA, itinerar, p. 75, & seq.

edit. l'Empereur 81, & seq.

ⁿ Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 820 (T).

^o See before, p. 172.

viii. 27, & seq.

^o Acts

homewards; upon which that princess believed in the gospel of the grace of Jesus Christ ^a. But, besides that the learned are not agreed whether this princess was really queen of this *Ethiopia*, or *Abissinia* (B), or of the island of *Meroe* ⁹, we can scarcely date the conversion of that empire from this one instance; that book mentioning only that princess as believing in Christ, without mentioning so much as any of her court. Besides, *Philip* being neither bishop nor priest, but only a deacon, could have no power to qualify the eunuch for a preacher of the gospel; neither had he time sufficient to instruct him thoroughly in it, or perhaps to give him more than a general idea that Jesus was the Christ, the Redeemer of mankind, and had, by his miracles, death, and resurrection, fully proved himself to be the promised Messiah, and Saviour of the world. We may even question whether he did mention any-thing to him about the abrogation of the law of *Moses* by the cross: so that both he and his profelytes, b if he made any other besides that princess, did, in all probability, continue in the observance of it, as they still do, since their fuller conversion; particularly with regard to the rite of circumcision, and the keeping the seventh day as the Christian sabbath.

When fully
converted.

Frumentius
ordained bishop
of Axuma;
who converts
the Abissinians.

It is more probable, therefore, that whatever foundation might be laid by that great profelyte, yet the general conversion of that great empire was not perfected till after the year of Christ 335, when the great *Athanasius*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, being informed by *Frumentius* of the good disposition which the queen and her subjects were in to receive the gospel, ordained him bishop of *Axuma*, and sent him to propagate it through *Ethiopia*; an account of which remarkable event we have formerly given out of *Rufinus*, and to which we shall now refer our readers ^c, to avoid needless repetitions. From this time Christianity began to flourish through the empire, and the true faith was so firmly founded by that zealous and excellent prelate, that when *Constantius* the emperor came to be informed of it, he tried all the arts and stratagems he could invent to introduce Arianism among them to no effect ^d; though they afterwards fell so unhappily into the errors of *Eutychius* and *Dioscorus*, as we shall soon see.

Alexandria
th. ir mother
church.

At the same time the discipline of the church was settled, conformably to that of *Alexandria*; priests and deacons were every-where ordained; liturgies, articles, and canons, settled and confirmed by the same *Alexandrian* patriarch; and, among the latter, one by which the *Abissinian* church acknowledges that of *Alexandria* as her mother, and herself as wholly subject and dependent upon her, insomuch that it deprives her of the power of chusing her own bishop, or to receive him from any but the patriarchs of *Alexandria*, in whom alone the power is d vested, both to nominate and consecrate them. What is still more remarkable, is, that it excludes the *Abissinians* from having one of their nation for their abuna, or patriarch; which those of *Alexandria* have been so strict in the observation of, that they have never suffered an *Abissinian* over that see; a monstrous subjection this, seeing those men that are nominated to it, being quite strangers to the language of the country, must be altogether unfit, not only to instruct their flock, but even to be proper judges of the fitness and capacity of those whom they ordain priests and preachers over them. Neither, indeed, can he be fit to perform the divine service, which is always in the old *Ethiopic*, seeing he is as unacquainted with it as he is with the modern ^e. Notwithstanding all which inconveniencies and hardships, the clergy

Abunas very
ignorant.

^p ALMEYDA, ap. TELLEZ, l. i. c. 17.
Hist. vol. vii. p. 217, & seq.

⁹ Vid. CODIGN, JARRIC, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat.

^a Ibid. p. 218.

^c TELLEZ, ubi sup. c. 19. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 6 & 7. LOBO, LE GRAND, &c.

(B) What hath occasioned this difference of opinions, is, what *Pliny* says of the queens of that name (4); that they reigned in the island of *Meroe*, and that there had been a good number of that name who had already reigned there; whence some have imagined it to be the common name of all the queens of that island. Hence also Mr. *Ludolph*, and many other authors whom he quotes (5), strongly opposes the opinion of this queen *Candace* being queen of *Abissinia*. But if, as we have formerly shewn, the kingdom of *Gojam*, and not any island formed by the *Nile* in *Egypt*, be the *Meroe* of *Strabo* and *Pliny* ^{*}, then that objection falls to the ground, and *Candace* will still have been queen, at least of this part of *Abissinia*.

Mr. *Ludolph* further urges, that this is contrary to what is affirmed in the old record of *Axuma*, lately spoken of, that the queen of *Sheba* caused her son and nobles to swear, that they would never suffer a woman to ascend the *Ethiopian* throne. But besides that, he quotes here an authority which he elsewhere flights. How is he

sure that that oath was never broke? Sure it is that we meet with a fresh queen of *Abissinia* of that name, who being herself converted by *Frumentius*, about three hundred years after, sent him to *Alexandria* to be ordained bishop by the then patriarch of it, St. *Athanasius*, in order to have the rest of her dominions instructed in the same faith (6). To all this we would add, that the *Abissinian* histories are full of the great and good deeds of that pious queen, her eunuch, and all her nobility; of the great spirit of piety, charity, and generosity, which reigned through her dominions, during hers and some of the succeeding reigns; and of the many noble churches, monasteries, and other pious structures, that were erected about that time, both by her and the grandees of her empire (7): all which being so very agreeable to that spirit of religion, piety, and charitable disposition, for which that nation is so justly extolled, cannot be supposed to be all fiction, but must have some foundation in truth, though we shall allow them to be exaggerated beyond the limits of it.

(4) *Plin. Hist. l. vi. c. 29. Strabo, l. xvii.*
p. 190, & seq. (6) *Ibid. p. 217.*

(5) *Lib. ii. c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8.*

^{*} See *Ant. Hist. vol. vii.*

(7) *Almeyda, Tellez, Lobo, Relat. ap. Le Grand, p. 65.*

and

a and people pay such religious regard to the canon above mentioned, which they deem to be as antient as their conversion, that they would look upon it as a kind of heresy to question its authority, and of apostacy, to act contrary to it. As our reader may be desirous to know the tenor of that antient instrument of their subjection, we shall oblige him with a copy of it in the margin, according to the version of *Abraham Ecchellensis*, as the clearest of the two; that of *Turrenius* being in some places scarcely intelligible: for which reason we shall add a remark or two upon that piece, that the reader may know what dependence may be laid upon it (C).

But how small soever it may appear to him, it doth not so with the *Abissinian* clergy; who, notwithstanding all the inconveniencies we have mentioned above, have been most religious observers of it; never once, that we know, complaining against it, or ever appearing uneasy under such a foreign subjection, or at their being so unjustly and unnaturally, we may add, excluded from the succession to that dignity, though they have so much greater a right, and are naturally so much better qualified for it, than any stranger that could ever be set over them, unless they had been thoroughly acquainted with their language, which, for aught we can find to the contrary, was ever the least of their care. What will appear still more surprising, is, that they have shewed themselves still more strenuous in it when their emperors had the greatest reason to resent the arbitrary proceedings of those prelates, and their frequent presuming to oppose them in civil affairs, which were intirely out of their province to intermeddle with, as we shall see in the sequel of this chapter; till being justly tired with the tyranny of the *Alexandrian* patriarchs, and their *Abissinian* substitutes, who grew still more intolerable, after these became subject to, and the mere creatures of, the *Ottoman Porte*, their professed enemy, they were reduced at length to that strange and dangerous expedient of exchanging an *Egyptian* for a *Romish* servitude. This was a very proper time, if they had been as uneasy under the former, as they were apprehensive and averse to the latter, to have proposed a middle way, more reasonable in itself, as well as more advantageous to themselves, and which, in all probability, would not have failed of being readily agreed to by their monarchs, viz. that of chusing a patriarch of their own, and making themselves equally independent on that of *Rome*, and that of *Alexandria*. Of how much greater and more universal benefit, both to the clergy and people, as well as ease and safety to their monarchs, such revolution would have proved, than the applying to the pope and the *Portuguese*, upon such an emergency, could not but be visible to every eye; and the clergy, who would have been the greatest gainers by it, must, one would imagine, have proved the most zealous promoters of it; yet, to one's great surprize, we find them no less strenuous and indefatigable in ascertaining their subjection to the see of *Alexandria* than they were in opposing the authority of that of *Rome*, which was going to be introduced amongst them. Neither did they, after they had so wonderfully succeeded in the latter, ever take one step towards obtaining better terms from the former; but have constantly adhered to the strict tenor of the canon above-mentioned, and tamely submitted to such abunas, or patriarchs, as their *Alexandrian* metropolitan, if not rather the *Ottoman Porte*, whose vassal he is, hath thought proper to set over them: so that,

Abissinians
strenuous in
their subjection
to them.

Continue still
under the same.

Id. ibid. vid. & CODIGN, GOES, & al. pl.

(C) This singular piece, which is the 42d in *Ecchellensis*, and the 36th in *Turrenius's* collection, runs thus, with respect to the points above-mentioned:

Ne patriarcham sibi constituent Aethiopes, ex suis doctoribus, neque propria electione, quia patriarcha ipsorum est constitutus sub Alexandrini potestate, cujus est ipsis ordinare et praeficere catholicum qui inferior patriarchæ est, cui prefato in patriarcham constituto, nomine catholici, non licebit metropolitanos constituere, sicut constituunt patriarchæ; etenim honor nominis patriarchatus illi defertur tantummodo, non vero potestas. Porro si acciderit ut congregetur synodus in terra Romanorum, et adfuerit iste, sedeat loco octavo post dominum Seleuciæ, in qua est Almadajoint, nempe Babylonia Harrac, quoniam isti facta est potestas constituendi episcopos suæ provinciæ, prohibitumque fuit ne ullus eorum ipsum constituat.

This version differs, in some things, from that of *Turrenius*; as where he says, if the synod shall meet in *Grecia*, instead of *in terra Romanorum*: 2dly, it doth not fix the meaning of the *Seleucian* see as the other doth: and 3dly, in speaking of the *Abissinian* patriarch ap-

pointing of prelates, concludes with these words: *Non licebit illi constituere aliquem ex illis*: which words are scarcely intelligible, unless they mean that he shall not chuse any of the *Abissinians* to that dignity, as *Ecchellensis* hath rendered it.

We must further observe to our readers, that this collection is neither to be found in the *Greek*, nor mentioned by any *Greek* author: we are neither told when, by whom, nor on what occasion, it was made; neither is any *Abissinian* prelate recorded to have assisted at any synod or council, by which one might know what rank they held in it. And as it is not probable that any rank should have been assigned to them after they fell into the *Jacobitish* errors, so it is more reasonable to conclude, that this collection was made at *Alexandria*, before the *Arabs* made themselves masters of that place; and that the church of *Antioch*, and afterwards that of *Abissinia*, received it as they found it (8). This last, in particular, paying almost the same veneration to it as they do to the sacred writings; though, as we observed a little higher, it be so ill calculated for their advantage or edification.

(8) De hac vid. Le Grand, dissert. 9. de convers. Abissin. p. 285, & seq. Vid. & Codign. l. i. c. 21. alib. pass. Jarric, & al sup. citat. Ludolph, l. iii. c. 7, & alib. pass.

upon the whole, the government of the *Abissinian* church hath continued in the very same form in which their first bishop *Fruementius*, or, as their books call him, *Fremonatos* ^w, sent thither by St. *Atbanasius*, did at first settle it; and it is owing to the great veneration they have for that prelate, to whom they give the title of Saint, and of Abba Salama, or peaceable father, as well as the singular regard they pay to the authority of the canon above-mentioned, which they believe to have been framed either by him, or the patriarch *Atbanasius*, that they have never since ventured to make any alteration in it to this very day.

The abuna, or patriarch, the only bishop.

THIS patriarchate, therefore, which is the highest ecclesiastical dignity in the *Abissinian* empire, and wholly subject to that of *Alexandria*, plainly appears from the tenor of the above-said canon, as well as from the constant practice of that church, to be no more than a mere title without the power. He is by his clergy called *abuna*, or *our father*; he may in his letters take the title of patriarch, or catholic, but hath no power to create any metropolitans under him, as other patriarchs and catholics have; neither hath the *Abissinian* church ever had any more than one at a time, since their proto-patriarch *Fruementius*; nor any of them ever had any bishop under them: and as none have ever presided in that church, but such as were consecrated and appointed by the *Alexandrian* patriarchs, except a few that were sent thither by the pope, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, so hath it ever followed the faith and doctrine of its mother church unto this day ^x.

THESE abunas, however, if we may believe the account which the missionary writers give us of them, have, for the most part, been very ignorant, as well as negligent, in their office, whether of instructing the people, or conferring of holy orders. As to the first, it is no wonder, seeing they are strangers to the language of the country; but as to the latter, we are told they will refuse to ordain those that have been twice married, and at the same time will admit the blind, lame, halt, &c. which they do only by the imposition of hands, and repetition of a few words, without administering the holy communion to them: so that those good fathers much question the validity of their ordination, as well as of the baptism, and other sacraments, administered by them.

Strange manner of giving absolution.

THE manner of absolving penitents in public, from their episcopal chair, is still more strange: these stand before the bishop, and confess two or three of their most heinous sins: upon hearing of which he stands up, and in a great passion asks them, *how they could do so? whether they did not fear God?* and the like. The rest of the absolution is performed by giving them three or four heavy strokes with his pastoral staff; after which he consigns them over to some of his mazares, or officers, that attend him on such occasions, and orders them thirty or forty lashes more with a thong, which these officers carry in their hands to keep off the people. This punishment is the more severe, as they go so thinly clad; but by that time they have received seven or eight strokes, the by-standers commonly interceding for the penitent, he is permitted to go off with his partial absolution, which they think, however, more full and effectual than that which is obtained by private confession ^y. The reader will find an instance of it in the margin, out of the same author (D), which, if not exaggerated on purpose to expose both prelate and people, gives us but a melancholy idea of that church's discipline and government; especially, if to the ignorance and remissness of those patriarchs we add their wicked lives and bad examples; many of them being branded with the worst of

The sad state of the Abissinian church.

^w Id. ibid. See LE GRAND, dissert. 15 de Hierarch. Abissin. citat. ^y Id. ibid.

^x ALVAREZ, PAYS, TELLEZ, & al. sup.

(D) One day, we are told, on which the abuna was busy in hearing these public confessions, a fellow, who had stolen a certain number of cows, came to be absolved by him; but fearing to declare his crime publicly, and so expose himself to condign punishment from the hand of justice, begged of him that he might be permitted to whisper it in his ear. Why so? said the prelate: will it not be made public to all the world at the day of judgment? declare it therefore here immediately. The poor man, not daring to disobey, was forced, though against his will, to make public confession of the fact. Unfortunately for him, the owner of the cows was present, and went immediately to accuse him before a judge, who both ordered him to make full restitution, and laid a farther penalty upon him, which proved more grievous to him than the lashes of the abuna's mazares; whereas,

had the abuna been contented with a private confession of his crime, he would have come off with a few lashes from them, and been absolved without any restitution. For the private confessors, it seems, never oblige them to any such thing, as those of the church of *Rome* do; it being a duty, we are told, altogether unknown, and unpractised, all over *Ethiopia* (9).

We are farther told, that the people only confess their greater sins, which are, murder, adultery, and theft; but as to those of a smaller size, they only confess them in the lump, in such words as these: "We have sinned; we are sinners;" without any farther detail of the particular sins, much less of the manner and circumstances that accompany them; and it was with very great difficulty that the *Romish* missionaries obliged their new proselytes to descend to such particulars (10).

(9) Tellez, l. i. c. 19. 38. Ludolph, l. i. c. 6. § 52, & seq.

(10) *Ibid. ibid.*

a crimes, and accused of having lived publicly in the most scandalous manner; and instead of duly visiting their churches, and reforming such abuses as they found in them, suffered still much more grievous ones to be committed by those visitors whom they appointed to perform that office for them, to fleece and oppress the people, instead of instructing and benefiting them.

WHAT is still more deplorable, is, that some of these abunas, that have been sent thither from *Alexandria*, were so far from being ordained bishops, that they were not so much as in priestly orders, but were mere lay monks. Such was that *Alexandrian* monk, of whom the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez* speaks, who was sent thither in his time to succeed abuna *Simeon*, and had been immediately acknowledged and complimented as such; but who being afterwards b deposed by the emperor *Segued*, and soon after persuaded by the missionaries to turn to their church, did frankly own that he was no bishop, but a bare lay monk. This man, we are told, married afterwards, and got his living by making of mills, for which he proved much better qualified than for the office of abuna. One can hardly read such things, without suspecting some latent artifice or fraud; and yet, when we observe, that neither Mr. *Ludolph*, nor his *Abissinian* abbot, have offered any thing to confute, but rather, in some measure, confirmed them, that very consideration will hardly give us leave to doubt of the truth of them^z.

THERE remains now only, that we should give a short account of the revenue of these worthless prelates, before we speak of the inferior clergy. One branch of their income, and that no inconsiderable one, when they happen to be worldly men, arises from the grant, or, as we may then more properly term it, the prostitution of dispensations, of which they are the sole disposers, as having no bishops under them to share that privilege, nor any comptroller over them to oblige them to keep close to the tenor of their canons; so that in many instances they extend their power to a shameful degree beyond it^a. They likewise have the sole privilege of ordaining; and this brings them likewise a considerable income, few or none being received into holy orders, unless they send some equivalent offering before-hand to gain them admittance.

BUT besides these, which we may stile simoniacal perquisites, they have certain lands assigned to them in the kingdoms of *Tigre*, *Gojam*, and *Dembea*, of which they are the sole farmers. The first of these are computed to bring them in about forty or fifty oaks, or ounces, of gold, *per ann.* or about four or five hundred pieces of eight (E): those of *Dembea* and *Gojam* afford them a more than sufficient quantity of provisions for their own table, the remainder of which he disposes of to his own profit: to this we may add a kind of public gathering of salt and cloth, which is yearly made for him through the empire, and amounts to a considerable value^b; all which put together, makes up a very considerable revenue; and the more so as their lands are free from all taxes to the emperor, and their other perquisites so extensive and arbitrary. Add to this, that they have no particular cathedral, or sumptuous palaces to keep in repair, nor hardly any officers and underlings to pay salaries to; these commonly arising from the nature of their places, which they know full well how to make the most of^c.

THE next order of ecclesiastics, if not in rank and dignity, yet in vogue and esteem, is that of the *Depteras*, of whom we have already given some account upon another occasion^d. These are neither priests nor deacons, but a mongrel kind of *Jewish* levites, or chanters, who assist at all public offices of the church, and whose head, or superior, called *Barca Guyta*, hath the care and direction of the sacred pavilions in the imperial camp. As these boast themselves of *Jewish* extraction, they pretend, by the songs, dances, and beating of their drums and tabors, to imitate the service of the *Jewish* tabernacle and temple of *Jerusalem*, and the dancing of king *David* before the ark; though their noise, and horrid din and gestures, are the very antipodes of what we have formerly observed was performed by the *Jewish* musicians and chanters^e, and fitter for a masquerade than a church; yet in such esteem are they here, that even some of the princes and grandes have taken singular pride to beat time to them, or beat upon their tabors^f. These *Depteras* always attend at their high masses; for low ones they allow not in *Abissinia*, nor of above one a day in every church. On their grand festivals they begin their music and dancing long before day, and are able to continue that hard exercise till noon, without appearing in the least tired or hoarse^g.

^z Id. ibid. ^a TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat. ^b Id. ibid. ^c Id. ibid. ^d See before, p. 212 (H). ^e See Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 714, & seq. ^f TELLEZ, l. i. c. 19. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 7. § 26. LE GRAND dissert. 19, de Hierarch. ^g Id. ibid.

(E) This branch was once more considerable, but was (on what occasion we are not told) charged with a yearly kind of fine, by the emperor *Theodore*, of 500 crowns *per ann.* which is thence called *eda abuna*, or the abuna's fine, and is sunk into the emperor's coffers (11).

(11) De hoc, vide Le Grand dissert. 15, de Hierarch. Abissin. p. 355.

The priests,
and their
office, the
Komos.

THE priests are the next order to the bishops ; but as they have none of these but the abuna, a they have instead of them those they stile *komos*, who preside over them. Of this order was *Petrus Ethiops*, whom *Paul Jovius* conversed with. Every parochial church hath one of these, who is a kind of hegumenus, or archi-prefbyter, and hath all the inferior priests and deacons, as well as the secular affairs of the parish, under his care and government ; and as they have no bishops over them, they preside in chief at the divine service, and distribute the several offices of the inferior clergy, and compound their disputes ; so that they may be reckoned the highest order next to the abuna (F). The office of the inferior priests is to supply that of the komos in their absence, and, when present, to assist them in the divine service, to baptize, marry, visit the sick, interr, and the like ^b.

Deacons.

THE deacons are the lowest rank of the priesthood, and likewise assist at the divine service, b though in a lower sphere than the priests ; and both have their proper offices and vestments when they officiate. We have already taken notice, that this order is conferred by the abunas on the emperor, princes, grandees, and even on their children ; not that they may have the privilege of officiating as such, but only to assist at the divine service, and receive the communion in the chancel with the clergy, and be separate from the laity, who stand in the body of the church ¹.

Priests and
deacons marry,
and are numerous and
poor.

ALL these orders are allowed to marry, and may even do so after they have been ordained priests. Their sons also are allowed to succeed them in their church benefices ; but as they have, for the most part, very large families, they are commonly very c poor, and forced to supply their wants by labour and industry, but chiefly by farming and pasturage, as the lay farmers do ; all which renders them less respected than they are in other countries, especially as they wear no particular dress, tonsure, or other mark of the priestly office, except a little cross, which they carry in their hand, and bless the people with, and a small round cap, of any colour, which they wear on their heads. Neither have they those immunities which those of other churches enjoy, but are liable to be punished by the lay magistracy, in the same manner as secular persons, for any crime they commit ^k.

Pay a great
respect to their
churches.

THEY pay a great respect to their churches, and never enter them but bare-foot ; which made them take great offence at the *Portuguese* missionaries, when they saw them celebrate the mass with their shoes or sandals on their feet. The vestments they use in that divine service are suited to the dignity of the person that officiates, but the best of them are vastly d short of those which the meanest *Romish* priest wears on such occasions. Instead of the alba, or white linen garment, which is used by the latter, they use a tunic, bought of the *Turks*, which is commonly old and thread-bare. They use neither girdle, stole, maniple, &c. as those of the *Romish* church do ; and as to their chasuble, or upper garment, it is much narrower than theirs, and trails behind about half a yard. The divine service consists of a set of prayers, psalms, hymns, &c. suitable to the seasons, and judiciously enough composed ; and, for the most part, performed with great decency and devotion, and without any thing of that pomp and ceremony which is used in the church of *Rome*. This divine service, which is performed but once a day, begins on *Sundays*, and great festivals, in the morning, e and ends about noon : on *Wednesdays*, *Fridays*, and other fasting days, it begins about three in the afternoon, their usual time of eating ; and at sun-set in Lent ; which, as hath been elsewhere observed, they keep with uncommon strictness and severity ¹.

Priestly vestments.

Divine service, how performed.

The people,
how called to church.

THEY have no bells through all *Abissinia*, but call the people to church by the sound of some wooden hammers, which they strike upon a hollow board or stone ; at the hearing of which, both priests and people repair thither, with a decent gravity and devotion, saying some sort of prayers all the way they go : and, when there, behave with the greatest reverence,

^b TELLEZ, & al. ubi sup.

¹ See before, p. 213.

^k Id. ibid. vide & CODIGN. JARRIC, & al.

¹ See before, p. 192. TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

(F) According to the canons of the *Alexandrian* church, on which this of *Abissinia* depends, their office and dignity are thus defined : *Hegumenus ejusdem ordinis est, atque archipapas sacerdotum, seu archipresbyter, atque adeo jus habet pronunciandi orationem absolutionis super sacerdotem celebrantem, ut etiam adolendi incensum post eum & communionem accipiendi post eum ante omnes alios. Quando simul adest episcopus accipit ab eo thuribulum* (12). And as that church hath a great number of bishops under its patriarch, there are few, if any, priests raised to the epif-

copal dignity, that have not been previously hegumens, or archipriests : but in this of *Abissinia*, where there are no bishops, a priest, when raised to the komosal, is got to the highest preferment he can arrive at ; there being no other above him but the abunate, from which they are excluded by the canon lately mentioned : and on this account, these komos look upon themselves as an order superior to all the rest of the priesthood, and claim a precedence over them (13).

(12) *Hist. patriarch. Alex.* p. 585. pass. Tellez, l. i. c. 19, &c.

(13) *Le Grand dissert. de Hierarch.* p. 356. Ludolph, lib. ii. c. 7.

neither

- a neither suffering themselves to stare about, or on one another, much less to whisper or talk, *Their pious behaviour in it.*
- b often cry out, *stand up, ye that sit*: and though the greatest part of their churches are now so poor and mean, that they are only covered with a little straw or reeds, they pay such a regard to them, that those who come thither on horseback will alight at a considerable distance from the gates, and enter them, as they all do, with their feet bare. Nor are any men or women, under any natural pollution, or even after the matrimonial intercourse, permitted to set their feet in them till after due ablution (G). *They all stand up.*

- In none of these sacred edifices, whether sumptuous or mean, are any statues, or carved images, of any kind, to be seen, or any other figures, except painted ones; any other, tho' but in bas-relief, would be looked upon by them as rank idolatry: much less would they suffer any crucifixes, whether carved or cast in metal, to be seen in them, or to be worn about their necks, representing a naked Saviour hanging on the cross. We are told indeed of a curious small one of that kind, which was presented by *Poncet* to the emperor *Segued*, ann. 1700, which that monarch viewed with some admiration, kissed it with great respect, and laid it up among his curiosities^m. But if we consider, that he professed himself more than half a convert to the *Roman* church, and was then courting the friendship and assistance of the *Portuguese*, he could hardly avoid doing so before him; yet he did not dare to wear it about him, for fear of alarming both clergy and people by it. Several of these religious customs may, and have indeed been supposed to have been received from the *Jews*; but whether so or not, they must be owned to be, *toto cælo*, opposite to those of the church of *Rome*, which not only admits all kinds of religious imagery in their churches, but likewise an inferior kind of worship to be paid to it; and yet pretends, that the *Abissinian* doctrines and worship bear a greater affinity to theirs than to any other churches, whether *Greek* or *Protestant*. But these few we have gone through are far from being the only ones in which they differ, as we shall soon see. Every church here hath a small room behind the east end, in which are reposed the materials for making the communion bread, which is allowed to be a leavened cake, and is consequently contrary to the unleavened wafer used by the *Romish* church. This cake is not kept till the next day, much less preserved whole weeks and months, as they do their consecrated wafers, which they give to the laity, more particularly that which is vulgarly called the host, and is kept in a particular repository over the altar, in order to be taken out and exposed to the people, and to receive their prayers, incense, and adoration; some of which have been kept so long in the pix, that they have bred worms, or have been otherwise damaged, and made unfit for use. Well might the *Abissinians* be offended at it, and wonder that they did not consecrate every day as they do, and order it so among the communicants, that none of it might remain, and be exposed to such indecent and offensive accidentsⁿ. *No carved images.*
- c
- d
- e
- f

- THEY differ no less from them in their ordering and administering of the other part of that sacred rite; and instead of wine, from which they abstain altogether, as hath been already observed*, they keep in this same little room a small quantity of dried raisins, of which they take four or five, more or less, and squeeze and macerate with their fingers, in a quantity of water, greater or less, according to the number of communicants; for they administer the cup also to the laity, and are no less surprised at its being withheld from them by that church, *Manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper.*

^m PONCET's Voyage into Ethiopia, p. 7.
LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 6. pass.

ⁿ TELLEZ, ubi sup. l. i. c. 19. ALVAREZ, c. 54, & seq.

* See before, p. 196.

(G) They appear to be such strict observers of those *Mosaic* injunctions, that they not only exclude women in their monthly purgations, and in child-bed; but, with respect to the latter, they extend this interdiction to the same number of days that the law-giver did; viz. forty after the birth of a male, and eighty after that of a female (14). Much the same they observe with regard to those pollutions incident to either sex, such as running sores,

boyls, scabs, and other cuticular excretions and defilements; all which we thus particularly mention, to shew whence these observances had their origin; and if they could still continue such strict observers of those legal rites, which were to end as soon as the gospel appeared, can we wonder they should continue so with respect to the observance of the sabbath and circumcision, which were not of *Moses*, but of the fathers (15)?

(14) *Levit. xii. 2, & seq. Vide Tellez, l. i. Ludolph, & al.*

(15) *John, xxxii.*

whilst

whilst they think themselves obliged to administer it to all the laity. They likewise differ in their form of consecration; and instead of *this is my body*, and *this is my blood*, they say, *this bread is my body*, and *this cup is my blood*. Father Tellez much questions, with many learned casuists of his church, whether this last form be proper and efficacious to transubstantiate the elements into the body and blood of Christ. We shall not enter into the merit of that question, because if their argument against that form be good, it is a sign the *Abissinians* have no notion of any such transubstantiation of the elements, but believe and receive them, as symbols representing, and chanel conveying unto us, the benefits of Christ's meritorious death. This is the explanation which abbot Gregory gave of his church's belief of that sacred mystery; of which their practice is a standing evidence, seeing they do not pay any adoration to the consecrated elements ^a.

Do not believe
transubstan-
tiation.

Receive stand-
ing.

The laity not
admitted into
the chancel.

The gospel read
out of it to
them.

The monaste-
ries and orders
of monks.

When first in-
troduced.

Their record
concerning it.

AGAIN, they do not admit laymen and women to come up to the altar to receive, but administer it to them at the door of the chapel, or choir. Neither do they oblige them to receive it kneeling, but standing. The priest, in giving the bread, uses these words: *The holy flesh of IMMANUEL, our God of truth, which he took of the Lady of us all*: to which the communicant answers, *Amen, Amen*. The deacon comes next, and gives the wine, in a little spoon, and says, *this is the blood of JESUS CHRIST, for the life of the flesh and soul, and for everlasting life*. After which, a subdeacon pours a small quantity of water into the palm of the communicant's hand, with which he rinses his mouth, and swallows it. To conclude this article of their church-worship and communion, which the missionary writers affect to stile their *mass*, though, as we have seen, it bears so little analogy to that of the church of Rome, either with regard to their notion of, or the ceremonies that accompany it, we shall only observe farther, that whereas in the latter, or *Roman mass*, the laity stand in full view of every thing that is performed in it from the beginning to the end, in the former they are excluded from seeing every part of the divine service, excepting only the giving them the communion at the chapel door, and the hearing of the gospel read by the officiating priest, without the chancel, and not at the altar: neither doth what they call the gospel consist of select portions out of the evangelists; but here they divide the four gospels into so many portions, that one of them serves them a whole year, and after that, the next; so that they are four years in going through the whole: they likewise constantly close the lecture of it with an ALLELUIAH, even when the service is performed for the dead ^b; whereas the *Roman church* never uses that doxology but on their three grand festivals ^c.

HAVING now gone through the different orders and offices of the *Abissinian* clergy, it is time we should say something of their religious orders, which are here so numerous, and their monasteries stand so thick, that, when they are at their divine service, one cannot hear them chanting their prayers and psalms at one place, without hearing one, or more, doing the same at another; insomuch, that one may see sometimes two, three, or more, standing within the hearing of each other. Their music, indeed, must of course be very loud, not only from the number and loud voices of the singers, but from the number of instruments that are heard with them: these are commonly drums and tabors, of several forms and sizes; to which they add, the stamping with their feet, striking the ground with their long staves, &c. all which increases the noise, and helps to convey the voice still farther. Besides all this, we are told, that almost every one of those monasteries hath two churches or chapels, the one for the men, the other for the women; but when, or whence, this custom was introduced amongst them, is not easy to guess from any of their records, any more than the precise time when the monastic life began, and how, or by whom, it was introduced, and of what orders the first founders of these monasteries were. Such a tedious enquiry, could we strike any probability out of the monkish stories we have left, would be foreign to our purpose ^d. The ancient chronicle of *Axuma*, often quoted in this chapter, tells us, that *in the days of Amiamid, many monks came from Rum, who filled all the empire; nine of whom staid in the kingdom of Tigre, and each of them erected a church of his own name*: and the author of the life of Tekla Haymanout adds, *that he came to the monastery of Damo, built by Abba Agaravi, one of the nine worthies above-mentioned, who came also from Rum and Egypt in the days of Almida, the son of Salodeba, the predecessor of Tacena, and that these nine, like so many bright stars, filled the world with their brightness*. The people afterwards found names, it seems, for the other eight; for which we shall refer the reader to the margin (H), and only observe, that one

^a LUDOLPH, ubi sup. l. v. § 54, & seq. TELLEZ, ibid. JARRIC, CODIGN. & al. plur. ^b Ibid. ibid.
^c See the Rom. missal & ritual. ^d LOBO, voy. 3. p. 77, & seq. ^e De his, vide ALPHONSO MEN-
DEZ, dissert. apud TELLEZ, l. i. c. 16. LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 4. iii. 3, pass.

(H) These were *Abba Pantaleon, Abba Guarima, Abba Aleffi, Abba Sahami, Abba Affe, Abba Licanos, Abba Adimatu, Abba Hos*, called also *Guba*, or *Swoken*; all which we have chosen to set down here, according as they are spelt by father Tellez, out of the above account of the patriarch Mendez, in order to shew our readers, that

a one of them, and one only, appears of *Greek* extract; viz. that of *Pantaleon*, who became a founder of another monastery. It is therefore very difficult, from these two accounts, to fix, Tellez's account strained, and imperfect. not only the precise time of their arrival, but the true import of the word *Rum*, whether it means *Rome* or *Greece*; and yet the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez* hath not scrupled to fix it between the former and the year 470 or 480; and the meaning of the latter to *Greece*, rather than *Rome*, on the bare evidence of the name of *Pantaleon*; and to infer from thence, that *Rum* means no other than *New Rome*, the name which *Constantine* the Great gave to the metropolis of his new eastern empire¹.

THIS short sketch may serve at once to shew the uncertainty of those two records, if they were rightly understood by the interpreter; and the poor shifts here used to fix the time when, and country whence, the monastic life was first propagated through this empire; and all this, for aught appears to the contrary, merely to give the honour of it to some of those enthusiastic founders, of whom we read such incredible wonders in their ascetic legends, such in particular as were their two famed heroes, *Paul* and *Anthony*². Neither *Mendez*, nor any of the *Portuguese* writers, could be ignorant, that this ascetic life had been several centuries in great vogue and esteem among the *Jews*, both in *Palestine* and in *Egypt*; witness the *Essenians* in the former, so much celebrated by *Josephus*³; and the *Therapeutes* in *Egypt*, amply described by *Philo*⁴; of both which sects we have given a full account in our *Ancient History*⁵; both whose lives, rules, retirement, piety, and austerities, were the most perfect patterns and quintessence of the ascetic life; insomuch that many learned men have been induced to believe these latter to have been a Christian order of ascetics, instituted by *St. Mark*, first patriarch of *Alexandria*; and that *Philo* had represented them as a set of *Jewish* monastics, in compliment to his own nation⁶; though he, being a native of *Alexandria*, and cotemporary with *St. Mark*, would hardly have dared to have not only challenged them, but represented them as a fraternity of a much longer standing, if, before that, they had not been in being long before that evangelist. Hence others have supposed, with greater probability, that many of those *Therapeutes*, being afterwards converted by him to Christianity, separated themselves from their *Jewish* brethren, and formed themselves into Christian societies under the protection and direction of that patriarch⁷. The Essenians and Therapeutes more probably the first introducers of the monastic life here.

HOWEVER that be, we need not go now so far as *Thrace* or *Constantinople* for the meaning of the word *Rum*, since *Rum Misraim* means no more than Higher or Upper *Egypt*, in which these ascetics swarmed. Neither need we descend so low as the fifth century for the first introduction of them into *Abissinia*, since their neighbourhood to it, the conformity of religion, customs, &c. which we have observed through this and some other chapters, not to mention the boasted pedigree of the *Abissinian* princes from *Solomon*, could hardly fail of inviting even the *Jewish Therapeutes* thither; especially as the country every-where abounds with rocky solitudes, the most adapted to a recluse and ascetic life, and the inhabitants are so naturally inclined to it. And how much more easily may we suppose them to have spread themselves over this empire, soon after its conversion to Christianity, if we admit, as we may with great probability, that many of them became proselytes to the gospel so early as *St. Mark's* patriarchate, and formed themselves into societies under his rule and government⁸. Much earlier than the fifth century. Since which converted to Christianity, yet retain their old rules of life.

ONE thing we are very sure of, that those monasteries of *Abissinia* bear no resemblance at all to those of the *Roman*, *Greek*, *Armenian*, and other Christian churches, either with regard to their structure, form, church-service, government, discipline, and way of life; but appear, in all these points, the very transcripts of those of the *Essenians* and *Therapeutes*, as described by *Josephus* and *Philo*. Instead of being inclosed within stout high walls, they appear only like so many large villages, or parishes, in which every monk hath his hut, or cell, at a distance from each other. Instead of being confined within their walls, and not being permitted to stir out without the superior's leave, these, except at the times of their devotions, may range where they please. Instead of leading an idle life, and living upon the charity and benefactions of the laity, these spend most of their spare time in cultivating each the portion of land which is assigned to him. Instead of eating in common, and having their tables served Quite opposite to all other monks. Laborious life. Great abstinence.

¹ Ubi sup. Contemplat.

² Vide int. al. STURMY'S Ascetics, pass.

³ Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7.

⁴ De Vita

⁵ See vol. iv. p. 169, & seq. 171, & seq.

⁶ Vide EUSEB. Anc. Hist. l. ii. c. 17. BEL-

LARMIN, BARONIUS, MONTFAUCON, BASNAGE, & al.

⁷ Vide DRUS. TRIGLAND, BASNAGE, PRIDEAUX, &

⁸ De his, vide EUSEB. & auct. sup. citat.

that even abating the almost unavoidable incorrectness of the orthography in transcribing them out of the *Ethiopic* into *Latin* or *Portuguese*, there is not one, except the first, that doth not plainly appear to be of *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, or *Chaldean* extract, to any man that hath but a moderate knowledge of those tongues; for by this they will be

able to judge, how warped that author must be to his own opinion, that will have those nine ascetics to have come from *Greece* to *Thrace*, merely because one of them happens to be called by a *Greek* name, whilst those of the other eight plainly appear to be of a quite opposite extract.

Strict obser-
vance of Lent.

Some admit of
marriage.

Separate
chapels for
the women.

Some prefer
the hermetical
life.

Frequent ab-
lutions.

Mortifications.

Not unlike
those of the
Essenians.

with variety of flesh, fish, fowl, and other dainties, and having a competent portion of wine a to help their digestion, these eat their small pittance within their homely cells, which is com-
monly the product of their own grounds, and of their own rearing; a few herbs, pulse, or
roots, without any other condiment than a little salt, and on holidays a little butter; or even
any other diluter than plain water. Instead of that delicious variety of lenten dishes, which
those are allowed, at least once a day, together with a small collation at night, the most part
of these never eat above once every two days, during their whole lenten times, which take up
almost one third-part of the year^c; during which time they live upon unfavoury herbs, not
so much as allowing themselves either bread or butter to eat with them; and some there are
amongst them, who during all that time will abstain from all manner of sustenance, except on
Sundays. Instead of excluding women from their communities, they have, like the *Jewish* b
monastics above-mentioned, some orders among them, which allow them in the married life,
to bring up their families in the same way, and distribute their lands, cells, and what other
few goods they have, amongst them: but these, as we observed a little higher, do not admit
their wives and daughters into their churches, but have particular ones, or chapels, for their
use; and to which they repair at all the canonical hours of the day and night, with the same
exactness as the men do, and use much the same divine service as them, except the additional
music of drums and tabors, which are peculiar to the latter. There are, however, other orders
of them, who wholly abstain from all commerce with that sex, and never admit them to live
within the limits of their monasteries^d. We may also mention here a third sort, who prefer
the eremitical life, as more adapted for contemplation than those social ones; and, for that c
reason, chuse to abide in towers, caves, caverns, or on the top of high rocks, and other
lonesome and unfrequented retreats (I); and these are commonly more highly esteemed and
reverenced than the rest, by the bulk of the people.

BUT to return to those of the monastic kind; they likewise differ from those of the Chris-
tian churches in many other particulars, which we have no time to dwell upon; such as, in
the form and structure of their churches, which we have elsewhere had occasion to describe;
and by their roundness, gates, and choir, seem to answer much more to the synagogues of
the *Essenians* and *Therapeutes*; the ablutions after any accidental defilements, observation of
the sabbath, circumcision, and other *Jewish* rites; and more particularly in the proper choice d
of their other works of mortification. They know not the use of the monkish discipline, and
other punishments, which, perhaps, rather stimulate than damp the fleshly appetites; instead
of which, they will plunge themselves into the coldest rivers, and continue in them, with the
water up to their chin, for some hours together, and even whole days, in the coldest wea-
ther^e; the very apprehension of which penance would be enough to throw some of the
most mortified monks of *Rome* and *Greece* into a quartan ague. We omit some other penances
of the like nature, which are still more austere, and almost incredible, but which father *Al-*
meida relates as things of his own knowlege; and which we here mention, not as worthy of
a greater degree of praise, but as conformable to those rigorous ones which were so common
among these *Judaic* ascetics, from whom they in all probability adopted them.

^c See before, p. 192 (D).

^d Vide TELLEZ, l. i. c. 17. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 3.

^e Ibid. ibid.

(I) Of the first sort was their celebrated *Abba Pantaleon*, lately mentioned, whose retreat (which is still shewn at some small distance eastward of *Axuma*, and within a small bow-shot of the church and monastery said to have been built by him, and called from him *Beth Pantaleon*) is still seen standing; viz. the little tower where he was shut up, and visited by the emperor. Between the church, and the city above-mentioned, is likewise seen the cave to which he frequently retired, which consists of three apartments, hewn by the hand into the rock. One of them, which is the entrance into the rest, and hath its door fronting the west, is fifteen cubits long, and about four in breadth. At the end of it are two other little rooms, in the form of a cross at the entrance, each of which is ten cubits long, and that on the right hand, towards the south, is four cubits wide, and the other, opposite to it, six cubits; and all the ground lying round those caves hath a square wall about it (16).

This place is honoured by the *Abissinians*, as being that to which the emperor *Caleb* retired, after he had gained a signal victory over the *Jewish* king of the *Homertites*, and betook himself to a recluse life; and his

tomb, as well as that of *Abba Pantaleon*, are still shewn in the church above-mentioned; which, we are told, was laid open by an earthquake, *an.* 1630, but repaired soon after by the monks (17).

Of the other sort of hermits, was the *Abba Hos*, surnamed *Gubba*, or *Swollen*, who lived on a high barren rock, and built a church upon it. Hence the *Abissines* (if our author (18) understood them right) surnamed him *Swollen*, because those that passed by the foot of the mountain used to say, *What a high swollen monk is this!* But from the affinity of the *Ethiopic* to the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, &c. as the occasion of his nick-name, we should rather think, that the epithet *Guba* (or *Geboah*, as the *Hebrew* hath it) meant lofty or stately, alluding to his situation. However that be, all those nine monks are reckoned very great saints and miracle-workers; and, among other wonders of that kind, are recorded to have caused a huge serpent, which used to devour men, children, and cattle, to burst asunder, by the bare virtue of their prayers. *Quere*, whether they did not give him such a sop, as *Daniel* is said to have done to the *Babylonish* dragon (19)?

(16) *Alphonf. Mendez*, ap. *Tellez*, l. i. c. 17.
of *Dan. Hist. of Bel & Drag.* ver. 27.

(17) *Id. ibid.*

(18) *Id. ubi. sup.*

(19) *Apocryph.*

- a THIS is the true case of all those so highly extolled monastics; all whose boasted greatness chiefly consists in the number of their religious, and the vast extent of the lands they possess; in every one of which we see nothing but meanness, their very churches and chapels are most of them thatched, and void of all ornaments, except, perhaps, some few ordinary paintings: yet they are well lined with timber on the inside, and have some accommodations for the old and weak to lean their elbows upon, because they chaunt all their service standing. They have neither refectories nor halls, and their cells are of clay, small, low, thatched, and as meanly furnished within as they are adorned without: every thing within them is answerable to their mortified life; their beds a poor mat, lying upon the floor; their chairs and tables of the same, only raised a little higher with earth^f. Mean way of living.
Churches.
- b THERE are two different orders of them, who are called by the name of their founders, or rather reformers; viz. those of *Tekla Haymanout*, and of *Abba Eustatius*; the former a native of *Ethiopia*, and the latter of *Egypt*: the order of the former have a kind of general amongst them, whom they call *Ikegue*, who is chosen by the abbas, or heads of every monastery under him: the others have only a superior, stiled abba, or father, over each monastery, chosen by the majority of the votes of the monks belonging to it; but whether annually, or triennially, we are not told (K). The habit of both is almost the same; or, to speak more properly, differs in each particular: for, except their ashæma, among the abbas or priors, who are the only order that wear it, and which is only a little braid of three thongs of red leather, which they put about their necks, and fasten with an iron or copper hook, every one cloathes himself as he thinks fit, or as he can best afford, but all of them meanly; and the cloth or skin which covers their body is girt about them with a leathern strap. Some of them go bare-headed, like all the laity; others wear a kind of hat; others some sort of caps; and some cover their heads with a piece of cloth. Those who affect a more ascetic life, now-and-then, as their fancy or religion leads them, retire into the deserts, and come out again, distinguish themselves at pleasure; some by a yellow skin, hollowed and worn about their neck; others, by a piece of cloth of the same colour and shape; a third sort, by a black kind of mantle, which they throw over their shirt or cassock; which last is commonly white, and girt with a leathern thong like the rest; but some chuse to have both mantle and cassock of the same black colour, as having a deeper air of gravity. In all these last mentioned particulars, they totally differ from all other monks, whether *Roman*, *Greek*, or *Armenian*; but agree exactly with what we read of them in *Philo* and *Josephus* concerning the *Therapeutes* and *Essenians*. So that, upon the whole, those nine founders above-mentioned appear to us rather to be reformers, or, to speak more properly, the persons that converted the ancient *Abissinian* ascetics to christianity. Had they been founders or reformers, they would, in all likelihood, have brought them into a greater conformity of dress, living, &c. with those of *Europe* and *Asia*; whereas it appears from what hath been said hitherto, that they made no sensible alteration in any thing but in their faith. In consequence of which, they have all of them, like the rest of the clergy, the privilege of carrying a cross in their hands, and blessing the people with it. Abbas how distinguished.
Monks habit various, but mean.
Carry a cross in their hands.
- c THOSE of the abbots, or superior orders of convents, have them much larger, better shaped, and without a foot to stand on; and these are usually carried before them by some inferior monk, as a token of their dignity, whenever they go abroad. Those monks, who observe celibacy, are commonly in greater esteem than those that marry, and are often, especially their abbots, employed by the emperors in public affairs, negotiations, &c. and it is very likely that they make some kind of vows of chastity at their first admittance into their convents; but in what manner we are not told. The patriarch *Alvarez* indeed informs us, that The unmarried in greater esteem;

^f Ibid. ibid.

(K) The *Abissines* celebrate still their festivals with unusual solemnity, especially that of the former, which is kept on the twenty-fourth of *August* and the twenty-fourth of *December*; besides which, they have another, in memory of the translation of his relics, in the month of *May*. That of the other is only once a year, in the month of *July*. They relate several wonders of them both.

Tekla Haymanout, they say, had led the ascetic life some considerable time in the desert of *Thebais*, with such abstinence and mortifications as are almost incredible, till at length coming into *Abissinia*, with many others of his fellow-hermits, he was chosen to succeed *Abba Johanni* in the abbaship, who was the third in succession to *Abba Argawi*, the first abbot in *Ethiopia*; and, among other in-

stitutions which he left among them, one was, that they should have an *Ikegue*, or general, over the whole order, who should keep his circular visitation through all their monasteries at proper seasons; which dignity became the highest ecclesiastical one next to the *Abuna*. We omit the miracles, apparitions, writings, and other feats, which are recorded of him in his life, and other of their legends.

The same are related of *Eustatius*, not worth mentioning; only, among the rules which he gave them, he did not oblige them to chuse a superior, or *Ikegue*, over them; which they attribute to his going from them into *Armenia*, and dying there, without naming a successor. For which reason they are contented with an abba to preside in each monastery, who is one of their own chusing (20).

though not the
more chaste.

having one day asked the question of the *Azaga Tikbo*, who had been a monk, but was then a the emperor's secretary, whether they bound themselves to it by any vow? that minister, who was of a gay facetious temper, answered, that their candidates for the monkish habit, being prostrate before the abba, said aloud to him, *We bind ourselves to observe the rules of chastity*; and softly whispered, *as you do*; and added, that they made most of their other vows with the same tacit restriction². But we may justly question whether that reply was not rather thrown as a squib at the patriarch, and the *Romish* clergy, than at the *Abissinian*; seeing all missionary writers so unanimously agree, that the abstinence and mortification of those monks exceed by far all that is practised in any other Christian monasteries.

The mona-
stries called
by Jewish
names.

Those of *Abissinia* did not, as with us in *Europe*, swarm in great cities, even when they had very considerable ones of these; but, answerable to their name and design, were chiefly to be found among the most mountainous and solitary parts of the country; and are therefore called *Debras*, which, in the *Ethiopic* tongue, signifies both a mountain and a monastery, and, in the *Hebrew*, a desert; and whether out of regard to their affinity to the *Jews*, or, as we supposed a little higher, because they were first introduced hither by *Jewish* monks, were distinguished either by some of the most remarkable territories in *Palestine*, such as *Debra Libanos*, *Debra Bezan*, or *Bashan*, *Debra Tabor*, *Debra Sinai*, *Debra Zayte*, &c. or by some religious *Hebrew* word, as *Debra Hallelo*, or *Hallelujah*³; names which we cannot suppose either *Tekla Haymanout*, the *Ethiopian*, or *Eustace*, the *Egyptian*, would ever have thought to have given to those places, unless we suppose them to have been themselves of *Jewish* extract, or that they had been long before called by them by some more ancient founders, whether of the *Essenian* or *Therapeutic* order, and were suffered to retain them by those two new-comers.

Some of the
chief ones de-
scribed;

HITHERTO we have only given our readers a general description of those religious communities; they would not perhaps be displeased, if we here subjoin some farther account of two or three of their most celebrated ones, to enable them to form an idea of the rest. But here it is that we are quite at a loss how to reconcile the pompous account of those ancient communities with the mean and poor condition which they, even the most celebrated of them, appear now in. Such dreadful devastations have the frequent invasions of the *Agaus*, *Gallas*, and other barbarous nations, made, by possessing themselves of their lands, destroying their churches and habitations, and forcing them to exchange the ascetic for a vagabond life; neither have their intestine wars contributed less to their decay, and, with regard to a great number of them, to their total inanition: so that one can hardly guess at what they are recorded to have been, by the few sorrowful ruins that are left of them. The chief of those that still make any tolerable figure, are those that follow¹.

but gone to
great decay.

Debra Li-
banos.

DEBRA LIBANOS, in the kingdom of *Xaoa*, is still famous on account of the bones of *Tekla Haymanout*, of whose order that monastery is, being translated into its church; on which account the *Abissinian* monarchs bestowed great abundance of lands. It was also the residence of the *Ikegue*, or general; yet the structure of it much exceeds the general description we have given of the rest. It had a church like the others, built on the top of a hill, and round about it were the thatched houses, in which the monks lived; so that it looked more like a country town, or rather village, than a religious community; and till the *Gallas*, who made themselves masters of a great part of that province, had seized on their vast extensive lands, its chief grandeur consisted more in the great multitude of its religious men than in the beauty or richness of its buildings, or any thing else that can deserve that name. Since that time, there are only some few Christians, who still live among the rocky mountains, called *Ambas*⁴, and in the monastery not quite forty monks. And yet this place was formerly so considerable, that it contained, including the churches and little monasteries round about, that were subject to it, about 10,000 persons, according to the unanimous reports of the *Abissines*¹. Since the time of the invasion of the *Gallas*, the *Ikegue*, or general of the order, hath removed his seat into the kingdom of *Bagamendra*, whither the greatest part of his monks followed him, and where it hath continued ever since.

Resemble
towns more
than convents.

All mean in
and about it.

Debra Bisan.

DEBRA BISAN, or *Basan*, was likewise built among very high mountains, about a day's journey from *Mazowa*. It belongs to the order of St. *Eustace*, and was once very famous; but hath been since much reduced; yet it is still famed for being the burying place of one of their abbats, named *Philip*, whom they still honour as a saint, and celebrate his festival in the month of *July*. One of whose most remarkable actions was, that he shewed so much zeal for the sabbath, that he ventured to go and reprove one of their emperors for obliging his subjects to work on that day, and obtained a revocation of that impious edict.

Debra Halle-
lujah.

BUT none of their monasteries has suffered such a surprising decay as that called *Hallelo*, or *Hallelujah*, belonging to the same order with that of *Debra Bisan*. It is seated in the king-

² Vide LE GRAND, Dissertat. 15. de Hierarch. ubi sup. ³ De his, vide sup. 200, & seq. Dissertat. 15. p. 356.

⁴ Id. ibid.

¹ TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, &c. TELLEZ, l. i. c. 17. LUDOLPH, l. c. 3. LE GRAND,

- a dom of *Tigre*, about a day's journey from the antient metropolis of *Auxuma*, on a very high mountain, and in the heart of a spacious wood. Its noble ruins, still to be seen, shew it to have been one of the most considerable in the whole empire. The river *Mareb* runs along on the north-east of it, and waters the vallies below it, a little before it loses itself in the ground *. The church was ninety-nine feet in length, and seventy-eight in breadth, and round about it stood the round cells of the monks, very thick. The missionaries often inquired of some of the oldest monks belonging to it, what number of them it might formerly contain; and were answered by some of them, 12,000, and by others, 40,000. The first number is therefore supposed to have included only those that belonged to, and lived near, the church; and the other, those that were scattered at a greater distance, and composed little communities, subject to the great ones; which they confidently affirm to have amounted to ninety; having each a suffragan church, or chapel, depending on the mother church above-mentioned. Here resided the chief abbot of the order, who was so considerable a person, that when he went to court upon any urgent business, he was always attended by 150 of his monks riding upon mules, and distinguished from the rest only by a loose gown, close before, and without sleeves, having only a hole in the top to put their heads through, and which covered the rest of their habit. Of all this vast number of churches, chapels, and cells, all that remains now is so inconsiderable, that one cannot help being amazed how they could undergo such a general ruin, in so rich and fertile a kingdom, that there should hardly be any thing left standing to give us an idea of its pristine grandeur, if we except the ruins of the church, long since fallen. In the midst of which stands now a little one; near which, and about those of the suffragan ones, live about ten or twelve monks, only, as it were, to keep up the memory of that once so famed a community, and its no less celebrated founder, a reputed saint, named *Samuel* ^m; of whose extraordinary penances and austerities they relate such wonders as exceed all belief. And thus much of the hierarchy of the *Abissinian* church.

* See before, p. 204.

^m TELLEZ, *ibid.* ad fin.

S E C T. VIII.

Of the faith and practice of the Abissinian church, with respect to the other parts of their religion, and the errors into which it has fallen since its conversion to Christianity.

- d **T**HE *Abissinians* are justly charged with professing a religion mixed with *Judaism* and Christianity, the Law and the Gospel. We have already had occasion to give a great number of pregnant instances of the former, from which their two zealous defenders, the abbot *Gregory* and Mr. *Ludolph*, have in vain tried to exculpate them. Yet we think we should be very unjust to them, if we should charge that church with *Judaism*, or paying an almost equal regard to the Law of *Moses*, as they do to the Gospel of Christ, as several of the *Portuguese* missionaries have done ^a. We hope, therefore, our readers will not be displeased, nor think it out of our province, if we endeavour to set that important point in a more impartial light, whereby they may be enabled to make a more candid judgment concerning their observance of such a variety of *Judaic* rites, which hath given occasion to that heavy charge.
- e WE, therefore, with regard to the two great articles alleged against them; viz. circumcision and the keeping the sabbath, or seventh day, think it plain, not only by their own confession, but what carries a much stronger evidence, their practice, that they do not look upon either as necessary to salvation by virtue of the *Mosaic* law, as the *Jews* do, but as ordained by God, the one from the creation, and the other to *Abraham*, the father of the faithful; and, consequently, not to be put on the same foot with those other precepts and ceremonies which were to be abrogated at the coming of the Messiah. Neither do they, 2dly, look upon circumcision as a sacrament of the same indispensable obligation as baptism; because though they all in general practise it, yet they only enjoin the latter as such, and leave the other as a matter of choice. For which reason, any old woman may, and among the common people usually do, circumcise the children; whereas none are allowed to baptize them but the priests only; and what is still more remarkable, if a child be first circumcised, he must be afterwards baptized before he can be admitted a member of the Christian church; but, if baptized before circumcision, he is not suffered, much less required, to be circumcised. And this was passed into a canon of the whole church about the close of the twelfth century, at a time when

^a Vide ALMEYDA's Letters to ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, & al.

Countenanced
by the apostle
St. Paul.

some of their patriarchs had ventured to enjoin it as a matter of obligation and necessity^c. So a that, in all this, they only followed St. Paul's excellent rule, who, when he wrote to the *Galatians*, who had never been circumcised, tells them, that if they become so, *Christ will profit them nothing*^d. But, when to the *Corinthians*, explains himself more clearly in these terms^e: *Is any man called being circumcised, let him not become uncircumcised, &c. (A). Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.* Can it therefore be wondered at, that a nation, which boasted to have received, with the *Jewish* religion, this sacred rite from *Solomon*, and their monarchs to be lineally descended from him, should be easily persuaded to give it up, after so plain a concession from the great apostles to the Gentiles? or could those who converted them to Christianity reasonably enjoin them more than that they should no longer receive it as a sacrament, but as a rite of mere indifference to their salvation? and hath b not their practice ever since plainly shewn how readily they complied with that injunction? Can there be a greater proof of it than that noble opposition which their whole clergy made against those of their *Abunas*, who would have forced them to believe it of indispensable obligation, and the decree of their national council against it, lately mentioned, and their forbidding any child being circumcised after he had received the baptism? If, therefore, they pay any religious regard to that rite, it can only be on account of its divine origin, and their having received it, together with the knowledge and worship of the true God, from the great king of *Israel*; now no longer as an obligatory seal of the old covenant, but as a voluntary and thankful memorial of it, and of their having been formerly admitted into it.

Believed to be
of mere in-
difference;

and a political
custom.

A preserver of
cleanness.

Why they
circumcise
their females.

BUT this regard to that antient rite is so far from being universally paid to it, that many of c them look upon it as a political one, either to preserve a distinction between them and those nations who either do not, or practise it in a different manner: for the *Ishmaelites*, *Edomites*, &c. differ from one another in their manner of performing the operation; and so do the *Abissines* from the *Jews*; these last not only circumcising the prepuce, but tearing with their nails the tender skin which sticks round the glans, which the former do not. Or, secondly, in order to promote propagation, to which they think it contributes on several accounts. Or, d thirdly, to preserve those parts from contracting any filth, which they say, if not prevented in time, will create inflammations, cancers, and other inconveniencies equally dangerous^f. And it cannot doubtless be with any other view that the *Abissinians*, as well as the antient *Egyptians*, subjected their female infants to it; there being, as is alleged, a kind of excrescence, or super- d fluous skin, growing over the pudendum, or rather between the labia and the nymphæ, which must be rescinded, in order to preserve those so useful parts clean from the like natural defilements, which are no less dangerous in that sex in those hot climates. As, therefore, St. Paul could not but know that many nations had, from time immemorial, adopted this custom merely with the like indifference, without any other religious views, it was natural for him to censure the pharisaical condemning of its practice, upon any other foot than that of ascribing a sacramental efficacy, which it had not, in order to render it obligatory; and therefore affirms it to be a matter of absolute indifference, in opposition to the whole pharisaic tribe, who insisted upon the necessity of it.

Other pre-
tended Judaic
customs vindicated.

THE same charitable and tender caution doth that great apostle observe towards his new con- e verts, with respect to sundry other observances and abstinences; for which, nevertheless, the *Portuguese* writers scruple not to call the *Abissinian* a judaizing church. Like many other primitive Christians, whose example is still followed to this day by some of the moderns, they observe the sabbath day, by abstaining from all laborious works, though they admit those of necessity; such as lighting their fires, baking their bread, dressing their victuals, and such like, which are reckoned unlawful by all the *Jews*^g. They abstain from blood, things strangled, swine's flesh, hares, rabbits, &c. use some purifications and washings after certain defilements, and other observations of the like nature, in common with the *Jews*; and, for these, their religion is represented as a mixture of the *Jewish* law and gospel. Whereas, in

^c ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LE GRAND's Diff. 8. p. 287. seq. ^f See Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 427, & seq. & (R), vii. 201.

^d Galat. v. 2.

^e Cor. vii. 18, &

^g See Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 600, sub not.

(A) It can hardly be supposed, that the apostle could, by those words, have a retrospect to the scandalous method that had been formerly practised by apostate *Jews*, of erasing the scar or mark of circumcision, of which we have given some account in our Antient History (1). The meaning, therefore, of that expression can be no other than the neglect, setting aside, or abrogating, of that rite. In this sense, a man may be said to become uncircumcised, if, having been circumcised, he neglects to

have his children circumcised. The same may be said of a church, which, having once received that rite, doth afterwards abolish the use of it; which is what the apostle seems here to disapprove; and therefore enjoins every man to abide in the same calling wherein he was called, whether he be circumcised or uncircumcised; seeing neither the one nor the other is of any import towards a man's salvation (2).

(1) See Ant. Hist. vol. iv. p. 47.

(2) 1 Cor. vii. 18, 19.

- a fact, they all in general allow, that the ceremonial law was absolutely abrogated by Christ; and that no one precept of it is binding, but what had previously received its sanction from God. Thus, the sabbath was ordained from the creation^k; the abstaining from blood and things strangled was enjoined to *Noah*, and his posterity^l; and had been accordingly revived and ratified by the whole college of apostles, in their first synod at *Jerusalem**, and afterwards by several general and national councils†. It was therefore in virtue of this and the *Mosaic* law, that they abstained from them. The same may be said likewise of their observing what some authors stile the law of *Levirate*, which obliges a man, if his married brother die without issue male, to marry his widow, and raise up seed to keep his name: for though we find it enjoined to the *Israelites* in the *Levitical* law, it plainly appears to have been in force long before among the *Canaanites*, from the instance of the patriarch *Judab* and his *Canaanitish* daughter-in-law *Tamar*‡. The same custom, therefore, might be observed by other nations, and might also be rightly preserved by the *Abissinians* after their conversion, either on account of its antiquity, or of its fitness to keep up the memory of the dead, without looking upon it as obligatory, as being enjoined by the *Mosaic* law. But farther,
- As to the eating of swine's flesh, and other unclean creatures, though we find no prohibition against them before the *Mosaic* law, yet there was certainly a distinction made between the clean and unclean ones, long enough before that^m. But not to insist further upon this, it is certain the *Abissinians* were not the only people out of *Palestine* that not only abstained from the flesh of, but who professed the utmost abhorrence to, that creature, without any regard to the *Mosaic* prohibition. The *Phœnicians* never eat any, if we may believe *Porphyry*ⁿ, who gives this reason for it, that they, like the *Jews*, did not breed any among them. And *Herodotus* assures us^o, that the *Egyptians* had such an aversion to them, that if they chanced but to touch them, they immediately went and plunged themselves over head and ears in the next river; and adds, that they shewed the same abhorrence to all swine-herds. The same may be said of the *Scenite Arabs*, and other nations; among whom that creature was accounted one of the most impure and unwholesome, and its flesh the most apt to create leprosy and other loathsome diseases. Why might not then the *Abissines* suppose that it was on that account that God had forbid the eating of it to the *Israelites*, and abhor it for that reason? And may not the same reason incline, nay oblige, them to continue in all the other *Jewish* institutions relating to cleanness and ablutions, without any regard to the *Mosaic* law? or was it possible, in this and all other such hot climates, to neglect them, without endangering health and life^p?
- Thus then we hope, that those missionaries lay their charge too home against the *Abissinian* church, when they represent it as paying an equal regard to the Law and the Gospel: for all the observances above-mentioned plainly appear not only to be enjoined by it, without any regard to the *Mosaic* law, but, which is still more, to be countenanced and justified by the same apostle to the Gentiles, in many of his Epistles, and more particularly in that to the *Colossians*, in these words^q: *Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day or sabbath*; which are a shadow of the things to come, but the body is of Christ; or, as these last words might be more properly rendered, but the body (or substance of those shadows) is Christ. They might, therefore, with more justice, have charged that church with ascribing too great merit, and placing too great a confidence in those observances, and a charge which they but too justly deserve; but which would recoil with double force against their own; and is not therefore once mentioned, though by far the heaviest of all that can be laid against it. However, the true cause of all this misunderstanding might be probably enough owing to the *Abissinian* clergy's refusing, as we are told by all the missionary writers they did, and stiffly declining all manner of conference with them, from a consciousness of their own ignorance and inability of holding an argument with them; otherwise it would have been easy for them to have cleared themselves from the imputation of judaizing, as they have done since in writing. But, instead of it, we are farther told, they sought only how to exasperate the people against them, by calling them *Cofas*, that is, uncircumcised; a term, it seems, of the greatest reproach among them, and taxing them with eating the flesh of swine, and other unclean creatures^r. So that, from the odium which the people conceived against them on that account, they too hastily pronounced them to be half *Jews* and half Christians; if their prejudices and resentment hath not caused them to be beheld in the first sense with the large, and in the last with the small, end of the spying-glass.
- And indeed, unless we read those church-zealots with some such caveat, we shall hardly be able to reconcile them with other less partial writers of *Abissinian* affairs, nor, in many in-

Observance of the sabbath.

Abstaining from blood.

Raising seed to a dead brother.

Abstinence from swine's flesh, &c.

observed by other nations.

Countenanced by the apostle,

and misrepresented by the missionaries.

as well as the character of their clergy.

^k Gen. ii. 3.^l Ibid. ix. 4. & seq.^{*} Acts, xv. 20.[†] Vide Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 686 (C).[‡] Gen. xxxviii. 7, & seq.^m Ibid. vii. 2, & seq. & alib.

See Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 105 (†).

ⁿ De abstin.

animal.

^o Lib. ii. c. 27.^p See Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 688.^q Ch. ii. 16, 17.^r See

LE GRAND, Dissert. viii. p. 281.

*Their accounts
not to be im-
plicitly be-
lieved.*

*An instance
of it.*

*Their inco-
sistency.*

*The faith of
the Abissinian
church pure
till the time of
Dioscorus.*

*Infected with
that heresy.*

*Condemned by
the Chalce-
donic council;*

*which is for
that reason re-
jected by them.*

stances, even with themselves. Let any one compare the following character, extracted by a
Father *Tellez* out of all the writers of his fraternity, with what others have said of them^s, and
he will be easily satisfied that we have not inserted it in vain. “ Besides the antiquity of their
“ errors,” says that author, “ there is a profound ignorance in *Ethiopia*; for having neither
“ schools nor knowledge of philosophy and divinity, nor any other than some imperfect
“ books, with scraps of homilies and councils, very full of mistakes, and their Bible, which
“ is no less depraved, they are so very unlearned, though they have good capacities, that
“ they can neither argue in form, nor defend their wrong notions syllogistically, but blindly
“ adhere to what they have been taught by their forefathers. And though they believe in
“ Christ our Lord, it is after their own manner, and with a thousand follies intermixed with
“ the mysteries of his life^t.” We shall conclude this article of their pretended observance b
of the *Mosaic* law, with a transaction which one of their authors, on what authority we are
not told, affirms to have happened soon after the total expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries out
of the *Abissinian* empire^{*}; by which our readers will clearly see what a necessity there is to
read those authors with their eyes open. After having told his readers, that the *Abissinians*
have such an abhorrence for uncircumcised persons, that they break in pieces all the vessels they
have eat or drank out of, and have a form of prayer to purify and bless those they have defiled
by the bare touch, he adds: “ But what is the most remarkable of all is, that the Jesuits,
“ and with them the catholic religion, were no sooner banished out of *Abissinia*, than an
“ order was published, that all the youth, who had not been circumcised, should forthwith c
“ be so; and that if the soldiers met in their way with any one that had not the circumcision-
“ mark, they struck the point of their halberds into their privities, to give it them.” We
shall not here inquire how this dreadful piece of news was conveyed thence into *Europe*, after
the whole fraternity was expelled out of the country; nor how we can reconcile the above-
mentioned abhorrence of the *Abissinians* to all uncircumcised persons with the profession which
they make in several of their letters to the pope, king of *Portugal*, and other great persons,
that they looked upon circumcision as a mere antient custom, and a piece of the same
decency and cleanness as paring of their nails, or any other excrescence. How is it con-
sistent with the kind and hospitable reception which all those missionaries tell us they met with d
from their monarchs, princes of the blood, grandees, and even from several of their clergy
of the first rank, who yet did not, it is very probable, dream any thing of their carrying the
scar of circumcision about them^u? If it be said, that they were already above half-converts
to the church of *Rome*, before they came thither, then may we not justly ask how such stiff,
ignorant, irrational, unphilosophical, bookless, people jumped at once, with these small
helps they had, into so right a way of thinking and judging in favour of the *Roman* church?
or was it their ignorance that induced them to prefer it to their own? But, lastly, how doth
the edict above-mentioned, or the insolence of the soldiers, prove that they paid a religious
regard to the rite of circumcision, or any thing but a natural resentment against those who had
neglected it, in obedience to the *Romish* patriarchs and missionaries? But it is now time to
give some account of their faith, and their unhappy defection from it.

We have already hinted, that the *Abissinian* church received the gospel, and their discipline, e
from that of *Alexandria*, and hath continued in subjection to that patriarchate ever since. So
that so long as the mother continued orthodox, the daughter followed her example, and per-
severed in the faith which the first bishop *Frumentius* had established among them. But no
sooner was the former infected with monothelism, or monophysism, by her unworthy patriarch
Dioscorus, and his no less worthless abbot *Eutychius*, the two first broachers of that heresy, f
about the year of Christ 444, than the poison was communicated to the latter by the abunas
sent thither from *Egypt*, and quickly spread itself through the greatest part of the empire; so
that both clergy and laity have been strongly tainted with it ever since^w.

THIS stupid and unaccountable error (which consisted chiefly in allowing in Christ our Re-
deemer but one nature and one will, though they acknowledged him to be very God, as f
well as very man, and to be the second person in the adorable Trinity; and had spread itself
not only through the churches of *Egypt* and *Abissinia*, but over *Greece*, *Armenia*, and other
parts) was no less warmly opposed by others, especially those of *Rome* and *Constantinople*;
and was at length condemned by a council of no less than 630 bishops, convened at *Chalce-
don*, as a damnable heresy. Soon after which, their decision was confirmed by pope *Leo* I. in
his letter to *Flavianus*. This, however, instead of making a due impression upon the *Abissi-
nian* clergy, served only to excite their hatred and contempt against both. They called that
council an assembly of factious and servile madmen, who scrupled not to betray the truth, in

^s De his vide ROGERS, PONCET, JARRIC, CODIGN. MAILLET, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. plur. ^t TELLEZ,
lib. i. c. 17.

^{*} L'E GRAND, ubi sup. p. 280.

^u See ALVAREZ, BERMUDEZ, ALMEYDA, MENDEZ,

LEBO, & al. plur.

^w ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, CODIGN. & al. sup. citat.

- a order to please the emperor *Marcian*; and in derision give them the name of *Melchites*, or *Imperialists*. The letter of that worthy pontif they brand with no less odious epithets (B); and have had his very name and memory in the greatest abhorrence ever since; whilst they still retain the highest veneration for the arch-heretic *Dioscorus*, whom they reverence as a very great saint. What is still more surprising is, that they as absolutely disclaim *Eutyches*, and disown his doctrine as erroneous, though the main difference between them be merely about words; they confessing that the nature of Christ consisted *ex duabus, sed non in duabus naturis*; that is, composed of two natures, the divine and human; but which being united, became one single nature: whereas *Eutyches* affirmed the human to be wholly absorbed in the divine^x. If we may conjecture at the meaning of this unintelligible distinction from some of their writings^y, they seem to insist that this compound nature of the divine and human, by this miraculous union, becomes so intirely one, as to partake of all the frailties as well as perfections of both; so that the divine part should become equally passible and sensible of pain and death as the human; which it could not have done, according to their conceit, if the latter had been wholly absorbed in the former: for they do not think that the atonement of Christ, or the Word incarnate, would have been perfect and sufficient, unless both parts, thus inseparably united, had borne their share in his sufferings and death: and for this reason they anathematize both *Eutyches*, and all that dissent from the doctrine of *Dioscorus*, whom they extol and reverence above all the saints and martyrs of the church.
- b
- c THIS is the only fundamental error in which they deviate from the catholic faith; in all other cases they join with it; admit of the *Nicene*, *Constantinopolitan*, *Ephesian*, and some other provincial councils: besides which, they have eighty-four other canons in the *Arabic* language, which had been sent to *Jerusalem* by the emperor *Constantine*, about the year 440, and were brought thence to *Rome*, and translated by *Baptista Romanus*, a Jesuit, about 1646. This book contains the acts of the synod of the apostles, vulgarly called the *apostolical constitutions*, said to be written by St. *Clement*; those of the councils of *Ancyra*, *Cæsarea*, *Nice*, *Gangra* and *Antioch*, *Laodicea* and *Sardis*, with the acts of 318 fathers, a treatise on the sabbath, with a canon or decree relating to penance; to it is annexed their general liturgy, offices for the communion, holidays, &c. the lives of several saints and martyrs, and hymns in honour of the blessed virgin *Mary*^z. They use not the apostle's creed, but only the *Ni-*
- d *cene*, which they stile *the profession of faith*; but, like the *Greek* church, strike the word *filioque*

Great veneration for Dioscorus.
Disclaim the doctrine of Eutyches.

Receive the three first councils.

Use the Nicene creed.

^x ALPHONS. MENDEZ, l. i. c. 6. Hist. patriarch. LE GRAND, Dissert. x. LUDOLPH, Comment. TELLEZ, CODIGN, & al. ^y Vid. SANUT. Epist. & MINA's Confess. Fid. in Hist. patriarch. Alexand. p. 360, & seq. Vide LE GRAND, ubi sup. ^z LUDOLPH, lib. iii. c. 47. § 30, & seq.

(B) The reader may see a sketch of the bitterness of those heretics, not only against pope *Leo*, but against the emperor *Marcian*, the empress *Pulcheria*, and the whole *Chalcedonic* council, and, finally, against all that own its authority, or, like those that convened it, believe that there were two natures in Christ after his incarnation, in the history of the patriarchate of *Alexandria*; where he will see the following anathemas fulminated against them by spirits pretended to have pronounced them from the sepulchres of the dead.

Maledictus Leo, impius animarum prædator cum impuro tomo suo! Maledictus Marcianus, cum Pulcheria improba, & Chalcedoniensi concilio 630 episcoporum hæreticorum, & quicumque eos suscipit, aut qui in Christo Dei filio duas post unionem naturas agnoscit (3)!

On the other hand, if he would know what exasperated the *Alexandrian* clergy to that height of resentment, Mr. *Ludolph* will tell him, that not only that church, but all *Ægypt*, was miserably divided and torn in pieces by the two factions of *Melchites* and *Jacobites*; each of which had a patriarch of their own, who persecuted the opposite side without the least mercy, till at length the latter were obliged to have recourse to the *Saracens*, who were then invading the country, for protection against the cruelties of the former; who were always too hard for them whilst they were upheld by the *Constantinopolitan* monarchs. An instance whereof the same author gives us out of an *Ethiopic* MS. intituled, *The Life of the Abbot Samuel*; which is as follows:

The emperor had sent 200 men to seize on all the bi-

shops; upon which abbot *Paul*, who had fled into a desert, was taken by some peasants, and brought back bound. *Maxirianus*, the officer who was to put the emperor's orders into execution, having caused all the monks to be brought before him by his soldiers, and producing the formulary of faith which he had received from him, laid his commands on them that they should accept it: *Credite*, says he to them, *id quod scriptum est in hoc codice*. The formulary, continues the *Ethiopic* writer, being full of blasphemy, the whole assembly kept such a profound silence as gave the officer cause to think that they would never accept it: upon which, he repeated the same orders a second and a third time, and grew so exasperated at their refusal, that he ordered them to be stripped, and very severely whipped; adding to the rebellious monks, "Do you think that I will spare you, or that I am afraid of shedding your blood? What is the reason that you do not answer me?" At these words, the abba *Samuel* arose, and, with a noble resolution, becoming a true martyr, spake to him in these terms: "We will neither receive that impure formulary, nor acknowledge the council of *Chalcedon*; neither do we own any other patriarch than the abba *Benjamin* for our master." After this, he added, "The *Roman* emperor is an heretic; and I do here pronounce anathema both against the book you offer to us and the council of *Chalcedon*, and against all that acknowledge the authority of it." After this, he tore the formulary in pieces, and flung it down at the church door (4).

(3) Hist. patriarch. Alexand. p. 120.

(4) Ludolph, Comment. Hist. Ethiop. p. 462, & seq.

Summary of
their faith.

out of the clause which declares the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, as interpolated. But that a which contains the ſummary of all their religion, is that which they call *Haymanota Abbaw*, or *the faith of the fathers*, and eſteem it as of the greateſt authority next to the ſacred books, as being compiled from the homilies of St. *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, *John Chryſoſtom*, *Cyri*, *Ephre-*
mius, the four great *Gregories*, *Taumaturgus*, *Nazianzen*, *Nyſſen*, and *Armenius*. *Tellez* adds St. *Auſtin*; but Mr. *Ludolph* much doubts whether they know any thing of him or his writings, or of the *Latin* fathers ^a.

Receive the
Old and New
Testament, and
the apoſtolic
conſtitutions.

THEY receive the ſame canonical books, both of the Old and New Teſtament, that we do: the former of them is tranſlated into *Ethiopic*, from the *Greek* verſion called the *Septuagint* ^b; but by whom, or what time, is hard to determine, but moſt probably ſoon after their converſion by *Frumentius* (C). The latter, or New Teſtament, is likewiſe tranſlated from the *Greek* text, but very corruptly, for want of able hands, which they themſelves acknowledge; and allege that as an apology for it (D), and for their faulty editions thereof. They diſpoſe the order of thoſe of the Old Teſtament ſomewhat differently from us, as the reader may ſee in Mr. *Ludolph*; neither do they make any difference between the canonical and apocryphal, but receive them both alike; only the apocalypſe, or, as they aukwardly ſtile it, the viſion of *John Abucalamſe*, they looked upon as ſuperadded to the canon. In lieu of which they have the book of apoſtolic conſtitutions lately mentioned, but ſadly mutilated, and, in many reſpects, differing from that we have under that name. Nevertheleſs, they believe it to be of divine authority, and to have been written by St. *Clement*, whoſe name they bear.

Hold many ſu-
perſtitious rites
and doctrines.

THE clergy are very little verſed in the ſacred writings, having neither commentators, expoſitors, concordances, nor any other of thoſe helps which are in uſe amongſt us, if we except a few homilies upon ſome ſelect parts of the goſpel, or upon ſome few theological points; and as they never preach nor expound them to the laity, we need not wonder there ſhould reign ſuch a thorough ignorance of them, and ſuch a variety of the groſſeſt ſuperſtition amongſt them both. In theſe they may be juſtly ſaid to come near, if not equal, both the *Greek* and *Roman* churches, excepting, as was lately hinted, that they do not admit of any carved images of Chriſt and his ſaints, much leſs of the Deity, in their churches and oratories; adminiſter the communion in both kinds, uſe leavened inſtead of unleavened bread, and believe the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, without admitting of any tranſubſtantiation of them. In other reſpects they, like them, offer their devotions and prayers to the ſaints, and have proper offices, faſts and feſtivals, in honour, or, as Mr. *Ludolph* would intimate, in memory of them ^d. But as he owns, that they not only commemorate their virtues, miracles, and other holy actions, particularly their great faſtings and penances, on thoſe days, but offer up fervent prayers to them, pay a religious regard not only to their bones, and other relics, but even their pictures, proſtrate themſelves before, kiſs and rub their foreheads with them, adding ſtill moſt devout ejaculations and other reſpectful geſtures; that nice diſtinction might have been ſpared, and they cannot in any wiſe be ſaid to come behind either of thoſe churches in their *dulia*, or veneration for the ſaints; and as for that of the virgin *Mary*, they carry it to ſuch an exceſs as comes little ſhort of a *latreia*, either in the ſolemn honours they pay to her, the extraordinary attributes they give her, the miracles and unlimited power they aſcribe, the prayers they addreſs to her, or the bloody zeal and fury they

Pray to the
ſaints relics.

Highly honour
the Virgin.

^a Ubi ſup. § 3, & ſeq.
c. 5. § 81.

^b De hoc, vid. Ant. Hiſt. vol. iv. p. 37 (O). LUDOLPH, ubi ſup.

^d Lib. iii.

(C) Mr. *Ludolph* tells us, that he found it aſſerted in one of their martyrologies, that *Frumentius* himſelf was the tranſlator of thoſe ſacred books; which he yet much queſtions: however, he aſſures us, that it was done from the *Alexandrian* copy ^{*}, which is by far the moſt correct; moſt other copies being very corrupt and faulty. Thoſe of our readers who have not peruſed our antient hiſtory, will be glad to be told that this valuable MS. is now in the king's library, and that the *London Polyglot* copied it (6).

(D) Thus, at the end of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, they add theſe words, *Iſta acta apoſtolorum maximâ ſui parte verſa ſunt Romæ è linguâ Romanâ & Græcâ in Ethiopicam, propter defectum archetypi: id quod addidimus aut omiſſimus condonate nobis; vos autem emendate illud* (7); that is, Theſe *Acts of the Apoſtles* were, for the greateſt part,

tranſlated out of the *Latin* and *Greek* into the *Ethiopic* tongue, for want of the original. Whatever, therefore, we have added or omitted forgive, and correct with your own hands.

And, under the very title page of the book itſelf, he makes this apology for the incorrectneſs of his *Ethiopic* impreſſion: "Fathers and brethren, do not paſs too harſh a judgment on the faults of this impreſſion; for thoſe who printed it were as incapable of reading as we were of printing it: ſo that we tried to help one another, as one blind man doth another; and therefore forgive both them and us." This edition, faulty as it is in almoſt every page, the compilers of the *Polyglot* above-mentioned were obliged to print theirs after, for want of a better.

^{*} Hiſt. Ethiop. l. iii. c. 4. § 2, & ſeq.
§ 11, & ſeq.

(6) Vid. Ant. Hiſt. vol. iv. p. 40.

(7) *Ludolph, ubi ſup.*

- a display against those who condemn or dislike them for it, calling them *the enemies of Mary*, and stirring up the people to overwhelm them with stones ^c. If they do not believe a purgatory in the same sense and extent as the *Greek and Roman* churches do, they nevertheless believe a middle state, in which the departed souls must be purged from their sins, and may be greatly assisted and relieved by the prayers, alms, and penances, of their surviving friends, who seldom fail of performing so charitable, and, as they deem it, meritorious, a duty to them frequently, and with great fervency. And though their priests have no particular office, or, as the *Portuguese* affect to call it, mass, for the dead, yet they are obliged to make mention of them in their common service, to pray to God to absolve them from their sins, and to make them fit for the joys of heaven. They keep likewise a kind of anniversary of their departure, in which they give plentiful alms, according to their ability, to the priests, monks, and poor, to pray for their souls; and the two former will read over them the whole book of *Psalms*, from beginning to end, without either doxology or other break, except that they frequently pronounce the word *Hallelujah* (E). They then recommend those, for whom these alms are given, to the divine mercy; but always take care to join them with all those who have lived and died in the true orthodox faith; without which, they would think it in vain, if not a sin, to pray for them. Thus, though they are much divided in their notions about the true state of the dead, yet they all agree that such prayers, penances, and other charitable duties, will turn greatly to their advantage, if they have not rendered themselves unworthy of it by apostacy or impenitence ^f.
- b ^{Pray for the dead, yet hold no purgatory.} OTHER superstitious ceremonies used at funerals, besides the decent washing of the dead, consist in perfuming the body with incense, and sprinkling it well with holy water; after which, they dress it in a sheet; and if a person of distinction, they cover it with a kind of buff-leather, and lay it on the bier. The bearers then take it, and hurry it away with such surprising swiftness, says abbot *Gregory*, that the monks and priests, who attend it with their crosses in their hands, and the rest of the retinue, can hardly keep pace with them. When come to the church, or church-yard (for they bury them in either), they again incense it, and throw plenty of holy water upon it. The body is suffered to lie no longer by the side of the grave than whilst the priest reads the fourteen first verses of the gospel of *St. John*; which done, they do not gently let it down, but shoot it into the ground; the priests all the while repeating some psalms till the body is covered with earth. They go to bewail their dead many days together: their lamentations begin early in the morning, and continue till the evening; the parents, relations, and friends, meeting there every day on the mournful occasion, together with a great number of women mourners, hired to accompany the solemnity with their outcries and lamentations, clapping their hands, smiting their breasts and faces, and uttering the most affecting expressions in a very doleful tone; to all which they add the beat of drums, and such other gestures as they think suitable to the occasion. If the deceased is a person of distinction, his horse, shield, lance, and other accoutrements, are also brought to the place; offerings are made to the church and the clergy, and alms given liberally to the poor, consisting of bread, flesh, and hydromel. This ceremony continues, according to the quality of the person, three, five, seven, twenty, thirty, or even forty days, and is repeated afresh on the anniversary day. During the mournful solemnity, they all pray to God to be merciful to the soul of the person for whose sake all these alms, offerings, and supplications, are made; which plainly shews that they indeed look upon them to be beneficial to the dead, and to procure some rest to them; but by no means proves that they believe a purgatory in the sense in which the church of *Rome* doth; which, in their doctrine, they absolutely condemn. They express their grief at the news of the death of a friend or relation, and of
- ^c TELLEZ, lib. vi. c. 26 & 27. ^f ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al.

(E) Thus, we are told, the whole procession of priests and monks were heard to say at the interment of prince *Mark*, the emperor *Segued's* eldest son, not only in the reading of the *Psalms*, but in other parts of the service; as for instance, *Mark is dead, Hallelujah; Dead is Mark, Hallelujah*: infomuch that a stranger would be at a loss to guess whether they rejoice or mourn (8), the same words being so often repeated.

In some of their prayers for the dead, one might be induced to think that they had imbibed some of the notions from the *Koran* concerning the state of the blessed;

as when they pray that God would lead or gather them into his most delicious gardens, where rivers of sweet and living waters flow; that he would introduce them into the delights of the garden of *Eden*, that they may be ever refreshed with the living waters of paradise; and such-like. But what plainly shews that they borrowed those figurative expressions from the *Jews*, who not only make use of them at their interments, but cause them to be engraven upon their tomb-stones (9), is, that they seldom fail to add, like them, *Let them rest on the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, &c.* (10).

(8) *Tellez*, l. ii. c. 17. *Ludolph*, l. iii. c. 6. § 105, & seq. *Modena*, par. v. c. 8. *Munster*, & al. *Ludolph*, ubi sup.

(9) *Vide Buxtorf. Synagog. c. 35. Leo de* (10) *Ibid. Le Grand, Dissert. xiv. p. 345, & seq. Tellez, &*

Strange actions at the news of death. their lord, or any of his sons, by such lively tokens as casting themselves on the ground with such violence, that some have beat the breath out of their bodies, others have broke or dislocated some of their bones, or received a considerable injury in some other parts of their bodies: the omission of which would otherwise be interpreted as a mark of disregard or disaffection to the deceased ^g.

The funeral of an emperor. THE funerals of their princes are still more magnificent and solemn, as the reader may judge by that of the emperor *Socinius*, or, as he is vulgarly called, *Segued*, and *Susneo*; a short description of which we shall here subjoin. The body was placed in a square bier, or bed, with steps to ascend to it, which had been made by an *Egyptian*. It was cloathed in his royal robes, and covered with a pall of rich taffety of several colours, and conveyed from *Dancaz*, where the imperial camp then was, to the great church called *Caneta Jesu*, in a town in the kingdom of *Gojam*. *Solemn procession.* The corpse was preceded by all the imperial standards (F), not inverted as with us in *Europe*, but upright, and displaying their various colours in the air, but without any arms or devices. On each side of them marched the large kettle-drums, beating in a solemn manner. These were followed by some few of the finest horses which he used to ride upon, with their richest furniture, and attended by the imperial grooms. Next to these came the pages and other servants, carrying the imperial robes, and other ornaments; one his vest, another his sword, and a third his crown; others his sash-beads, javelin, target, &c. These were frequently taken from them by turns, by proper officers, who shewed them to the people, in order to excite their tears: among whom even the empress herself marched a considerable space, wearing his crown upon her head. Both she and her daughters, and other princesses of the blood, with their attendant ladies, rode on mules, with their heads shaved, and a ribband, or slip of white cloth, about two inches broad, tied about them, the ends hanging behind. The remainder of the retinue affected to appear in the most ragged and dirty tatters, as the most expressive marks of real grief and mourning, especially black, and followed in the rear, with their hair likewise cut close.

Burial ceremony. THERE were no candles carried in the procession, nor lighted in the church, as is done in that of the *Romish*; but much weeping and howling heard in both: at the church-door the corpse was met by six or seven monks, who sung their psalms and *hallelujahs* till the body was interred. *The procession returns to the camp.* On the next morning, the whole cavalcade returned to *Gandaz*; and, as soon as they came within sight of the imperial camp, began to marshal themselves in the same order they had gone in the day before, bringing the empty bier with them; by the side of which rode an officer on a mule, clad in the imperial robes, and wearing the imperial crown, an umbrella held over his head, and, in all other respects, representing the deceased emperor. Before him marched another, with that monarch's helmet and javelin, mounted on his best horse and his richest accoutrements. Upon their approaching near *Dancaz*, they were met by four or five bodies of armed troops, and other persons of rank belonging to the court, who received them with the loudest acclamations of grief, and proceeded with them to the new emperor's pavilion. Here again they renewed their lamentations for the deceased, all the time they were alighting, when some of the first ministers of state, and other noblemen, attended by *Diego de Mattos*, and father *Emanuel de Almeyda*, who gives this relation of that ceremony, entered the large tent where *Faciludus*, the new emperor, was, continued the same mournful lamentations near the space of two hours; which being ended, the whole ceremony was turned into loud acclamations and congratulatory prayers for the new monarch, who was crowned soon after with the usual ceremony, formerly described ^h.

Renew their lamentations before the new emperor, and then congratulate him. IN other respects the same prayers, offerings, alms, anniversaries, and other fundamental rites, are performed to the deceased monarchs, which, we have observed, are done to the rest, only in a much higher degree: but, if we except the pomp and grandeur, the greatest regard is paid to such of their monks as die, as the common phrase is, with the greatest odour of sanctity, either for their uncommon piety and zeal, or more especially for their extraordinary penances and mortifications. *Veneration for dead saints.* To such as these they pay so superstitious a veneration as comes little short of what the *Romish* church do to their canonized saints, excepting only that they neither rear altars nor statues in honour of them. They visit their sepulchres,

^g ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al.

^h See before, p. 210, & seq. Vide & auct. sup. citat.

(F) These, we are told, are of two sorts; the one, which they call *Sandecas*, are long poles or staves, beautifully coloured, with a gilt metal ball on the top, under which they wave their little banners, about a foot square; the other are like standards, of white cloth or silk, intermixed with red stripes in the middle, but, in all other respects, quite plain and unornamented either with coats of arms, or any other emblems or devices (11).

(11) Tellez, lib. v. c. 37. Ludolph, lib. iv. c. 4. § 29, & seq.

- a recommend themselves to their prayers, make long pilgrimages, give alms and offerings in honour of them, and translate their bones from one place to another, especially to preserve them from being insulted by any of the *Gallas*, *Agaus*, or other barbarous nations that surround them; and even institute festivals in honour of such translationsⁱ. *Translate their bones.*

THEY extend their veneration for the angelic hierarchies also to invocation, on account of their guardianship and ministry to the living. Those they divide into nine degrees or orders, *viz.* angels, archangels, lords, *κυριότητες*, magistrates, *ἀρχαί*, thrones, princes, powers, cherubim, and seraphim; to which some add a tenth, *viz.* of those who, for their apostacy, were driven out of heaven, and became devils, and enemies to mankind. But to none of the former do they address any prayers, or pay any other than a great veneration, excepting the angelic, under whose immediate tuition they look upon themselves as more particularly consigned by the Divine Providence^k. *Pray to angels.*

THOUGH they hold but two sacraments, properly so called, as necessary to salvation (what-ever some of their writings may intimate of their calling the Trinity, incarnation, &c. by that name) (G), *viz.* Baptism and the Holy Communion, father *Tellez* adds three more to the number, *viz.* ordination, penance, and marriage; but owns, with the author last quoted, that they are very ignorant both of the matter and form of administering them; and that they know nothing of the other two, *viz.* confirmation and extreme unction. But, for this, both he and his *Portuguese* brethren have been censured, as dunces of more zeal than knowledge, by some *French* authors of the same fraternity, with no less warmth, and with as little reason, as the reader may see by what hath been said in the last note, and what has been said in the foregoing chapter, in speaking of the rites of the *Coptic* church^l. *Hold only two sacraments.*

THEY hold baptism to be necessary to salvation; that it ought to be administered by a priest, and performed by a threefold immersion, if the infant is capable of bearing it without danger of its life; if not, the threefold aspersion of water over the whole naked body is reckoned sufficient. The first immersion is made only of one-third of the body, *in the name of the Father*; the second of two-thirds of the body, or up to the breast, *in the name of the Son*; and the last is of the whole body, over head and ears, *in the name of the Holy Ghost*. If the child is only sprinkled, it is done in the same form and order. Thus far they follow the antient rule; but they have since added some other superstitious ceremonies, unknown to the primitive church; as, first, the anointing the whole body, especially every joint of it *Baptism how conferred.*
Sacred unction and communion given at the same time.

ⁱ See LUDOLPH's Calendar of their Saints, lib. iii. c. 6. § 96, & seq.

^l See before, p. 44, & seq.

^k Id. ibid. c. 5. § 85, & seq.

(G) When the physician *Poncet* was sent ambassador into *Abissinia* by the court of *France*, he was charged, we are told *, to make the strictest enquiry he could into the religion of that country; and how far, and in what essential points, the *Coptic* differed from the *Roman* church. And this, he himself tells us, he had frequent opportunities to do, by often conversing with the emperor, the abbots, and others of the clergy (13). Soon after this, that monarch, who was then courting the *French* king's friendship, sent him a letter, in which, among other things, he gives him a long account of the *Abissinian* faith. And speaking of their five sacraments, or, as he styles them, according to the true meaning of the *Greek* word, mysteries, he says, the first of them is the description of the most holy Trinity, the second that of the incarnation of the Son of God, the third baptism, the fourth the holy eucharist, and the fifth the resurrection of the dead.

This letter, which the reader will find published among the Dissertations of Mr. *Le Grand*, printed at *Paris* 1728 (14), as a confession of that monarch's faith, whether genuine or counterfeited, as it is supposed by many, from the strangeness of its theology, the lame manner in which the mysteries of Christianity are handled and explained, and the badness of the *French* translation, doth however give us a moral assurance, that the *Abissinians* do not hold the same seven sacraments that the church of *Rome*

doth, and as a late *French* Jesuit hath endeavoured to maintain, in plain opposition to all the *Portuguese* missionaries (15); and, 2. That they have a quite different notion of that word, and a very imperfect one of what the schools call the matter and form of a sacrament; which is what all the *Portuguese* fathers justly charge them with. Should we suppose that missive letter forged, and falsely ascribed to the monarch, for some private ends, yet it is natural to think that the contrivers would take care to be well informed of the faith and practice of this church; seeing any mistake or deviation, especially so great a one as this, would soon destroy the credit of the letter, and lay the forgery open to the world.—Whereas there is hardly any material article in that piece, but what we find confirmed by one or more of the *Portuguese* writers, from their own knowledge.

The truth is, the *French* Jesuit, above quoted, who, by his long abode in *Egypt*, might be thoroughly informed of the faith and practice of the *Coptic* church, opposes the relations of the *Abissinian* missionaries, only because they are contrary to what he had observed to be practised among the *Copts* in *Egypt*, supposing that there was a perfect uniformity between them;—whereas, in fact, there is, in many cases, a manifest difference between them, as will be seen in the sequel: so that nothing can be justly urged from the practice of the one against that of the other.

* Vide *La Croze Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, p. 85.

(14) *Lettre missive*, p. 451, & seq.

p. 313, & seq.

(15) *Poncet, Engl. edit.* p. 74, & seq.

(15) *Du Bernat. Lettre ad Fleurius*, ap. *Le Grand, Dissertat.* xi.

from head to foot, with the holy chryſma, or, as they call it, *Meyron* (H), which is a moſt a coſtly mixture of ſweet oil, balm, and other odoriferous drugs and gums, made and bleſſed in a moſt ſolemn manner by the patriarch himſelf, and by him diſperſed among the biſhops and clergy, to be uſed immediately after the third immerſion; without which they do not think the baptiſm perfect or valid. The next thing they do is the adminiſtering the holy communion to the child, in both kinds; which is done by dipping a bit of the conſecrated bread into the wine, and applying it to the child's lips; though ſome prieſts content themſelves with dipping the tip of their finger into the cup, and putting it into its mouth. And as they keep no conſecrated elements by them, if the child chance to be baptized in the afternoon, the mother, or, if ſhe is not able to be preſent, her deputy, muſt ſtay with it in the church till next morning, when new ones are conſecrated; for this they likewise believe to be b of the ſame importance with the unction, to render the baptiſm effectual ^m.

Other rites relating to it.

THEY admit of godfathers; but whether under the notion of ſponſors, or only to preſent them at the font and at the communion-table, which is one part of their office, we are not told. Some other ſuperſtitious rites they obſerve, ſuch as lighting of candles, exorcifms, bleſſing of the water, throwing ſalt, *meyron*, and holy oil, into it, and intermixing prayers ſuitable to each, reading of the goſpels, and ſome others not worth dwelling upon; eſpecially as we find ſuch various accounts of them among our authors, that unleſs we admit, that one part of the *Coptic*, or even of the *Abiſſinian*, church differs from another, and as probably, perhaps, one age from another, we ſhall hardly know which of them to believe before the other (I).

^m ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LOBO, CODIGN. LUDOLPH, & al.

(H) They uſe two ſorts of unctions; the one with this *Meyron*, *Mupov*, which is ſo coſtly, and made with ſuch ſolemnity, that our author tells us that ceremony had not been performed for twenty years, when the *Alexandrian* patriarch renewed it, anno 1703, during his abode there; at which were preſent a great number of biſhops, abbots, prieſts, and deacons, who were all chanting the prayers, pſalms, and other portions of Scripture, whiſt the prelate was mixing the ſeveral ingredients, which took up almoſt the whole day. Their emperors, at their coronation, are anointed with it, and ſo is every one that is baptized according to the rite of the *Coptic* church. Our author adds, that it coſt the perſon who defrayed the charge of the laſt compoſition above 1,000 crowns.

The other unction is made only with holy oil, with which the veſſels which held the old *Meyron* have been riſed, or into which a few drops are poured by the patriarch, and is therefore leſs coſtly; and, when ſpent, every prieſt hath power to conſecrate a new ſupply of it for his own uſe; whereas the former can only be conſecrated by the patriarch of the church. This inferior ſort, which they call *Galilæum*, is likewise uſed in baptiſm, and in much greater quantity, as they make but ſix unctions with the firſt, and thirty-fix with the latter. Both are accompanied with proper prayers and other exorcifms (17), which we need not dwell upon, as we have good reaſon to queſtion whether the *Abiſſine* church is ſo exact and punctilious in theſe matters as that of *Egypt*; about which ſee the following note.

(I) Thus, for inſtance, *Alvarez* tells us, that in his time there were hardly any fonts or baptiſteries, nor any immerſions, uſed in the baptiſm of infants; but that their godfathers held their naked bodies a little reclined, whiſt the prieſt poured the water over it three times, with the uſual form of, *I baptize thee*, &c. Whiſt others give us a long detail of the immerſion, and affirm it to be univerſally praſtiſed, as well as the unction, communion, and other ceremonies attending it (18).

Again, we are told, that many prieſts, either through

ignorance, or in compliance to ſome old illicit cuſtom, made uſe of a different form of baptiſm than that preſcribed by Chriſt and the primitive church; and, inſtead of, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father*, &c. ſaid, *I baptize thee in the waters of Jordan* (19).

But this diſſonance is not confined to the *Portugueſe* and *French* writers; we find it no leſs frequent among the *Abiſſinians* themſelves; againſt whom the judicious jeſuit *Codignus*, among many other authors who have made the ſame complaint, adds this ſevere, though juſt, reflection:

Scio Teklum Mariam Abaſſinum monachum, de quo dicam infra, in recensendis ſuorum erroribus, ſic à Zagazabo, adeo diſcrepaſſe, adeoque in hac re malè inter ſe convenire Abaſſinos, qui apud nos ſunt, ut Thomas à Jeſu, in theſauro ſuo, de Abaſſinis, agens eorumque ex variis autoribus ritus referens, merito dicat difficile eſſe de his rebus certum aliquid definire. Idem ego jure poſſem dicere niſi hæc quæ hic propono ex ipſis patrum noſtrorum qui in Abaſſia degunt, omniaque habent perſpecta cognoviſſem literis (20).

Another author tells us, with relation to baptiſm, that the *Abaſſins* have been unjuſtly charged with repeating their baptiſm, becauſe they all go and waſh themſelves in ponds and rivers on *Epiphany* day, in memory of our Saviour's baptiſm, repeating certain prayers; the prieſts alſo aſſiſting at the ceremony: and *Poncet*, who ſaw the ſame performed, adds, that the emperor had cauſed a ſpacious baſon to be made for that purpoſe, for his own and houſhold's uſe, and repreſents it only as an ablution in memory of our Saviour's baptiſm, and by which they hope to be waſhed from their ſins (21).—Notwithſtanding which, this innocent cuſtom hath been ſtrongly urged as a plain proof of their reiterating the ſacrament of baptiſm, becauſe they have done ſo upon ſome occaſions of a quite different nature (22). From all which inſtances, our readers may ſee how difficult it is to come at any certainty concerning theſe momentous points of their faith and praſtice, either from their own accounts, or from thoſe of foreign writers.

(17) Vide Bernat, Letter to Father Fleurian. Vide & Le Grand, Diſſert. xi. p. 313, & ſeq. apud Tellez, ubi ſupra.

(19) Vide Le Grand, Diſſert. xi. de baptiſ. p. 317.

(18) Itinerar.

(20) Codign. l. i. c. 35.

(21) Uretta, ap. eund. Poncet, Engl. p. 69. Vide Le Grand, ubi ſup.

(22) Alſonſ. Mendez, l. ii. c. 33. n. 4. Codign. ubi ſup. & al.

- a HOWEVER that be, the fathers missionaries, after they had gained the emperor *Segued's* favour, and brought him over to their church, found so many faults, whether real or not, in the manner and form of the *Abissinian* priests administering that sacrament, that they easily persuaded him to order it to be reiterated; and accordingly great numbers came, and were re-baptized by them, to the great scandal of the whole people, both clergy and laity, though the ceremony was performed conditionally; that is, with these words, *If thou art not baptized (that is, regularly and effectually so), I baptize thee, &c.* for the very calling the validity of their baptism in question, so exasperated the nation, that it hastened their total expulsion; and the new emperor *Facilidas*, or *Basilides*, made that bold affronting step a matter of heavy complaint and reproach against the then *Roman* patriarch, *Alphonso Mendez*, in his decree for their expulsion; accusing them *to have rebaptized his subjects, as if they had been heathens and publicans, notwithstanding the small difference there was between their two churches*^a. Which expressions we may reasonably suppose, with Mr. *Ludolph*, that monarch would hardly have urged against them, if the *Abissinian* church had been guilty of that other error with which they brand it; viz. the reiterating of baptism; a charge founded merely on the ceremony mentioned in the last note, of a general washing on the feast of *Epiphany*, in honour of our Saviour's baptism. But here it will not be amiss to repeat what the good father *Alvarez* says of it, and upon it; because it will at once convince our readers of the great advantage they made of the emperor *Segued's* weakness and compliance to them. His words are these:
- b "ON the 4th of *January* 1521, the *Presbyter John*, that is, the emperor, ordered us to transport our tents to a place where he had caused a large pond or basin of water to be made, to be baptized, according to custom, on the ensuing *Epiphany*. As soon as we were come thither, we were asked whether we would not be baptized? To which I answered, We have been so already, and cannot be so again. The ambassador, however, and some of his retinue added, that they would do as the king pleased: upon which I was again invited to do so; but answered as I had done before. They then asked, whether any water should be brought into our tents, since we cared not to go into the pond; which the ambassador agreed to, expecting to have seen some great sight; but was disappointed; nothing that was done there being either pleasing or decent.
- d "THE *Abissinian* priests repaired thither in great numbers, on the eve, and sang the whole night. To bless the pond, they threw holy water into it; and the king, arriving about midnight, was the first that was baptized, with his queen, and the abuna *Mark*. On the next morning, the *Portuguese* were invited to come nearer the water, that they might have a fuller view of the whole ceremony. *Alvarez* came and placed himself over-against the king. The pond was square, surrounded with planks, and covered with waxen cotton cloth, and one went into the water by six steps. The water was conveyed into it by a pipe, strained through a sack that was tied to the mouth of it. The croud was very great; and an old man, who had been his majesty's preceptor, stood in the water up to his shoulders, and plunged the heads of every one that came to him, using these words, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. They were all stark naked, without any the least covering; and those of a middle size went down but four or five steps. The king called the *Portuguese* to him, and asked *Alvarez* what he thought of that ceremony; who readily answered, that it could neither be rectified nor justified by any thing but a good intention; seeing the council of *Nice*, which was equally acknowledged by the *Abissine* and *Roman* churches, allowed but of one baptism. But what must be done with returning apostates, replied the king, in order to reconcile them to the church? He answered, *He that believes, and is baptized, shall be saved; and he that believeth not, shall be damned*. We ought to instruct and pray for these apostates, and, if they will not return, burn them alive: but if any of them comes full of grief and shame for his apostacy, and begs for mercy and pardon, the abuna ought to absolve him, and impose a suitable penance at the same time, unless he think it much better to turn him over to the pope, in whom alone is lodged the whole power of the church. He added, that if they refused to be converted, they ought to be committed to the flames, as is practised by the whole *Roman* church."
- e THIS whole discourse, it seems, highly pleased the king; who, in excuse for that ceremony, told *Alvarez*, that his grandfather had instituted it, by the advice of some of his most able and learned divines, in order to prevent so many souls, who had fallen from God, from being utterly lost. From this account, allowing it to be as genuine as it is lame and imperfect with regard to what it is brought in to prove, viz. a reiteration of baptism, we would beg leave to observe, that it was, at the most, but a modern institution, and of no
- f

Reiterated, at the persuasion of the jesuits.

Ill consequences of that step.

Washing on Epiphany day, whether a reiteration of baptism.

Alvarez's account of it.

The emperor and the court assist at it.

An old man baptizes those that come.

Alvarez's opinion of it.

The emperor's reply to it.

This custom no reiteration of baptism, but a Jewish ablution.

^a Id. ibid, LE GRAND, Dissert. xi.

^b ALVAREZ, Itinerar. LE GRAND, Dissert. xi. TELLEZ, LUDOLPH.

longer standing than two or three generations, and not the practice of the antient *Abissinian* a church. 2. That the dipping of the penitents that offer themselves, and the form of words, *I baptize thee*, &c. is no-where else, that we can find by other authors, practised in the whole empire, but in this place; they every-where else going indifferently into the next river, pond, &c. men and women, without regard to decency, and only washing themselves, and uttering a few prayers, and, if we will believe their own confession, only in memory of our Saviour's baptism in the river *Jordan* ^p. 3. That, even from the king's own words, it was only instituted in the behalf of such as had apostatized from the faith: for, among those vast crouds that went into the king's pond or bason, we do not find that the good old man baptized any but such as offered themselves to him; and those might be of the apostate kind: and who knows how many of them might not be of the number of those who had gone over b to the church of *Rome*, and, having repented of their defection, came to reap the benefits of this new-invented expedient? For it is not said, neither can it be supposed, that the old man could perform the ceremony on those vast multitudes that went into the water, in so short a time as twelve hours; for it began at midnight, and ended at noon. 4. We have elsewhere observed, that the *Abissinians* observed a great number of *Jewish* rites ^q; one of which, among the latter, was this of washing and immersion, upon every kind of defilement, whether natural or accidental: all of which might be properly called, in a large sense, so many baptisms, according to the true meaning of the word. It is, therefore, far from being improbable that the *Abissinian* church might have instituted this general one with the same view at first, and deemed it the more efficacious towards the washing away all such pol- c lutions, by its being ordered to be performed on the day on which Christ's baptism was commemorated; and all this without once dreaming of its ever being misinterpreted as a reiteration of the baptismal sacrament. And if the repetition of the form was afterwards enjoined in favour of returning apostates in *Segued*'s grandfather's reign, it can only be looked upon as an innovation introduced, perhaps, in imitation of some antient churches and fathers, who thought that such apostates could not be reconciled to the church without being rebaptized; for we find accordingly, that, after the total expulsion of the missionaries out of the empire, an order was issued out for a general rebaptization, to wash away all the sins and defilements which had been contracted by the late defection to the church of *Rome*, during the preceding reign ^{*}. But this, whether we stile it an ablution or a baptism, is no more the d true antient practice of the *Abissinian* church, than those marks which are branded with a red-hot iron on the foreheads and noses of the *Abissinians* are of their being baptized with fire (K); with which practice, nevertheless, that church hath been unjustly taxed, but fully cleared since by several learned authors ^r; that being only a custom common to *Mohammedans* and heathens, as well as *Ethiopians*, and designed as a caustic, to prevent their children being troubled with catarrhs, and other defluxions on the eyes, and in no sense an act of religion. Thus much may suffice with respect to this article of baptism; on which if we have dwelt somewhat longer, we hope the reader will not be displeased at it; seeing there was no other way of setting it in a true light, from the different accounts which so many writers have given us of it, and much less from the misrepresentations and calumnies which have been c raised against the *Abassine* church, on account of their pretended reiteration, and other abuses, of that sacred rite.

In favour of apostates, falsely supposed to be annual.

Baptism by fire.

No confirmation joined with baptism.

WE have already shewn from father *Tellez*, Mr. *Ludolph*, and others ^s, that the *Abissinians* neither allow of confirmation nor extreme unction; yet such is the partiality of some of the *Romish*, especially the *French* writers, that, in order to find out their seven sacraments among them, they have, with much subtlety, endeavoured to blind the world with the notion, that the unction which they use in their baptism, viz. that of the chryisma or *meyron*, is in lieu, or rather is that very sacrament ^t; the fallacy of which must appear to all unbiassed persons, on the following considerations. 1. That the church of *Rome* uses the same unction by their chryisma in their baptism of infants, without looking upon it as any part of confirmation. f 2. It enjoins the latter to be administered to adult persons, who are able to give an account of their faith, and to take these baptismal engagements upon themselves; whereas the *Abissinians* bestow the unction on infants, who are incapable of either. 3. The form and prayers used in

^p See PONCET, p. 89. LUDOLPH, & al.

c. 33 § 4.

fid. tom. iv. c. 84. ALVAREZ, ubi sup. & al.

^t Vide BERNAT's Letter to Fleurian, LE GRAND, Dissert. xi. & al.

^q See before, p. 218, & seq.

^{*} ALF. MENDEZ, l. ii.

^r Vide int. al. CODIGN. l. i. c. 35. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 6. n. 41, 42. RENAUDOT, perpetuit.

^s Vide & CODIGN. ALZEVADO, ALF. MENDEZ, & al. mult.

(K) *Reperi*, says Codignus, apud antiquos historicos ex veterum imperatorum instituto apud hanc gentem positum in more baptisati pueruli in fronte quædam inurere stigmata: id vero adeo stricte observari, ut si quis absque illo signo deprehendatur, libertatem amittat, fiatque imperatoris mancipium (23).

(23) Codign. de reb. Abassin. lib. i. c. 35, p. 213.

a the unction, which the curious reader may see in the margin (L), plainly shew it to be the same, and performed with the same view as that which the *Roman* priests use it, and is by both churches enjoined as a constituent part of baptism.—To all these if we add, that neither the *Abissinian* rituals nor catechisms mention any thing of confirmation, much less have any set form for performing it, we shall easily perceive how vain it is to seek for any such thing as the *Romish* confirmation in *Abissinia*, or for what Father *Bernat* so peremptorily affirms, that confirmation immediately follows baptism in their church, any more than it doth in his own^u.

WE have already mentioned their manner of confessing and receiving penance and absolution from their priests, or the *Abuna*^w; but though they allow the necessity of both, than which nothing can be a more plain proof than the multitudes and frequency of penitents attending at the church-doors, and the bundles of olive rods that are constantly set there for that use, yet it doth not appear, that they have ever given that rite the title of a sacrament, or look upon it any otherwise than as a preparatory qualification for that of the holy communion. Neither are they over-hasty in obliging young people to come to either, seeing they look upon all the sins they commit before they are arrived at twenty years of age little more or less than slips of youth, for which they will not be called to an account^x. And herein, again, it is plain, that they do not follow the canons of the *Coptic* church, which obliges them to come to confession and communion, at, or soon after, the age of ten, from which time they begin to observe the fasts of the church^y; but are much more remiss in their discipline; which is no wonder, considering the ignorance and corruption of manners which we have observed to reign through the whole empire, from the *Abuna* down to the very lowest of the clergy^z. It is therefore impertinent in our late *French* Jesuits^a, to be ever objecting the canons and rituals of the *Coptic* church, and to infer from thence, that the faith and practice of that of *Abissinia* must be, in every age, conformable to it, when almost every thing we read of them in the *Portuguese* Fathers, who were most of them eye-witnesses of what they wrote, and cannot be suspected of want of zeal for their church, convinces us of the contrary (M).

Penance no sacrament.

Confessions begin very late.

The Abissinian church is not in all things conformable to the Coptic.

WE

^u LE GRAND, ubi sup. p. 321.

^w See before, p. 224.

^x TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 6. §.

57. ^y RENAUDOT, Perpetuit. Fid. BERNAT, ubi sup. PONCET, p. 85.

^z See before, p. 225, &

alib. pass.

^a DE BERNAT, ubi sup. LE GRAND, Dissert. xii.

(L) In this ceremony, the child being held naked before the priest who baptizes it, he takes, with the tip of his finger, a small quantity of the *mevron*, or holy chrysm, and begins with anointing the forehead cross-wise, with these words, "The chrysm of grace and of the Holy Ghost;" the mouth and nose next, whilst he says, "The chrysm, pledge of the kingdom of heaven." To that of the ears he says, "The chrysm of fellowship and eternal and immortal life." At the unction of the in and outside of the hands, he says, "The holy unction of Christ our God, and indelible character." On the breast he says, "The perfection of grace of the Holy Ghost, and shield of the true faith." To the knees and elbows he says, "I anoint you with holy chrysm, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." And concludes every period with *Amen*.

Now this being almost the very same form and manner in which this unction is performed at the baptism of infants in the *Romish* church, with this only difference, that in this last the priest anoints the child a second time with his spittle, and hath his clerk attending to say the *Amen* for him, how could it enter into any man's head to affirm it to be only a part of baptism in the one, and confirmation in the other? or what is there in the form of words of the ceremony, that hath the least resemblance to the *Romish* confirmation, as is pretended by those *French* authors (23)?

Add to this, that the long prayer, which he afterwards repeats by way of conclusion, the giving them the holy communion, setting the crown on their head, and the blessing he gives to them and the bystanders, are all alike parts of the baptismal office, and so set down in their rituals and liturgy, without any mention of confirmation (24).

(M) We have such pregnant instances of this remissness, not only on the side of the *Abissinian*, but of the *Alexandrian* church, with regard to this article of penance and confession, as plainly shew that their practice was far enough from keeping pace with their canons; in-somuch that, partly through the abuses that had crept into the latter, and partly through the unreasonable penances that were frequently imposed on the laity, three of their patriarchs used their most strenuous endeavours to abolish that rite, one after another. These were *John*, the son of *Abulfeta*, *Mark*, the son of *Zabru*, and *John* the son of *Abulgateg*, who had so far gained their point, that it was brought into an almost total disuse; when *Mark*, the son of *Alkombari*, a prelate no less zealous for it than they were against it, set up for a strenuous advocate for it; and though, in other respects, a person far from being irreprehensible in his conduct, brought a good number of people back again to it (25).

By this time, they had fallen into a strange expedient for supplying that defect: so that, instead of the usual confession, the priest went with his censer round the church, and fumigated the whole congregation, who, on their part, cried out with one consent, "I have sinned," whilst he, on his, went about uttering some prayers for their pardon; and this served instead of confession, penance, and absolution.

This was not the worst; for, in many countries, the people had even disused this ceremony, and had substituted another in lieu of it, no less ridiculous, and confessed and absolved themselves at home, by fumigating themselves with incense and other odoriferous gums, thrown into a pan of coals, and uttering their confession over the smoke of it (26). We need not here observe to our readers, how opposite that practice is to the pretence

(23) Renaudot, perpetuit. fid. tom. v. p. 65, & seq. Bernat, Letter to Father Fleuri, Le Grand, Dissert. xi. de baptism. & confirmat. Abissin. p. 273, & seq. (24) Vide Ritual. & offic. Baptism. Ethiop. Latin. edit. Rom. Co-dign. l. i. c. 35, & alibi. Tellez, Ludolph, & al. sup. citat. (25) Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr. (26) Le Grand, Dissert. xii. de Eucharist. et Penit. p. 329, et seq.

Consecration of
the holy chrysm.

The people join
the priest with
more devotion.

The holy com-
munion not
given out of the
church.

WE have already taken notice of their belief concerning the other sacrament, that of the Lord's Supper, and of their manner of celebrating and administering it to the people.—The two Jesuits above-mentioned have furnished us with several clauses of that office out of the *Coptic* liturgy, which plainly intimate not only a real presence, but a real change of the sacred elements into the body and blood of Christ; from which they would infer, that they believe their doctrine of transubstantiation in fact, though not *in terminis*^b: and though we have already shewn, that their profession and practice are quite opposite to such a belief^c, yet we think our *English* readers will not be displeased to see some of the principal prayers made use of in their form of consecration, subjoined in the margin (N), as will enable them at once to judge of their belief concerning this important point, and, at the same time, shew them the excellency of the *Coptic* liturgy, and manner of celebration of this divine office, above that of the church of *Rome*. In the former, he will hear the officiating prelate, or priest, exhorting the congregation with a loud voice, and in a language well understood by them, to join their prayers with his through the whole ceremony, and them, in the same loud tone, professing their readiness to do so; when he declares to them, that the bread he hath blessed is Christ's body, broken for the remission of sins, they immediately answer, *Amen, Amen, Amen*, and confessing their belief of its being really so, and blessing God for it; and so on through the rest of the office^d. Whereas, at the *Roman* mass, whether high or low, sung or said, the whole office of consecration is celebrated by the priest alone, and with such a low voice as not to be heard, much less joined in, or answered, by the people, who are perhaps running over their beads, or praying to some favourite saint, during the whole solemn ceremony: so that the main difference between the *Abissinians* and *Romanists*, with regard to the celebration of those holy mysteries, chiefly consists in this, that, among the former, none but priests and deacons are admitted into the choir or chancel, and consequently do not see how the service is performed, but hear and understand every prayer and thanksgiving that is sung or chaunted in it, and answer to each in their turn: whereas, among the latter, the laity sees every thing that is done at the altar, but neither hear what is said, nor for the most part, rightly understand what is meant by any part of that office. Both may have been designed to excite a deeper regard in the laity for that solemn rite; but it will require no depth of thought to judge which of the two is most likely to do so in the most rational way. All that we shall add, with respect to the holy communion, is, that it never is to be celebrated any-where but at church; not even the emperor himself having the privilege to have the consecrated elements brought to him, upon any emergency or pretence, much less to have them consecrated at home, or any-where but in the choir or chancel of the church: neither have they any stated times for the administration of it to the clergy or people; they being left at liberty to receive it oftener or seldomer, as best suits with their devotion, provided the office be performed once a day in every church by a priest, assisted by a subpresbyter, deacon, subdeacon, and one or two inferior attendants or servants^e.

^b Id. *ibid.* p. 326, & seq.

^c See before, p. 227, & seq.

^d Vid. Liturg. Copt. vers. Rom. Ludolph, l. iii. c. 5, & 6, pass. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. xii. p. 326, & seq.

^e Id. *ibid.*

of their looking upon that rite as a sacrament; but this we cannot forbear observing upon the whole, that neither the patriarch above-mentioned, nor any of those that strove to revive it, either in *Egypt* or *Abissinia*, ever did, that we can find, insist upon its being one, in order to reduce the people to the practice of it; but, on the contrary, when the *Portuguese* missionaries came first into these parts, they all unanimously complained of this abuse still existing among the clergy and laity, and of the great difficulty they found to bring their proselytes into their opinion concerning it (27).

(N) According to the *Coptic* ritual, the priest in office hath no sooner pronounced aloud the words of consecration, "This bread is my body, which is broken for you," &c. than the whole congregation express their assent with three loud *Amens*, and add, in the same high tone, "We believe it, we are sure of it, and praise thee for it, and verily believe that this is thy body."—In like manner, to the words of consecration of the wine, "This cup is my blood," &c. they unanimously answer "Amen, it is verily thy blood, and we believe it to be so." The priest goes on, "Do this in remembrance of me," and they answer, "Lord, we shew forth thy death, we believe thy resurrection and ascension, and

"expect thy second coming." After he hath finished the prayer of consecration and breaking of the bread, the subdeacon and people answer, "The hosts of angels stand up before the Saviour of the world, and round about the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; let us draw near with faith before the face of our Lord, and worship him."

In giving the bread to the communicants, which he doth after he hath received it himself, he says, "This is the bread of life which came down from heaven, and is verily the body of Emanuel, our God, Amen." To which the receiver says *Amen*. "This is the cup of salvation (or of life) which came down from heaven, and is the precious blood of Christ, Amen." To which the receiver answers *Amen, Amen*. The same they do at the end of the public prayer, thanksgiving, and blessing, which conclude the holy action. From this short sketch of the *Coptic* communion-office, compared with that of the *Roman* mass, our reader will easily perceive to which of the two the preference ought to be given, either with regard to public edification, or nearest approach to the practice of the primitive church. The reader may see the remainder of that holy office in the *Coptic* ritual, and in the authors quoted below (28).

(27) Alvarez, Tellez, Codign. Ludolph, & al. de Eucharist. p. 326, & seq.

(28) Ludolph, l. iii. c. 5, & 6. pass. Le Grand, Diss. xii.

- a THE *Coptic* church hath had, from time immemorial, a rite for anointing the sick, with a particular oil, different from the *Meyron* and *Galilaum*, formerly mentioned, but blessed with great solemnity by the priest; which rite is observed also in *Abissinia*, in conformity to the precept in the Gospel ^f; pursuant to which, they interpret the term *sick*, as including all the diseases of the body, mind, and soul, even down to madmen and demoniacs. It is, however administered, as in the church of *Rome*, at the last extremity, and when the patient is past all hopes of recovery; upon which account it is called extreme unction: nor is it conveyed to them in their houses, when they lie in the last agonies in their beds, but only in their churches; to which they must either repair or be carried, before it can be administered to them. They have added sundry superstitious ceremonies to that ancient rite; such as having seven priests to assist at it, lighting a lamp with seven wicks, whose oil being blessed by holy water, signs of the cross, prayers, incense, and processioning, is made fit for anointing the person with, who is to walk or be carried from the church-doors, where the ceremony begins, to the altar, where the unction and blessing conclude it. From all which circumstances, and many others less worth taking notice of, it plainly appears to be a quite different rite from the *Romish* extreme unction; and much more so, when we are told by the *Portuguese* missionaries ^g, that they never saw any thing like this performed in *Abissinia*. So that we shall give ourselves no further trouble in confuting those *French* Jesuits, who, with more sophistry than truth, have endeavoured to make it appear not only one and the same rite, but to be held both by the *Coptic* and *Abissinian* church as one of the pretended seven sacraments they have in common with the *Romish* church ^h. As to the other two, ordination and marriage, which the same authors have crowded amongst them, to make their number complete, we shall refer our readers to what hath been said already upon those two heads ⁱ.

Ceremony of anointing the sick.

Performed only at church.

Different from the Romish extreme unction.

Ordination and marriage, no sacraments.

- WE have now gone through the most material branches of the *Abissinian* religion, not only with regard to their faith and practice, but likewise to the most remarkable errors and superstitions. We might indeed have dwelt much longer on the last of these articles, had it been worth our readers while to be acquainted with all the various branches into which they are reported to have sunk, partly through the ignorance of their clergy, and partly from their own natural proneness to it, above all Christian churches, if we may credit all that hath been written and urged against them, particularly with regard to the great number of superstitious customs which they have imbibed from the *Jews*, and still retain to this day. Neither shall we need to wonder much at it, considering the ignorance in which both clergy and laity are brought up, and the little benefit they have from schools and books of divinity, when we compare them with the many heathenish ones that have, from less excusable motives, been introduced into other churches, which yet abounded with all those great helps, of which they are unhappily deprived. We cannot therefore close this section more fitly, than by giving our reader some short account of the manner in which they educate and instruct their youth. It may well be wondered, that so vast an empire as that of *Abissinia*, in which Christianity had been planted so many centuries, if not from the earliest times of the apostles ^k, and which swarms with such numbers of monks and priests, should have been so negligent of the instruction of youth, as to have neither universities nor even public schools to breed them up, if not in other kinds of learning, at least in the fundamentals of religion. And one would be rather inclined to credit the fabulous account of the *Dominican* friar, who gives us the most pompous detail of their noble academies, learned libraries, and public schools, founded in every city and town by the old *Abissinian* monarchs and nobles for that very intent (O), and still flourishing in his time, did not the concurrent testimony of so many eye-witnesses

The great ignorance of the clergy and people.

^f MARK VI. 7—13. JAMES V. 14.

MEND. & al. Vide LUDOLPH, Comment. p. 267, & alib.

ⁱ See before, p. 241, & seq.

^g De hoc, vide CODIGN. l. i. c. 35. TELLEZ, l. i. c. 31. ALF.

^h BERNAT & LE GRAND, ubi sub. Diff. xiii.

^k See before, p. 221, & seq.

(O) Among other romantic fables, which that monkish trifler so confidently reports, the description of the imperial library, and treasury of the Holy Cross, may well pass for one of the greatest pieces of forgery that is to be met with among all his fellow writers. His words are to this effect (29):

“The library and treasury of the emperor are two rare pieces, whereon wonder may justly fix her eye; neither of which are to be matched in all the world. The library of *Constantinople*, which contained 120,000 volumes, or that of *Pergamos* of 200,000, or that of *Alexandria*, wherein *Aulus Gellius* reckoned 700,000,

were they still remaining, would come vastly short of this we speak of. The number of books contained in it is almost inconceivable, and their price inestimable. The queen of *Sheba*, they report, procured them hither from all parts, besides those many which *Solomon* presented her with; and, from that time to this, the *Abissinian* monarchs have imitated her in the like care and diligence. There are three spacious halls, each above 200 paces long, stored with books in all sciences, written on fine parchment, embellished with golden letters, and other costly work both of writing, binding, and covering; some even with the floor, and others on shelves one above an-

(29) *Uretta, Hist. d'Ethiop.* l. i. c. 9.

other.

No academies
or schools for
youth.

witnesses contradict, in every instance, all that he hath so confidently advanced on that subject^m; insomuch that there neither remain any footsteps or remembrance of such academies, or places for public instruction, having ever existed among them, if their language hath any proper name for them.

They learn
their religion
at church or at
home.

THE construction and situation of their most noted monasteriesⁿ, among the wildest rocks and deserts, and at a distance from places of resort, plainly shew they never were founded for any such design. Though their clergy are numerous and diligent enough to undertake so laudable a province, were there proper places and salaries appointed for them, especially as their priestly function takes up so little of their time; yet we do not find, from our *Portuguese* and other writers, that any of them are ever employed in that useful work any-where but at church: so that all that their own and the children of the laity learn of their religion^b must be from them there, or from their parents at home. In the former, from those short portions of Scripture that are read there^o, and a few homilies and expositions that follow the lectures, and perhaps from their catechists, who, in all probability, have some set seasons for instructing the young people in the fundamentals of their religion, particularly in their short catechism, of which we shall subjoin the substance, as the abbot *Gregory* gave it to Mr. *Ludolph*. Whatever else they learn beside, must be at home from their own parents, and that cannot be considerable, seeing they can teach them no more than they know themselves; and that is found very little, not only in the laity, but even in the most learned of their clergy, from all the accounts we have of them. This universal ignorance in both, whether encouraged by the emperors upon any particular views, which we cannot find out, or by their *Abunas* and *Alexandrian* patriarchs, in order to confirm them the more in their subjection to that see, is so much the more deplorable, as we are assured by so many hands, that the *Abissinian* youth are, for the generality, endowed with great vivacity of parts, quick understanding, and a natural disposition for a much better education: and on this account it was, that the *Portuguese* missionaries made it one of their first and chief cares to supply that defect, by setting up as many schools and seminaries as they could, where-ever they were settled. Such an one was that we read of, in which were educated sixty boys, partly *Abissinians*, and partly *Portuguese*; the latter designed to draw in the former. These boys having been taught,

Schools set up
by the missiona-
ries.

^m Vide, inter al. CODIGN. l. c. 17.

ⁿ See before, p. 228, & seq.

^o See before, p. 226, & seq.

other. Few of them are of paper, that being of late invention."

"There are the writings of *Enoch*, transcribed from the stones on which they were engraven, which treat of philosophy, the heavens, and elements. Others, which go under the name of *Noah*, treat of cosmography, mathematics, religious ceremonies, and prayers. Some of those composed by *Abraham*, when he dwelt in the valley of *Mamre*, where he read public lectures on philosophy and mathematics. There are a great number said to have been written by *Solomon*, others by *Job*, after he was restored to his former prosperity. Many others of *Ezra*, the prophets, and *Jewish* high priests; and besides the four canonical Gospels, several others attributed to *St. Bartholomew*, *Thomas*, *Andrew*, and other apostles. Many others of the *Sibyls*, in prose and verse; the works of queen *Candace*, those of all the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, &c. fathers, translated; the *Talmud*, and all the old *Hebrew* writers, *Roman* and *Greek* historians, philosophers, poets, and a vast variety of others, too tedious to mention. When *Jerusalem* was destroyed by *Titus*, and when the *Saracens* over-ran the Christian world, many of their books were conveyed thence into *Ethiopia*; and when *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* expelled the *Jews* out of *Spain*, many of them entered *Ethiopia*, and enriched this library with their books; and when *Charles V.* restored the *Muleasses* to their country, *Prester John*, hearing of the famed library of *Tunis*, sent and bought above 3000 volumes more, in all arts and sciences."

"There are above two hundred monks appointed to take care of this library, and each has the charge of such books as are written in the languages he is master of; and the abbot, who is set over them, is strictly charged with the care of the whole library by the emperor, who esteems it much more than his treasury."

And yet this treasury, according to the same author's pompous account, is a sea into which innumerable rivu-

lets have been pouring their yearly tribute of gold, and all precious gems, in such plenty, ever since the time of the queen of *Sheba*, and without ever taking one penny out of it, that it is affirmed to be rich enough to buy one half of the world (30).

The same description he gives us, in another place, of their colleges or seminaries, of which, he says, every city hath two, one for the boys, the other for the girls; the one within the walls of the town, and the other at some small distance without. Each seminary is divided into three cloisters, the one for noblemen and gentlemen's children, the 2d for citizens, and the 3d for those of the meanest rank. Each class of them hath its several proper teachers, and neither they nor the children converse with those of the other. The boys are taught religion, arts, and sciences, according to their rank, and are allowed to go out on holidays, and visit relations. The girls are taught every thing proper for their sex and rank; but are not allowed to go out. The boys are kept in theirs from 10 to 16, and the girls from 9 to 16. The emperor himself is obliged to send his children to receive their education in these academies. All which, and other particulars relating to them, as well as all the rest of that author's romantic fustian, hath been fully answered by the learned Jesuit *Codignus* (31); and is plainly confuted by the different accounts which all the *Portuguese* writers give us of that empire. But we shall take a proper occasion to give our readers a short abstract of this monstrous romance in the close of this history; and this more especially, as his fraternity have taken such care to destroy all the copies they could get into their hands, that it is become exceedingly scarce, and difficult to be met with in the original; much more in our *English* tongue, in which we have only a short epitome or abstract of it, in the end of Dr. *Geddes's* history of the *Ethiopian* church; which book is now no less scarce than curious and useful.

(30) *Id. ibid.* & *Purchas Pilgr.* l. vii. c. v. §. 2.

(31) *De Abissin. reb.* l. i. c. 17, & al. pass.

among

- a among other things, to act some dramatic pieces after the *European* manner, their parents, and other natives, were admitted to see them. In one of which, we are told, they chanced, as the plot required it, to introduce some demons upon the stage; at sight of which the *Abissinians*, who took them for real spirits, were so affrighted, that they all ran out with the utmost speed, crying out, *Away, away, they have brought devils hither with them* ^p.

THE substance of the *Abissinian* catechism, according to abbot Gregory above-mentioned, runs thus.

*Substance of
the Abissinian
catechism.*

- Q. What God do you believe in?
A. *In the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons, and one God.*
- Q. Of these three persons, which is the first, and which is the last; which is the greatest, and which is the least?
A. *None is first, nor none is last, none greater, nor none less, but they are in all respects equal.*
- Q. How many persons are there?
A. *Three.*
- Q. How many Gods?
A. *One.*
- Q. How many Deities?
A. *One.*
- Q. How many kingdoms?
A. *One.*
- Q. How many Powers?
A. *One.*
- Q. How many Creators?
A. *One.*
- Q. How many Wills?
A. *One.*
- Q. Is there any time in God?
A. *None; for he is from all eternity, and will be to all eternity.*
- Q. Where is God?
A. *Every-where, and in every thing.*
- Q. Is the Father God?
A. *He is most certainly.*
- Q. Is the Son God?
A. *He is.*
- Q. Is the Holy Ghost God?
A. *He is.*
- Q. Then there are three Gods?
A. *I do not say there are three Gods, but three persons, and one God only.*
- Q. Who begat the Son?
A. *God the Father; and the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father, and receiveth of the Son.*
- Q. Shew me some kind of similitude to illustrate the three persons in one Godhead?
A. *The Sun, although he be identically one, is nevertheless endowed with three properties, viz. rotundity, light, and heat: in like manner, we believe in one God, and that in him exist three persons, viz. Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who are in all respects equal.*
- Q. Which of those three persons was born for our redemption?
A. *The Second, who is the Son of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.*
- Q. How many nativities belong to him?
A. *Two; the first is from his Father, without mother, and without time; and the second from our Lady the Virgin Mary, without father, and in time, she continuing still in her virginity.*
- Q. Is our Lord Jesus Christ man or God?
A. *He is both God and man in one person, without distinction or change, without confusion or mixture.*

IN the like manner, the *Abissinians* believe and teach all the other articles of faith concerning him, viz. his baptism, fasting, temptations, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension into heaven, and his mission of the Holy Ghost on the apostles: that he shall come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead: that he is really present at the sacrament of the Eucharist: that the dead shall rise again at the last day: that the just shall inherit the

General belief.

^p LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 11. §. 38.

kingdom of heaven; and that sinners shall be sent into hell. They likewise believe a catholic church, as expressed in the *Nicene* creed, compiled by the orthodox council of *Nice*, anno 318^a. This is all that can with any certainty be affirmed concerning the *Abissinian* faith, until the Divine Providence shall be pleased to furnish us with means of being better acquainted with their authentic writings on that subject, or have their faith and practice transmitted to us by less partial hands than, it is to be feared, we have hitherto had them^r.

We have had no certain intelligence from thence since the expulsion of the missionaries.

Wansleb sent thither by the elector of Saxony.

Cannot get into the country; turns monk.

WE may safely say, that, since the coming away of the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez* (and it is plain neither he nor any of the rest of the missionaries were curious, or troubled themselves much, in collecting or bringing what books they could from thence), we have received very little intelligence from that country. And it is no small matter of regret, that Mr. *Wansleb*, who was sent thither by the elector of *Saxony*, and had learned the *Ethiopic* tongue under Mr. *Ludolph*, met with such insurmountable obstacles and dangers in his attempt to penetrate into that empire, in order to bring from thence all the liturgies and other writings that money could procure; as he was a very good judge of them, and was supplied by that prince with sufficient sums for that purpose: so that finding it impossible to get admittance into *Abissinia*, he contented himself with buying as many as he could get in *Egypt*, and other parts. Some discontents, which happened to him afterwards, or, as he expresses it, the perusing of these liturgies, made such an impression upon his mind, that, being quite dissatisfied with his own religion, he renounced *Lutheranism*, and took the *Dominican* habit at *Rome*. From that time, he became a zealous profelyte to that church (P), to the great regret and mortification of the duke his benefactor, and of all his friends^s, who expected greater things from him; and an end was put, on that side, to all future endeavours of getting either books or any other intelligence from those parts. And as for the missionaries, they have been forced to draw all their accounts concerning what happened there since their expulsion, from *Cairo* in *Egypt*, and from such hands as can give the reader but little satisfaction; there being still a much wider difference between them; and, what is much worse, the contests are risen to such a height, and so much been written by both parties, and with such confidence and animosity, as leaves one scarcely room to guess on which side the truth or the slander lies^t.

^a Abba GREGOR. apud Ludolph. —94. LONO, Relat. de l'Abiss. p. 157, 196.

^r See before, p. 161, & seq.

^s LUDOLPH, Proem. i. c. 90,

^t See before, p. 161—166. and the close of the next Section.

(P) *Michael Wansleb* was a native of *Ertfurt*, vulgarly called *Erfort*, a city in the electorate of *Mentz*; but, since it embraced the *Ausburg* confession, under the protection of the dukes of *Saxony*. He had been brought up under Mr. *Ludolph*, and was a master of the oriental languages; and, as such, recommended to that prince as a proper person for that commission (32). Soon after his ill success, and turning monk at *Rome*, he was again recommended to the great Mr. *Colbert*, who sent him into the *Levant* upon the same errand; where he accordingly purchased above 500 MSS. which were afterwards conveyed to *Paris*, and placed in the king's library; but finding all his fresh attempts to get entrance into *Abissinia* frustrated, he returned into *France*, anno 1676, and died there some years after.—Before that time, he had caused the liturgy of *Dioscorus*, the heretic patriarch of *Alexandria*, to be printed at *London*, anno 1661; and, before he went upon his second enterprize, he published a list of the works which he designed to have printed in the *Ethiopic* tongue, together with an account of the present state of *Egypt*, in *Italian*. These two appeared, anno 1671; and, upon his return, he published a fresh relation of his voyage into *Egypt*, annis 1672 and 1673.

Soon after which followed his history of the *Alexandrian* church.

He left likewise a catalogue of all the *Abissinian* MSS. which he had either seen, purchased, or copied, during his stay there, together with an imperfect manuscript account of the then state of *Abissinia*. Lastly, there appeared a book in *English*, printed at *London* by *Jonathan Edwin*, intituled, *A short account of the rebellions and bloodshed, occasioned by the Jesuits and other popish emissaries in the empire of Abissinia, collected out of a MS. history written in Latin by John Michael Wansleben, a learned papist*: *De rebellione & turbis tempore patrum societatis in Habassia excitatis*. Which book was compiled from that author's writing, as Mr. *Ludolph* believes it to be; yet must be supposed to have been very much mutilated, and blended with a great deal of fabulous trash by the compiler. However that be, Mr. *Wansleb's* proceedings have too far impaired his character, not only in the opinion of the Protestants (33), but in that also of the *Romish* fathers, to be depended on (34), whatever these may say to extenuate them, in order to prop up the credit of his writings.

(32) Vide Ludolph, Comm. Proem. I. p. 20. & in lib. iii. c. 14. § 135. Le Grand, Relat. d'Abissin. p. 157, & 196, & alibi.

(33) Ludolph, ubi sup.

(34) Le Grand, ubi sup.

S E C T. IX.

The chronology, succession, and series, of the Abissinian monarchs; and their history from the time of the Portuguese coming thither, to that of their expulsion from thence.

- a **W**E have had frequent occasion, as well in our Antient^a as this Modern history of *Abissinia*, to observe how imperfect, maimed, and uncertain, all the records and histories of that antient and potent empire are. We shall find them still more deficient in point of their chronology, in the settling of their various epochs, the numbering the years of their monarchs reigns, and other material transactions; and, lastly, we shall, even in those few scraps, as we may justly call them, which they have preserved upon their most important events, or, at least, in those which the *Portuguese* missionaries have been able to procure from thence^b, observe some material differences, which they themselves could not reconcile. — They were taken from two manuscripts, which, besides that they vary with each other in many particulars, reckon only one hundred emperors from *Menilebeck*, the son of *Solomon* and *Makkeda* queen of *Sheba*, down to their great friend and patron, Soltan *Jassok-Adyan-Sagged*, or *Segued*; but without mentioning either the times in which they flourished, or the length of their reigns. One of them reckons 24 of them before Christ, and from thence to the time of his writing, that is, in the time of *Faciladas*, or *Basilides*, the son and successor of *Segued* above-mentioned, about the year 1659, only 68; yet makes the sum total, if it be not an error of the press, 99; whereas 24 and 68 make in all but 92; unless we will suppose the other seven to have been of the *Zaguean* family, who usurped the *Abissinian* throne during the space of 340 years, and are, for that reason, struck out of the list of the true descendants of the *Solomonic* race. This last will appear the less improbable, if we consider that those lists take no notice even of the women of the *Solomonic* line, as were the queen of *Sheba*, queen *Candace*, and the empress *Helene*; which is rightly supposed to have been in conformity to the *Jewish* custom, which, as St. *Jerom* observes, excluded the females out of their genealogies; and if so, much more would they such a list of usurpers. Conformably to which, we have heretofore shewn, that those *Israelitish* kings, which are omitted by St. *Matthew*, in his genealogy of Jesus Christ, were excluded out of it on that very account, that is, for want of a legal title^c; which doth perfectly account for the difference between his and that of St. *Luke*, and of the *Chronicles*. Add to this, with respect to what we are upon, that those seven *Zaguean* reigns, if we may guess at their duration from two of them, *viz.* those of *Lalibela* and his son, each of whom are said to have reigned 40 years, they will come pretty near the 340 years of their usurpation above-mentioned; of which we shall give a further account in the sequel.
- d FROM those two imperfect records, the one of which was taken from that often mentioned, which is kept in the great church of *Axuma*, and the other from a book, then in the possession of the emperor *Segued*, by Father *Emanuel d'Almeyda*, the only material transactions belonging to the Ancient as well as Modern History, which can be reduced into a chronological order, are these that follow (A).

THE queen of *Sheba* came into *Judea* in or about the year before Christ 992,
and of the world

SHE reigned 25 years after her return, and was succeeded by her son *Menilebeck*

Queen of
3012 *Sheba*.

3037

^a Vol. vii. p. 205, & seq.

^b De his, vide *ALMEYDA*, *TELLEZ*, lib. i. c. 27. *LUDOLPH*, lib. ii. c. 2, & seq.

^c See *Ancient Hist.* vol. iv. p. 156, & seq. in the notes.

(A) Before we go further, it will not be improper to apprise our readers of two things, with respect to the *Abissinian* computation of time; the one, that they begin their year at the autumnal equinox, in which season they believe the world to have been created; the other, that they compute the numbers of years from the creation to the birth of Christ to be 5500, which is eight years short of the *Septuagint* reckoning, which the *Greek*, *Armenian*, and some other churches follow. This error

is also crept into their computation of the Christian æra; so that whoever will rightly understand it, must be sure to add always those eight years to it. How this defect came to be introduced among them, is variously conjectured, and hardly worth our farther inquiry (1). In other cases, they make use of the old *Egyptian* year, consisting of twelve months, of 30 days each, with the proper intercalary ones, to reduce it to the true solar.

(1) *De hoc*, vide *Gregor.* apud *Ludolph*, lib. iii. c. 6. §. 97, et seq.

MENILEHECK

Menilehech. MENILEHECH reigned 29 years, and was cotemporary with his father, and 18 years more with his son *Rheboboam*, and died. a

FROM *Sadgur*, the son of *Menilebech*, proceeded, in a lineal descent, 24 princes; the length of whose reigns is not set down; but, in the eighth year of which last, whom the chronicle calls *Pbecen*, was our Saviour born, 4004

FROM this æra of our Saviour's birth to the joint reigns of the two brothers *Abra* and *Abza*, or, as the commemoration made for the rest of their souls hath it, *Remember, Lord, the Ethiopian monarchs*, *Abrehe* and *Atzbahe*, reckoned 13 emperors more, whose names, and the years of whose reigns, are also omitted, elapsed 327 years; in the last of which, *Frumentius* was sent by *St. Athanasius* into *Ethiopia*, where he converted the *Abissinians* to the Christian faith ^d. b

Atzfa, Atzfed, and Amay. THE chronicles go on, and give a strange account of three other brothers, who agreed to reign jointly and amicably over the whole empire. Their names are *Atzfa*, *Atzfed*, and *Amay*, who, we are told, to prevent all discord and interfering between them, bethought themselves of an odd expedient; which was to divide the day into three parts, and to hold the reins alternately each his third part, or eight hours. A strange way of government this! but which, if we will believe the *Abissine* legends, succeeded to a miracle; for if, at any time, one of the brothers differed or fell out with another, the third was ready to interpose, and act as umpire between them ^e.

Arado, Aladoba, and Alamid. THOSE, of whose lives and reigns we have no farther account, were succeeded by *Arado*, *Aladoba*, and *Alamid*, or, as *Tellez* calls him, *Amiamid*, in whose reigns vast numbers of monks and anchorites came out of *Egypt* hither, with a view of propagating Christianity, and the monastic life. *Alamid* was succeeded by *Tacena*, and he by *Caleb*; about which time, new colonies of monks and ascetics came from *Rum*, and settled in the kingdom of *Tigre*; that is, about the time of the emperor *Justinian*, near the year of Christ 521, or 522. *Caleb*, having subdued the *Sabeen* or *Homerite* kingdom, by the defeat and death of the *Jewish* king *Dunavas* (B), is said to have sent his crown to *Jerusalem*, to be there suspended in the great church of *St. Sepulchre*, in memory of his signal success against that bitter enemy and persecutor of the Christians ^f. c

Gebra Mesket. HE was succeeded by *Gebra Mesket*, whose name imports *the servant of the cross*, a wise and peaceable prince; who, we are told, made an alliance with the emperor *Justinian* above-named ^g. His two next successors were *Constantine* and *Frezena*; and, after them, were fifteen more, all of the same *Solomonic* line: the last of whom was named *Del-Noad*, who reigned till about the year 960, when the succession passed into the *Zagean* family; and the usurpation began, which lasted 340 years, and of which we are now going to give the best account we can find out of those imperfect memoirs we have of it, not so much from any authentic records, as from what the *Abissinians* call an undoubted tradition, which is as follows. d

The Zagean usurpation begun by Tredda Gab-z, who dethrones the Solomonic race. TREDDA GABEZ, a woman, who, for her impiety, cruelty, lewdness, and other enormous vices, was surnamed *Effat*, or *fire-brand*, found means, about this time (960), to destroy not only *Del-Noad*, the emperor on the throne, but the whole imperial family, in order to raise a son of hers, whom she had by the governor of *Bugna*, to the *Ethiopian* throne; so that not one of the unhappy family escaped, except one, who fled for shelter into the kingdom of *Shewa*, or *Xaoa*, where his posterity was preserved with the utmost privacy by the *Xaoan* viceroys, who were all faithfully attached to the line of *Solomon*, during the 340 years of the *Zagean* usurpation. The *Abissinians*, however, who, as we observed a little higher, never acknowledged that new race as their princes, but only as so many usur-

^d De his, vide Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 218, & sup. p. 222. c. iv. §. 19, & seq. ^e TELLEZ, lib. iv. c. 29. LUDOLPH, l. ii. Perf. lib. i. c. 9.

^f See the *Abissine* Poet, apud LUDOLPH, lib. ii. c. 4. §. 59.

^g PROCOPIUS, Bell.

(B) This *Caleb*, who was nephew to *Amiamid* above-mentioned, is the same whom some Greek and Latin writers call *Elefbaan* (2), which might probably be his *Ethiopic* Christian name, or, with the Arabic article *el*, *El-etzbaha*; it being very common for the *Abissinian* emperors to have two or more names. Both the *Romans* and *Abissinians* have ranked him among the saints, on account of the two great victories which he gained over a *Jewish* prince, named *Dunavas*, then king of the *Homerites*, and a great persecutor of the Christians.

Elefbaan was prevailed upon by the *Alexandrian* patriarch to undertake that war against him; in which he proved so successful, that he slew him in the second battle,

and seized upon his whole kingdom, which put an end to that of the *Homerites*, or *Sabeans*, as well as to their horrid persecutions of the Christians: in one of which, 340, with the martyr *Aretas* at their head, were burnt alive all together in one day in the city of *Nagran*, or *Najran*. This new kingdom was afterwards divided, and one part of it was given to the son of the martyr *Aretas*, together with the city of *Nagran*, which became the place of his residence. The other was made tributary to *Elefbaan*, and continued so 72 years, that is, till about anno 578, when *Said Ebn Jazan*, having made an alliance with the *Persians*, shook off the yoke, as we have shewn in our Antient History (3).

(2) De hoc, vide Niceph. Callist. l. xvii. Baron. Ann. ad ann. 522. Ludolph. lib. ii. c. 4. §. 23, & seq. ⁽³⁾ Id. ibid. See also Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 219, & seq.

pers,

- a pers, have obliterated their names; so that we should perhaps have never heard of them, had not two or three of them taken care to eternize themselves by some glorious deeds, particularly the great *Lalibela*, formerly mentioned, who left many indelible monuments of his piety and magnificence, by the ten noble churches which he caused to be hewn out of the solid rock^b, and by other famous actions, for which, in spite of all their aversion to his family, they have not scrupled to number him among their saints. This is indeed by far the most illustrious of all; but yet we have the names of two or three more, who still bear a very great character among them, viz. *Degna Michael*, *Newaja Chritos*, and *Naacu Luabo*: the last of whom they extol as a peaceable, magnanimous, and beneficent prince, and highly beloved of Godⁱ. Who, how many, and what kind of princes they were that filled the throne during the rest of these 340 years, we are not told; nor by what means the crown returned to the descendants of *Solomon*; but only that, about the year 1300, the *Zagean* family being driven from the throne, *Icon Amlac*, or, as others call him, *Igunu Amlac*, whose predecessors had been preserved in the kingdom of *Xaoa*, during the whole time of the usurpation, recovered the *Abissinian* throne: from which period it hath continued in the *Solomonic* line to this time. *Icon*, or *Aikun Amlac*, whom they reckon the 66th monarch from *Menilebech*, reigned 15 years; and from him to the emperor *Zar-a Jaacob*, who reigned about the year 1437, they reckon fifteen more; whose names, as they are still found either in their liturgies, or some other of their writings, are as follow, according to the order they stand in the imperial list^k.
- b filled the throne during the rest of these 340 years, we are not told; nor by what means the crown returned to the descendants of *Solomon*; but only that, about the year 1300, the *Zagean* family being driven from the throne, *Icon Amlac*, or, as others call him, *Igunu Amlac*, whose predecessors had been preserved in the kingdom of *Xaoa*, during the whole time of the usurpation, recovered the *Abissinian* throne: from which period it hath continued in the *Solomonic* line to this time. *Icon*, or *Aikun Amlac*, whom they reckon the 66th monarch from *Menilebech*, reigned 15 years; and from him to the emperor *Zar-a Jaacob*, who reigned about the year 1437, they reckon fifteen more; whose names, as they are still found either in their liturgies, or some other of their writings, are as follow, according to the order they stand in the imperial list^k.
- c 66. *Igbunu*, or *Icon Amlac*. 67. *Jagbea Tzejon*, or *Agbascon*. 68. *Babarsfarda*, or *Babar Azgued*. 69. *Esbraad*. 70. *Cadem Saghed*. 71. *Zenzagued*. 72. *Udimrad*. 73. *Amdet-zion*. 74. *Scifaarad*. 75. *Udmaasfan*. 76. *David*. 77. *Theodore*. 78. *Isaac*. 79. *An-drea*. 80. *Hesbinaan*. 81. *Amde Jesus*, whose successor was the *Zar-a Jaacob* above-mentioned, whom they reckoned their 82d emperor.
- ZAR-A JAACOB* began his reign, as has been observed, *A. C.* 1437, in which the *Florentine* council sat, to which, being a prince of learning and great penetration, he sent his ambassadors, with a letter to Pope *Eugenius IV.* as we shall see in the sequel. He was succeeded by,
83. *BOEDA MARIAM*, about *an.* 1465, who died after a ten years reign, and left the government to his widow, the empress *Helena*. His successor was,
- d 84. *ALEXANDER*, or *Escander*, who reigned fifteen years and six months; that is, from 1475 to 1491. In whose reign, *Peter Covillan* came into the empire of *Abissinia*, he being the first *Portuguese* that ever penetrated so far into it. He was succeeded by his son,
85. *AMDA IZGON*, or *Amdscon*, who died six months after without male issue, and left *Amda Izgon*. the crown to his uncle,
86. *NAOD*, the son of *Boeda Mariam*, who was called to the crown from his confinement on the rock *Guexen*^l, to which *Alexander* had confined him. He reigned thirteen years and nine months, and died about *an.* 1507. To him succeeded,
- e 87. *ETANA-DENGHEL*, or *Lebna-Denghel*; more commonly known by the names of *Onag-Segued* and *David*; which last he took upon his accession to the crown. He reigned from *an.* 1507 to *an.* 1540: and it was to this prince that the king of *Portugal* sent that embassy, of which *Francisco Alvarez* was appointed chaplain, and of which he gave the public so curious a relation.
88. His son, and successor, was *Claudius Segued*, or *Aznaf-Segued*; who had but a very unfortunate reign; being harrassed on all sides with grievous wars against the *Gallas* and *Mohammedans*, who would quickly have swallowed up his whole empire, had not Providence sent to his assistance the brave *Don Christopher de Gama*, of whose success we shall speak more fully in the sequel. *Segued*, however, lost his life in a fight against the *Gallas*, in *March*, *an.* 1559, after a tedious reign of a little above eighteen years; and leaving no male issue behind, was succeeded by his brother's son,
- f 89. *MENAS*, surnamed at his coronation *Adama Segued*, who had reigned little more than four years before he was murdered by his own soldiers, in a fight against *Isaac*, one of the revolted *Babr-nagash*'s, or governors of the maritime provinces, in *April*, 1562. He was succeeded by his son,
90. *MALAK SEGUED*, who reigned some months above thirty-three years; and having no sons by his queen, had brought up a natural one of his, named *Jaacob*, whom he

^b De his vide sup. p. 205, & seq.
ALVAREZ, LUDOLPH, & al. supra citat.

ⁱ LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 5. §. 13.
^l De hoc, vid. sup. p. 209.

^k ALF. MENDEZ, TELLEZ,

designed for his successor; but repenting of it a little before his death, left the crown to a son a of his brother *Locanaxos*, named,

Za-denghil,
conspired
against, and
killed.

91. ZA-DENGHIL, *an.* 1565, which proved the fatal cause of a most bloody civil war; many of the *grandeos* taking *Jaacob's* part against him, on account of his too great propensity to the *Roman* church; though in other respects a brave and noble prince^m. *Peter*, the then *Abuna*, was the leader of that rebellion; and having absolved the *Abissinians* from their oath of allegiance, they took arms against him, whilst he, with the few forces he had left, and a small number of *Portuguese*, venturing to give them battle, was defeated and killed, *October* 15, 1604, after a short and troublesome reign of nine years. Upon his death, his competitor was again invited to the throne; but had not enjoyed it long, before he saw himself strenuously opposed by the great-grandson of *Etana Denghel*, al. *Onag Segued*, whose name was *Susneus*, or *Socinius*, a young prince, no less artful than brave. The contest lasted somewhat above two years, but was at length decided by an obstinate fight, *March* 10, 1607; in which *Jaacob* and the *Abuna Peter* were killed on the spot.

Susneus intro-
duces the Pope's
power.

SUSNEUS, the 92d monarch, having gained the day, and regained the crown, made no scruple of betraying the same inclination for the church of *Rome*, though it had cost his predecessor so dear; and gave such encouragement to the popish missionaries, that great numbers flocked thither during his reign, who would, in all likelihood, have established the Pope's authority in that empire, had not a stop been put to their progress by the unexpected death of that monarch, who died in *November*, *an.* 1632; and by the accession of his son *Faciladas*, or *Basilides*, to the crown, who proved as great an enemy, as his father had been a friend and patron, to them.

The missiona-
ries expelled by
Faciladas.

Thus far we have brought down the list of the ninety-two *Abissinian* monarchs, in the best chronological order we could, from the few records which the *Portuguese* writers have been able to procure, down to the time in which they wrote. But our readers will not be dissatisfied, if, to them, we add the names and reigns of those few more, which are come to our knowledge by other hands, since the total expulsion of the missionaries and Roman-catholics out of the empire, as they have been since transmitted into *Europe*, and have been collected by a late *French* author, and printed at *Paris*, *an.* 1728ⁿ. They are these that follow.

93. BASILIDES took the name of *Adyam Segued*, and is the prince who issued out that decree against the Roman-catholics; for which he is represented as a favourer of *Mohammedism*, though an enemy to them. Several letters passed between him and the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez*, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel. He died about the year 1664, aged sixty-five, and was succeeded by his fourth son,

John.
Jawso.

94. JOHN, who, on his accession, took the name of *Aclaf Segued*, and died, *an.* 1680.

95. His son *Jawso*, or *Adyam Segued* al. *Ayasous*, succeeded him; and is the prince to whom the physician *Poncet* was sent, by Mr. *Maillet*, the *French* consul at *Alexandria*. He was afterwards dethroned by his son,

Taklimanoth.

96. TAKLIMANOTH, al. *Tekla Haymanoth*, *an.* 1706; and *Taklimanoth* was, for his perfidy, massacred by his own troops, *an.* 1709: and,

Teflis.

Destroys the
usurper.

97. His brother *Teflis* sat upon the throne. His reign was much of the same short duration as that of his predecessor; his prime minister, named *Oustas*, the son of a sister of *Jawso Adyam Segued*, having dethroned him in the third year of his reign, and seized on the crown: the *Abissinians*, however, did not suffer him to usurp the imperial dignity longer than till they could raise prince *David*, another son of that monarch above-mentioned, to the throne; which was not done without a dreadful slaughter and massacre of both parties, as we are informed by some letters from *Moka*, dated *June*, 1718; from which it is concluded, that he was acknowledged emperor about the beginning of the year 1714^o.

The Abissi-
nian records
maimed and
imperfect,
since the re-
storation of
the Solomonic
line;

FROM this maimed and imperfect scantling we have given of the *Abissinian* chronology and history, which is all that the missionary fathers have been able to collect from their books and traditionary records, our readers will easily perceive what a barren field we are got into, and how little is to be found or said upon that subject, till we come to the time of the *Portuguese* arrival in that empire. One might indeed have expected, that after the effectual abolition of the *Zagean* usurpation, lately mentioned, and the happy restoration of the *Solomonic* race to the crown, *an.* 1300, under *Icon*, or *Iqbun Amlak*, they would have been more careful to preserve a faithful account of all the ensuing reigns, and of all the material occurrences that happened under each of them from that time downwards, at least to the coming of the *Portu-*

^m Id. *ibid.* vid. & LOBO, *relat.* pass. LE GRAND, *dissert.* v. p. 250. ix. p. 297, & seq. GRAND, *dissertat.* v. p. 247, & seq.

^o See LE GRAND, *dissertat.* v. p. 251, & 473.

ⁿ See LE

a *guesse*; especially as that epocha appears in general to have been very remarkable, for the many wars which those princes had with the *Agaus*, *Gallas*, *Turks*, and other nations; the dismembering of so many large and noble provinces from the empire, and the dreadful devastations that were made in others, till it was reduced within the narrow bounds, and to that desolate condition in which those new comers found it at their arrival, and was the occasion of their being so well received there.

But whether the confusion or calamities that raged during those invasions and destructive wars occasioned this neglect of transmitting some account of them to posterity, or whatever may have proved the cause of it, we can only say, that the memory of the far greater part of them hath been hardly preserved among the inhabitants, by any other records, than by those devastations and dire monuments which those savage enemies have left behind them, or in the many kingdoms and vast territories they have continued in the possession of ever since: for it is hardly to be supposed, if any of those transactions had been committed to writing, or regularly kept in the imperial archives, the jesuits, and other missionaries, whilst in such high favour with those monarchs, would not have obtained a sight of them, and transmitted an account to their fraternity, both at *Rome* and in *Portugal*. Had any such records been preserved in any part of the empire, and afterwards carried off, or been destroyed by any of those barbarian invaders, or perished by fire, or any other accident, the remembrance of such a remarkable disaster could never have so far perished with them, within so short a space of time as a century or two at most, as that there should be no traces, no memorial left of them, when the *Portuguese* made their first appearance in it. So that upon the whole we cannot account for that obscurity which reigns through the history of those latter ages, to any thing but the same neglect and natural indolence of the *Abissinians*, which had suffered the most signal occurrences of the more remote ones, such as, more particularly, that of their first conversion to Christianity, and the history of their church from that time downwards, to be buried in such impenetrable darkness, above any other Christian nation. It is therefore high time now to come to that remarkable period, which reaches from the first arrival of the *Portuguese* into those dominions, down to their final expulsion out of them. This epoch, which is fraught with the most important transactions, and transmitted by so many able pens, will, in some measure, make amends for the barrenness and obscurity of the former; especially if they be read with that caution, which we have ventured to hint, more than once, through the course of this chapter, with respect to that partiality with which they must be reasonably supposed to have been penned, in a case wherein the credit and interest of the *Roman* church is so deeply concerned, and the writers are such professed, staunch, and indefatigable promoters of it ^p.

How this empire was at first discovered by *Peter Covillan* and *Michael Payva*, in their wild search after the famed and much sought-for one of *Prester John*, we have already seen ^q. 1490.
The next attempt in quest of it was about seven years after, when *Vasco de Gama* first ventured to sail round the cape and coasts of *Africa*, and thence to the *East-Indies* ^r. 1497.
Seven years after, *Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, following the same track, was the first *European* that sailed through the streights of *Babel-mandel*, and spread the *Portuguese* name among the *Ethiopians*, by confirming all that *Covillan*, who was still alive, and had been detained there ever since his first arrival, had told them concerning their naval power, new discoveries and settlements in *Afric*, *India*, &c. This proved so much the more favourable a juncture for them, as the empire of *Abissinia* was at that time reduced to the lowest ebb, both by foreign wars and intestine broils, and governed by king *David*, a minor monarch, under the empress *Helena* his grandmother; who, though in all respects a person of a most excellent character, yet was now altogether incapable of holding the reins of government, under so many and almost insurmountable difficulties, without some powerful assistance from abroad: so that she no sooner heard of the prowess, valour, and success of the *Portuguese*, than she resolved to apply to their king *Don Emanuel* for succour, and to enter into a treaty, strict alliance, and friendship, with that prince: and that she might succeed the better in it, she made choice of an *Armenian* merchant, named *Matthew*, a person every way qualified for such a commission, to be sent on an embassy to the court of *Portugal*. To oblige that prince the more to her interest, she presented him with a piece of the holy cross, as a token of her Christian profession; which was soon after deposited in a gold box, which *Alphonso d'Albuquerque* caused to be made for that purpose. *Matthew* was likewise received by him with particular honour, and dispatched to *Lisbon*, where he likewise met with a most gracious reception from *Don Emanuel* and his whole court, who began to look on this embassy, and desired alliance, as an earnest of some singular advantage that would accrue both to him and the church of *Rome* from it; and was accordingly accepted with the utmost readiness.

^p See before, p. 161, & seq.

^q See before, p. 171, & seq.

^r See before, vol. iv. pass.

BUT

Well received
by king Ema-
nuel.

Covillan kept
in Abissinia;
and much va-
lued by the em-
peror.

Helena's
works of cha-
rity.

The empire at-
tacked within
and without.

Matthew sent
ambassador to
Portugal.

Galvan sent
ambassador by
king Emanuel

BUT before we enter into a farther detail of this transaction, which laid the foundation of a that friendship and alliance between the *Portuguese* and *Abissinian* courts, and proved the cause of so many strange accidents and revolutions in the latter, it will not be amiss to resume the thread of it a little higher, in order to give some farther light into this part of their history. We have already hinted, that *Covillan* had been detained by the emperor *Alexander* ever since his arrival thither, according to the usual policy of those princes, not to suffer a stranger to stir again out of their dominions; but though detained a prisoner, yet he was not used in other respects like one: that prince, who is said to have been a second *Alexander* in generosity, having conceived a great value for him, as a person of valour and experience, and one who might be very serviceable to him both by his council and his courage. *Nabod*, his successor, treated him in the same manner all the thirteen years of his reign, and willingly heard b him speak of the bravery, strength, and extensive commerce of his nation, and gladly consulted him on all occasions. This prince dying, left the government and tuition of his son, *Lebna Dengbel*, since called *David*, then an infant, to his mother, the empress *Magueza*, and to the empress *Helena* his grandmother, who was the widow of *Boeda Mariam*, and a princess justly esteemed by all for her extraordinary wisdom and piety; and who, in all likelihood, was advised by her *Portuguese* prisoner to take the step she did, of inviting the king of *Portugal* to her assistance.

SHE was moreover immensely rich, and enjoyed vast fertile territories in the kingdom of *Gojam*; and having neither son nor daughter, bestowed the greatest part of her income in works of charity, and particularly in building stately churches, and endowing them with a c munificence truly royal (Q): and as these were built quite in a different manner from those of *Abissinia*, it is not unlikely that the same *Portuguese* gentleman was the chief architect and conductor of those noble structures, which being so much nearer to those of *Portugal*, might serve to give that princess a still greater idea of his nation. However that be, whilst she was thus employing her time and her wealth in such magnificent works, she saw the empire attacked by the *Mohammedans* without, and her government sadly disturbed by parties and factions within: so that, not knowing which way to turn herself, we need not wonder at her being so easily prevailed upon, by the politic *Covillan*, to send to *Portugal* for succour; a thing quite opposite to the common practice of all her predecessors; which, in the end, plainly shewed the remedy to have been worse than the disease. But to return to her am- d bassador:

HE not only met with the utmost compliance from the *Portuguese* king, but as such an alliance appeared to be of the utmost consequence both to him and the church of *Rome*, he made no delay to send the empress a solemn embassy in return to hers, and nominated to it the famous *Edward Galvan*, a man of excellent capacity and great experience; who, after having served his two predecessors in the quality of secretary of state, had been afterwards sent ambassador into *Germany*, *France*, and *Rome*, and was every way qualified for such an

^s ALMEYDA, TELLEZ, LOBO, &c.

(Q) Our readers will not perhaps be displeased, if we give them a sketch of one of those noble structures, which that pious empress caused to be erected in the middle of the kingdom of *Gojam*, where the greatest part of her lands lay, and where she kept her usual residence. It was built on a beautiful eminence, in the territory of *Nebassa*, which is watered by the river *Nile*; and to have it completed in the most sumptuous manner, she sent for a considerable number of the best architects and workmen out of *Egypt*, at a vast expence. At the foot of the hill on which it stands was built a large square inclosure of stone and clay, each of the sides 200 fathoms long, and the wall full two yards thick, and about five in height; the whole so closely cemented together, that it could not be broke asunder without the greatest difficulty and labour (1).

In the centre of that precinct stands the church, all of square stones; the structure not of a round, as other churches of *Abissinia* are, but of a square figure, as well as the choir, or chancel, within. The walls are 104 feet in length, and the chapel about 60: the stones polished very smooth, with roses, pinks, lilies, and other flowers, curiously carved upon them, in such variety, and with such beautiful delicacy, as could hardly be out-

done by the pencil, or on wax, or any fine metal. Those flowers, we are farther told, were covered with gold and silver; the workmanship of which vastly exceeded the value of the metal (2).

The arc, or little altar (3), chalices, plates, and other sacred utensils, were no less rich and magnificent; and our author tells us, that he saw two of these altars in the time of Sultan *Segued* all of solid gold; one of which weighed 800, and the other 500, ouquas, or ounces (4).

This fine edifice had, however, two considerable faults, in common with all those of the empire; the one that they are much too dark; which, according to the notion of the *Abissinians*, adds something of solemn grandeur to them; especially, as all the divine service is performed in them by candlelight, whether by day or night. The other is, that they are all thatched with straw; which, considering the number of candles that are burning in them, exposes them to be frequently set on fire.

This noble structure had hardly stood twenty years, before its rich utensils inticed one *Granbe*, a *Mohammedan* general, to come and plunder it of all its wealth, and set fire to the rest, which was all (except the stones still standing) reduced to ashes.

(1) *Almeyda, ap. Tellez, l. i. ubi sup. Ludolph, Lobo, &c.*

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) *De his, vid. sup. p. 219.*

(4) *Almeyd.*

- a important commission, had not his extreme old-age made him unfit for so long and dangerous a journey. He set out, however, with a suitable retinue, and a numerous fleet, commanded by *Lopez Alvarez*, and laden with magnificent presents for the young *Abissinian* emperor, and his excellent protectress and grandmother, the empress *Helena*. *Francis Alvarez*, probably a *Alvarez sent by Mr. Ludolph*, for his too great credulity, and his indiscrete relating of many monstrous absurdities upon mere hearsay, but in other respects a man of candor and piety, was appointed chaplain to this grand embassy, which met with a quick and easy voyage into the *Red Sea*; but was soon after disconcerted by the unexpected death of the ambassador *Galvan*, at the island of *Cumaran*, in the 71st year of his age; by which unforeseen accident, a stop of near four years was put to the designs of the *Portuguese* monarch, and the great expectations of the empress *Helena*.

- THE matter, however, was thought of too great importance to be set aside; and the arrival of *Don Lopez de Seguira* (who was then entering into his government of *India*) at the island of *Mazowa*, then belonging to the *Abissinian* emperors, though since taken by the *Turks*, offered him a fresh encouragement to renew it. He was then bringing back the *Armenian* merchant from *Lisbon*, and was to land him at that island; where, observing with what joy and eagerness he was received by the *Bahrnagash*, or governor, by the monks of *Bizan*, and to go on that embassy, with the said *Matthew*, to the *Abissinian* court. Unfortunately, the person he pitched upon for that commission was *Rodriguez de Lima*, a person of a quite opposite character to his predecessor *Galvan*, a passionate humourful young gentleman, and quite unfit for such an office. Father *Alvarez* was ordered to accompany him as his chaplain, and a numerous retinue was ordered to attend them: their journey proved very long and troublesome, through the heat of the climate, and badness of the roads; notwithstanding which, they all arrived safe at the *Abissinian* court on the 20th of *April*, where they met with an affectionate and pompous reception. As for *Matthew* the *Armenian*, he fell sick at their first setting out, and died in a village belonging to the monks of *Bizan*, and was buried in the church of that monastery.

- THE emperor *David*, now *Soltan Segued*, received the ambassador with great marks of joy and esteem, and admitted them as soon as possible, though with great ceremony and formality at the first audience, they being obliged to make frequent long halts at every stage, as they drew nearer to the imperial pavilion, according to the stately grandeur of that court. He caused them to be entertained with all possible magnificence during their tedious stay, which was six whole years; for so long did he detain them before they could obtain their dismissal; though *Rodriguez*, naturally hot and impatient at the affected delays of that monarch, pressed him to it with the utmost importunity, and much more so, after he received the news of the death of the king *Emanuel*, and of the accession of *John III.* to the throne. One thing in shipping to convey the ambassador away; for if any vessels chanced to come from *India*, it was at a time when they were at a great distance from the sea*. At length, with great difficulty, they obtained their audience of leave, and set out for the *Red-Sea*, charged with a letter to the new king of *Portugal*; to whom he likewise sent his crown of gold and silver^w as a present. The letter may be seen at large in the history which *Alvarez* hath given of this embassy^x and empire. He likewise made choice of a learned monk, named *Zagaza Ab*, to go ambassador to the king of *Portugal*, whom he charged with a letter to Pope *Clement VII.* and earnestly entreated *Francis Alvarez* to accompany him on his embassy to *Rome*, which he readily promised to do (R). At the same time, *Rodriguez* was desired to leave *John Bermudez*, his physician,

* ALVAREZ, & al. sup. citat. 160.

x Chap. 136.

u Id. ibid.

w TELLEZ, l. ii. c. 5.

w See before, p.

(R) These letters, which are full of fulsome flattery, both to the Pope and king of *Portugal*, and acknowledge the former to be the true and only vicar of Christ, and the head of his church on earth, in the plainest and strongest terms, were afterwards translated into *Latin* by *Paul Jovius*, and procured *Alvarez*, who was appointed to carry them to *Rome*, a most gracious reception from that pontif and his court (5), whilst his colleague *Zagaza-Ab* was detained at *Lisbon* for some politic reasons, as we shall see in the next note.

The misfortune was, that both these letters, and the purport of this embassy, were afterwards absolutely dis-

owned by his successor in the next reign, disclaimed and condemned as so many contrivances and forgeries, set on foot by the *Portuguese* missionaries, in order to introduce the Pope's authority into that empire, and to promote some other political views of that pontif, and of the king of *Portugal*. The truth is, there is nothing in the contents, diction, style, manner, &c. of them, that can incline an unbiassed reader to believe them the genuine and real scripture of that monarch. Nor, on the other hand, can any one well conceive, if they were forged, and the embassy been only a contrivance of those politic fathers, how the one could be indited, and the other carried on,

(5) Tellez, lib. ii. De Conto's decad. 4. l. i. c. 10. Job. de Barros, decad. 4. c. 4. Alvarez, Lobos, & al.

physician, behind with him, and a painter of his retinue, to which he consented; and this *Bermudez* is the very person who was made, soon after, *Latin* patriarch of *Abissinia*, and wrote a short history of that empire, of which we have given an account in a former section^y, and out of which we shall extract most of the transactions which happened during his stay in that country.

1527.
Arrival at
Lisbon.

IN the mean time, *Rodriguez* and his retinue arrived safe at *Goa*, and sailed from thence in the month of *January*, and the year following for *Lisbon*; where, upon their arrival, on the 25th of *July* following, they were prevented from landing, on account of the plague raging very furiously; so that they were forced to sail up higher as far as *Sanbarin*, a sea-port, about twelve leagues north of that capital; whence they were conducted by the marquis of *Villareal* to *Coimbra*, where the court then was, and where the *Abissinian* ambassadors were presented to the king, and met with a most courteous reception. The result of this notable embassy being in some measure foreign to our history of the empire, and yet interesting enough to excite a reader's curiosity, we shall subjoin in a marginal note (S), and return now to our account of the *Abissinian* affairs, after the departure of the *Portuguese* ambassador.

David gains
some victories
over the
Moors.

THE emperor *David*, soon after his taking upon him the reins of government, having gained several successful battles against, and recovered some large territories from, his *Moorish* neighbours, did not a little alarm their fears, by his detaining the *Portuguese* ambassador so long in his dominions. They had their spies at his court, who soon apprised them that he had made a league offensive and defensive with the king of *Portugal*, who had engaged to assist him to

The king of A-
del sends
Granhe
against him.

drive all the *Mohammedans* out of their new conquests. The king of *Adel*, amongst the rest, whose territories were contiguous to *Abissinia*, and who was himself a *Mohammedan*, and a professed enemy to all Christians, was one of the first who took up arms against him, and sent a small body of troops into his frontiers, commanded by the valiant Moor *Achmed*, surnamed *Granhe*, or left-handed, whom *David* had lately stripped of some considerable lands: in revenge of which, he marched his troops with such swiftness and fury into his dominions, that he quickly over ran the kingdom of *Fategar*, destroyed churches, towns, villages, and all that came in his way, and made vast numbers of prisoners, before any thing could be attempted to oppose him; inasmuch that, encouraged by his vast successes, he began to form a design of making himself master of the whole *Abissinian* empire^z. The emperor, alarmed at these devastations, made all the speed he could to stop his progress; and coming against him with a body of 3000 horse, and a numerous body of foot, easily over-threw his small army, as it consisted only of 300 horse, and an inferior number of foot, and carried off many of the latter prisoners. Two years after this, he came again at the head of a more numerous army,

His success and
ravages.

^y See before, p. 160.
LOBO, LE GRAND, & al.

^z BERMUDEZ, chap. i. TELLEZ, ubi sup. l. ii. LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 16.

in a manner so contrary to their usual conduct and foresight, and which so plainly carries with it the marks of an artful, yet ill-concerted design. The reader may see both letters at length in Mr. *Le Grand's* relation, often quoted in this chapter (6), together with some other anecdotes relating to this, and some other transactions of the like kind, from which he may perhaps form a more satisfactory judgment of them.

(S) The sequel of this embassy, so far as it relates to our present subject, was this:

Fr. Alvarez, who was burning with a holy zeal to go and throw himself at his holiness's feet, and to kiss his slipper, in the name of his *Abissinian* majesty, could hardly brook the delay which he met with at the court of *Portugal*. On the one hand, it was thought fit that his colleague, *Zagaza-Ab*, should tarry some time there, to be carefully examined about the faith and practice of the *Abissinian* church, and to that end was turned over to the famed historian *John de Barros*, and *Amien de Goex*, to be carefully sifted in every point, whose answers they immediately committed to writing.

On the other, the king of *Portugal*, who designed to send likewise an embassy of his own to *Rome*, hesitated a good while before he could fix upon a proper person; but at length nominated his own nephew *Don Martin* to it, and ordered him a suitable equipage and retinue. But *Zagaza-Ab*, not having given his two inquisitors the satisfaction they expected from him, but having been frequently caught prevaricating with them, was not deemed

fit to be sent with them, but was still detained in *Lisbon*, where he wrote a treatise of the *Abissinian* faith; which was afterwards translated into *Latin* by *Amien de Goex*, and published in the *Spania Illustrata*, among the affairs that related to *Portugal*; but which hath gained but little credit among the learned, as may be seen by the account which the judicious *Codignus* hath given, both of it and its author (7).

Whilst he was thus employed at *Lisbon*, his colleague *Alvarez*, and *Don Martin*, set out thence for their embassy, and arrived at *Bolonia* in the month of *January* 1533, where *Charles V.* was to be crowned emperor by the *Roman* pontif, in the view of a vast concourse of people, of all ranks, who flocked thither from all parts, to see that grand solemnity. And here it was that *Alvarez* appeared in the character of his *Abissinian* majesty's ambassador, paid homage to, and harangued his holiness on the occasion, and delivered into his hands the emperor's letter, whether genuine or counterfeit, and was received with all the joy and affection imaginable by that pontif (8); whilst his *Abissinian* colleague, the learned *Zagaza-Ab*, was shamefully detained and discredited in *Portugal*, till the year 1539, for no other reason, perhaps, than because he would not concur with the accounts which the jesuits had given of the *Abissinian* faith, nor father all the errors which they had laid to his church's charge. How he was rewarded for it, we shall see in the sequel,

(6) Pag. 451, & seq. & alib. pass.
warez, Hist. Ethiop. Tellez, l. ii. Ludolph, l. ii. c. 16. n. 11, & seq.

(7) Codign. de Reb. Abissin. p. 2, et seq. 214, et alib.

(8) Al-

and

a and gave him a second defeat; but all this did not hinder him from going on with his conquests and ravages, inasmuch that, from this time to that of that monarch's death, which happened twelve years after, he ceased not making new conquests and devastations, plundering and burning where-ever he came, till he had reduced the greater part of the empire to the utmost extremity. What increased the general disaster still more, was, that many of the nobles and grandees went over to the *Moorish* general, and sided with him; the greatest part of whom, as well as of the *Abissinians*, whom he had taken prisoners, made no scruple to turn *Mohammedans*; which we need the less wonder at, if what we formerly observed out of *Alvarez* be true, that they believe that rebaptization will wash away all the stain and guilt of their apostacy, as soon as they think proper to apply to it, and return to their church and faith^a.

b THIS was the dismal state to which the empire was reduced, by the irresistible forces of the *Adelian* king, under his successful *Moorish* general, who, like an impetuous torrent, carried all before him, when the unfortunate emperor bethought himself of applying afresh to the *Portuguese* for aid. The person he made choice of to negotiate that important affair, was the *Portuguese* physician, *John Bermudez*, whom *Don Roderiguez de Lima* had left behind with him. In order therefore to procure him and himself the greater credit at the courts of *Rome* and *Lisbon*, where he was to appear in the character of his ambassador, he caused him to be installed *Abuna* of *Ethiopia*; for as he was known to be a staunch catholic, it could not but give an evident proof of that monarch's affection to that church, and interest those two courts in his favour, and give a success to the negotiation. And it was probably the great distress which the emperor and his dominions were in, that prevailed upon the old *Abuna*, who was then alive, to nominate him his successor, and consecrate him in that dignity, rather than any inclination he can be supposed to have had towards the church of *Rome*.

c HOWEVER that may be, *Bermudez*, to make the greater dispatch, crossed over the *Red Sea* and went through *Palestine*, as not only the quickest, but likewise the safest, way to get to *Rome*, which he did not however reach till after the death of *Pope Clement VII.* to whom his credentials, and the emperor's letter, were directed. But this did not hinder his being received by his successor, *Paul III.* with the honours due to his double character: and we may add, that no embassy from that empire met with greater and more speedy success than this. The Pope immediately ordered his bulls to be dispatched, by which he created him patriarch, not only of *Abissinia*, but likewise of *Alexandria*; and with these, and a letter of recommendation to the king of *Portugal*, he set sail for *Lisbon*, where he met with the same kind reception and dispatch.

d By this time so many complaints had been made against his colleague *Zagaza Ab*, at the *Abissinian* court, that he had received orders from the emperor to arrest him and clap him in irons, for his pretended neglect and ill conduct, which was accordingly done by *Bermudez*; but at the request of the king of *Portugal*, his double irons were taken off some days after. He was however continued in his imprisonment, stripped of his ambassadorial dignity, and forced to resign himself up wholly to his custody, in order to be brought back by him into *Abissinia*, and give there an account of his ill success, or, as they were pleased to stile it, his ill conduct, during his long stay at that court. This strange transaction *Bermudez* himself hath not scrupled to give us at full length, in the very beginning of his history; though a judicious and impartial reader will discover much more of *Romish* policy in it, than either of neglect or guilt in his unhappy prisoner.

e HOWEVER that be, *John III.* glad of such an opportunity of sending so many of his subjects into *Abissinia*, ordered him to be furnished with 450 musketeers from *India*, and charged the viceroy of *Goa* to receive him with the honour due to his character, and to dispatch the forces above-mentioned into *Abissinia*, with all possible speed.

f BERMUDEZ sailed away accordingly on the next year for *Goa*, and met with the wished-for readiness in the governor, *Don Garcia de Noronha*, to give all possible dispatch to the king's orders; but unfortunately died before he could fully complete them. He was succeeded by *Don Stephen de Gama*, who quickly finished what was still wanting, and conveyed the whole succour, together with the patriarch *Bermudez*, into *Abissinia*, with all convenient speed. And great need there was of such dispatch; for, during *Bermudez's* absence, the emperor's affairs had gone still from bad to worse; inasmuch, that he had been reduced by the *Moorish* general to seek for shelter among some of the inaccessible mountains; from which he had been again forced to retire, to the top of that of *Damo*; where, with some few of his bravest men, he endeavoured to defend himself for some time, hardly now able to bear the name, much less to support the dignity, of a monarch. But in this invincible fortress, he was forced to yield his crown and life to that more infallible conqueror death, in the forty-second year of his age, and thirty-third of his reign; the first twenty of which had been as happy and prosperous, as

^a See before, p. 242.

1540.
and distracted
condition.

the thirteen last proved distracted and unfortunate ^c. This was the sad catastrophe of the emperor *David*, or, as he is styled in his supposed letters above-mentioned, Soltan *Segued*, in the flower of his age; but quite exhausted by cares, and the most affecting distresses; abandoned, and even hated by most of his subjects; surrounded by a victorious and implacable enemy; confined on a barren and inaccessible rock, with a handful of men; his empire above half conquered, depopulated, and laid waste, and in the possession of *Mohammedans*, the most inveterate enemies of Christianity; one of his sons, named *Menas*, an unhappy prisoner amongst them; besides many thousands of his other subjects, who, to lighten the weight of their chains, had shamefully apostatized from their religion, and undergone the scandalous and indelible stigma of circumcision; all which dreadful disasters he could not but be deeply sensible were chiefly owing to his unhappy and indiscrete propensity to, and zeal for, the church of *Rome*, and the Pope's supremacy, which had alienated the hearts of his best subjects from him, and rendered the whole *Abissinian* clergy his most irreconcilable enemies. No wonder then if such a load of complicated misfortunes crushed him thus immaturely into his grave, and before he could receive the comfortable news of the succours that were hastening to him from *Goa* ^d.

Succeeded by
his son *Claudios*, or *Claudius*.

His excellent
character, and
learning.

He was succeeded by his eldest son *Claudios*, or *Claudius*, then in the eighteenth year of his age, and under the regency of his mother *Cabelo Oanguel* (T). This prince, who took then the surname of *Asnaf Segued*, was a prince of singular wisdom and excellent qualities, even by the confession of the jesuit missionaries, who were not otherwise greatly affected to him, as we shall soon see. His person was graceful, tall, and majestic; his disposition truly generous; his learning greatly exceeded not only most of his predecessors, but even that of his whole clergy. He was perfectly acquainted with the antiquities and constitutions of the *Abissinian* church; and in his disputations, often nonplussed those learned fathers, and with great zeal and warmth repelled the calumnies of that church, particularly with relation to circumcision, rebaptization, confession, holy communion ^e, &c. In a word, he was a wise and excellent prince; and every way worthy not only of the empire, but likewise of a longer and more prosperous reign than he enjoyed.

Takes a different
course
from his father.

UPON his first accession to the throne, as he could not but have observed how fatal his father's propensity to the church of *Rome*, and ill-timed regard for the missionaries, had been to him, he wisely resolved to regain the alienated hearts of his subjects, by a quite opposite conduct to his; and though he was continually intangled in wars with the king of *Adel*, and other neighbours, and chiefly depended upon the succours which were sending to him from *Portugal*, without which he might plainly see that it was impossible for him to save his empire from being totally over-run by them; yet did not this deter him from publicly declaring his utter dislike to the church of *Rome*; disowning his father's letters to the Pope and king of *Portugal*, his confession of faith, and submission to the Pope; and condemning the whole as a forgery and politic contrivance of the missionaries, in order to bring the *Abissinian* church and empire under a foreign yoke. And though he did not deprive those fathers, and their converts, from the free exercise of their religion, yet he took care so to discountenance and discourage their zeal for making new converts amongst his subjects, that many of the old ones made no scruple to return to their mother church ^f.

Missionaries
discouraged.

Raises an
army.

Various suc-
cesses.

1541.

Don Christo-
pher de Ga-
ma's arrival.

As he was no less valiant than prudent, his next care was to levy a sufficient number of troops to oppose those of the king of *Adel* and other invading *Moors*; and signalized the beginning of his reign, by the total overthrow which he gave to the *Moor Amirozman*. He was, however, soon after, so over-powered by him, that he was forced to flee into the kingdom of *Xaoa*, with only about seventy or eighty of his men, and to spend the whole winter there, in expectation of the *Portuguese* succours, which came accordingly soon after, and just time enough to save the empire from being wholly swallowed up by the *Mohammedans*, by the very next year. Don *Stephen de Gama*, then governor of the *Indies*, having entered the *Red Sea*, at the head of a considerable fleet, through the straits of *Babel-mandel*, had, by this time, done some great services to the emperor, by the ravages he had committed along the *Arabian* coasts, and sufficiently scattered those infidels, when he came to anchor at the island of *Mazowa*; from which he sent a reinforcement of four hundred men to the assistance of the *Abissinian* emperor, under the command of his own brother, the brave Don *Christopher de Gama*. These immediately took their route through those sandy deserts and uncouth mountains, having at their head the new patriarch *Bermudez*, who had been appointed chief of this

^c Id. ibid.
ubi sup.

^d Id. ibid.

^e TELLEZ, c. 27.

^f TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al.

(T) Soltan *Segued* left four sons; the eldest of whom, named *Victor*, died before him. *Claudius* was next in succession, and mounted the throne accordingly. The third was called *Menas*, and had been taken prisoner by

Granbe, the *Moorish* general; but by some means, which we are not told, had regained his liberty, and afterwards succeeded his brother. After him came the fourth son, named *Tascharus*, as we shall see in the sequel (9).

(9) Tellez, lib. ii. c. 27. Ludolph, l. ii. c. 6, n. 17, et seq.

expedition,

- a expedition, and, out of regard to the governor, *Stephen de Gama*, had given the command of the four hundred forces to his brother *Christopher*. The reader may easily judge, from the description we have elsewhere given of this country ^g, what difficulties they must have met with through such mountainous passes and defiles, through which they were forced to march with their unweildy equipage, and especially with their artillery: for as they had no proper carriage for that purpose, they found themselves obliged to get some timber to make them there, after the *European* manner; and, for want of iron, they made use of such old battered muskets as they had with them. As they proceeded farther into the country, they were met by shoals of people, who welcomed them as their deliverers; upon which, *Bermudez* deputed some of them to give notice of their coming to the empress *Cabelo Oanguel*, who made all the dispatch she could to come to meet them. The princess had been forced, for some time, to take refuge, for safety, on the top of mount *Damo*; which is of such difficult access, that there is no other way to get up to it, but by being hoisted up in baskets; but was now come down to meet them at the town of *Dewarowa*. The *Portuguese*, on their side, went about a league out of it to meet her majesty in battle array, with trumpets sounding and colours flying, and attended with the artillery. At their head was the patriarch *Bermudez*, whose blessing she first asked; after which she complimented Don *Christopher*, and the rest of the captains, and was conducted by them to the town above-mentioned ^h.
- TOWARDS the end of the year they left *Dewarowa*, and marched with that princess to go and join the king her son, who was then in a distant part of the empire, and posted on another mountain as inaccessible as that of *Damo*; and in their way they were met by a messenger, who was sent by *Granbe* the *Moor*, to enquire who they were, and what their business was in those parts? Don *Christopher* answered, that they were *Portuguese*; and that they were sent by their king to restore the emperor *Claudius* to his dominions, which the king of *Adel* had unjustly seized upon. After which he sent the messenger back, with a present of a few trinkets for his master, but with a much more considerable one to him (U). *Granbe* did not fail to resent the affront and answer; and though he was then advantageously posted on an eminence, yet was easily brought down to attack them, as he had with him 1000 horse and 5000 foot, besides 50 *Turkish* musketeers, and the same number of archers. Both sides came soon within reach of each other, whilst the empress, at the sight of the enemy, was in the utmost consternation, though the *Portuguese* had taken care to place her and her women in the centre, and well surrounded with the baggage. The *Moorish* general appeared, mounted on a stately horse, with his standard by his side; but was quickly dismounted, by a shot from a *Portuguese* gentleman, which killed his horse, and wounded him in the thigh; upon which he was carried off by his men. Don *Christopher* was likewise wounded in the leg; notwithstanding which, *Bermudez* ordered the empress's tent to be reared up in token of victory; which so disheartened the *Moors*, that they immediately retired, with their general, to his old post. Soon after which came a renegado, and first cousin to the *Bahr-nagash*, to compliment the *Portuguese* on their happy escape, occasioned by the wound given to *Granbe*; who, but for that, would have cut them all to pieces. And as their little camp was in great want of provisions, it being now the time of Lent, he promised to bring them a sufficient supply of them in a very few days; which he accordingly did: for being, as he said, governor of that whole territory, which of right belonged to the *Abissinian* emperor, he promised for the future to pay the tribute of it to him, instead of the king of *Adel*, who had forced him to pay it to him ⁱ.

- LENT was no sooner over, than Don *Christopher*, who was cured of his wound, received a fresh message from *Granbe*, with a promise that he would soon pay him a second visit; which he accordingly did; but with a more numerous force, both of horse and foot, than before, which threw the empress and her ladies into a fresh consternation. Don *Christopher* was ordering his troops to the best advantage to receive him by the very next morning, when the frightened empress gave *Bermudez* such a dreadful account of the enemy, as quite disheartened him from staying to see the upshot; so that she found no difficulty to persuade him to accompany her in her flight. They were, however, recalled by Don *Christopher*, not with-

^g See before, p. 200, & seq. ^h *BERMUDEZ*, ubi sup. *TELLEZ*, *LUDOLPH*, *LOBO*, & al. *ibid.* ⁱ *Id.*

(U) The former of these presents consisted only of a small looking-glass, a silver egg wrought in the *Peguan* fashion, and a pair of hair-pincers; which was rather designed as an affront than a compliment; whilst those he gave to the messenger were two gold bracelets, a

rich furniture trimmed with gold, a piece of *Bengal* gawse, and a *Turkish* cassock and vest; all which the empress had, by the patriarch's advice, furnished him with for that purpose (10).

out some severe reproaches. Immediately after which, he desired him to bestow his blessing a upon him and his little army, together with a general absolution, as is the *Portuguese* custom upon such occasions; which the patriarch not only granted, but superadded a plenary indulgence to them, pursuant to the commission he had received from the pope. On the next morning, Gives him another defeat. by the break of day, both armies engaged; but that of the *Moors* was so terribly annoyed, not only by the *Portuguese* artillery, small arms, hand-grenadoes, and other fire, but chiefly by the quantity of gunpowder with which they had strewed all that ground, and set on fire as fast as they advanced, that the *Turkish* infantry began to retire with all the speed they could, whilst the cavalry, which was posted at some distance, seeing the havock which was made of them, stood motionless, not daring to move one step forward to assist them. The whole *Moorish* army soon betook themselves to a hasty flight, leaving in their camp abundance of provision and rich plunder. Presently after which, great numbers of *Abissinians*, who had gone over to the *Moors*, came back, some on horseback, others on foot, and joined the *Portuguese*, to the great joy of the desponding empress, who ordered them to be rebaptized, probably on account of their apostacy (W). b

Rele. ses a great number of captives.

Granbe applies to the Turks for succour.

Don Christopher gains an advantageous post.

THE desertion of that *Moorish* army obliged *Granbe* to apply to the *Turkish* basha, who resided in that neighbourhood, for fresh assistance, without which, he told him, it would be impossible for him to preserve that rich province to the Soltan his master, in whose name he had made himself master of it, and to whom he sent, in token of his fidelity, 100,000 ounges or ounces of gold, 20,000 of which were to be for the basha. Don *Christopher*, being apprised of this negotiation, was obliged to secure himself and his little army on the top of a craggy high rock, and to cut a way up to it into the rock, by the assistance of his *Abissinian* troops; which was nevertheless so streight, that they were forced to carry their cannon upon their shoulders. Not thinking himself secure enough there, he resolved to remove to a much higher rock, inhabited by *Jews*, but in the possession of the *Moors*, and guarded by a captain, and a garrison of 150 horse. He soon reached the place by the help of his *Abissinian* guides, and attacked the captain with such haste and bravery, that he killed sixty of his men, took thirty of their horses, and, by the assistance of the *Jewish* inhabitants, easily put the rest to flight, pursued, and killed several of the fugitives, and amongst them the captain; and got a considerable plunder, and a good number of their wives; particularly that of the commander, a woman of such beauty, that Don *Christopher* became enamoured of her, and reserved her for himself, and grew so jealous of her, that he cashiered two brave captains for no other fault than looking, as he thought, upon her with too amorous an eye. d

Proudly rejects to surprize the Moors.

His standard-bearer slain, and he wounded.

WHILST this passed on the *Jewish* mountain, *Granbe* appeared at the head of 600 *Turks*, which the basha had sent him, and made their way up towards that where the empress and the rest of the *Portuguese* were posted; which obliged them to send with the utmost dispatch for Don *Christopher*; and, upon his return, proposed to him to surprize and attack the enemy in the night, on both sides, as the surest way to defeat them: but our proud *Portuguese* scornfully rejected the proposal as cowardly and dishonourable, and resolved to fight them in the broad day; to which they were obliged to agree, though much against their will. Accordingly, as soon as it was light, he prepared himself to give them the attack; but one of his horses breaking loose, and running towards the *Moorish* camp, a scuffle immediately began between the two armies, which, unhappily, brought on the onset before they could put themselves in order. The fight was obstinately sustained on both sides; a considerable number of *Moors* and *Turks* were slain; and on the *Portuguese* side several brave cavaliers; particularly Don *Sebastian* his standard-bearer, who maintained his post till he was quite spent with weariness and wounds, and was slain by the surrounding *Moors*. Don *Christopher* likewise received a grievous wound in his arm, yet continued fighting, till, abandoned by most of his men, he was forced to retire, with the few that stood with him, to a neighbouring eminence; upon which the patriarch immediately advised the empress to withdraw with him thither; whilst she, unwilling to leave the rest of her women behind, absolutely refused to go, till he forced her, and the greatest part of the rest, before him. e f

* Id. ibid.

(W) We have elsewhere spoke of this ceremony of rebaptizing apostates (11); and it is very likely these had turned *Mohammedans* whilst they were under their government: for *Granbe* had seized this whole province for the Grand Signior, not only on account of its fertility, but much more likely because it belonged to the abuna,

independently of the emperor, and brought him a yearly revenue of 3000 ounces of gold. This rich spot, we are told (12), is called the province of *Nazareth*; and had been yielded by a former monarch, named *Thedrus*, to the patriarch, by way of reparation for some injury he had done to him.

(11) See before, p. 243.

(12) *Bermud. relat. ubi sup. c. 2.*

a Among those that staid behind for want of horses was the empress's nurse, a virtuous and brave woman, with two of her daughters, and some other women of her retinue; and who, to avoid falling into the hands of the merciless *Moors*, set fire to a small barrel of powder, which she found in the tent, and put an end to all their lives and fears¹. Her example was followed by about fifty or sixty soldiers, who, disabled by their wounds from providing for their safety, had recourse to the same violent remedy, and killed themselves on the spot (X). The empress, who had gained a place of safety by her flight, was glad to see the patriarch make towards her with her young daughter behind him, whom she supposed to have been left behind and blown up with her nurse; but was no less anxious about Don *Christopher*, whom she supposed to be either slain or taken prisoner. He appeared at length with his arm in a sling, and full of pain, but less sensible of his wound, than of his rashness and shameful defeat; the loss of so many brave men, and especially of his standard, drove him into a kind of despair, which nothing could assuage. It was with great difficulty that the patriarch prevailed upon him to mount, and accompany him and the empress, with the dismal residue of their forces, to some place of safety. In their flight they were obliged to ford through two deep rivers; and when they came to a third, over which was a draw-bridge, he stiffly refused to go farther, protesting that he would shoot himself if they offered to force him to it. The patriarch was obliged to comply with him, though with great regret; and, at his request, having heard his confession, and given him some balm to dress his wounds, took a sorrowful leave of him, and the few attendants that staid with him: these were his valet de chambre, his secretary, and three inferior *Portuguese*. The empress, being told of Don *Christopher's* strange resolution, could hardly be prevailed upon to go farther, till they heard the noise of some *Moorish* troops at a distance; which obliged her to make all the haste she could over the bridge, and to draw it up as soon as the rest were got over, in order to get out of the reach of the enemy, from whose hands they now began to fear it was impossible for Don *Christopher* to escape.

A lady blows herself and family up.

Don Christopher in great despair,

refuses to follow the empress.

BERMUDEZ and the empress continued their flight through mountains, wild deserts, and dangerous passes, for some days, and got at length over a large river, where they began to think themselves out of all danger, and where the governor of the country supplied them with plenty of provisions, which were the more welcome to them, as they had been forced to feed upon tamarinds, and other fruits, a great part of the way. Here the patriarch reviewed his remaining forces, amounting now scarcely to 300; and as he despaired of ever seeing Don *Christopher* any more, he nominated Don *Alphonso de Caldeyra*, a prudent and warlike commander, to succeed him. Soon after this arrived *John Gonzales* and *Denis Alvarez*, whom they had left with Don *Christopher*, who gave the following account of him to the empress:

The patriarch and empress get safe away.

THAT a woman, pursued by some *Moors*, being entered into the cavern where he lay concealed, they had followed her thither; and, as soon as they had spied him, asked who he was; to whom he made himself known with such readiness, that they could scarcely believe him, till an eunuch, who knew him perfectly well, assured them, that he was indeed Don *Christopher de Gama*; upon which they gladly conveyed him to *Granbe*, who was no less overjoyed to have him in his power; and, after several previous questions, assured him, that, if he would turn *Mohammedan*, and abandon the *Abissinian* emperor, he would load him with honours and favours. To this he answered, with a smile, that, being a servant of Jesus Christ, he scorned to exchange his religion for that of an impostor; which so exasperated *Granbe*, that he ordered him to be buffeted, and the hair of his beard to be pulled off. Being cooled again, he tried once more to persuade him, by the largest promises, to order his *Portuguese* troops to

Don Christopher taken in cave.

Insulted by Granbe.

¹ BERMUD. ubi sup.

(X) Father *Telles*, who hath greatly embellished this whole action in favour of Don *Christopher*, and the rest of his brave *Portuguese*, says, that these wounded men, whom he only makes to amount to forty, were barbarously massacred by the *Moors*. He likewise swelled his account with several gallant exploits performed by that general and his brave officers, of which the patriarch *Bermudez* takes no notice at all, tho' he was an eye-witness of all that passed, and was himself a chief actor in every other part but that of fighting.

Father *Lobo* hath still farther illustrated the relation of his victories, last overthrow, and heroic death; with many rhetorical flowers; and new circumstances, which raise him to the highest degree of a hero, with regard to the first, and of a martyr of the first magnitude; with respect to the latter; and all this, on the bare authority

of an old *Abissinian*, a pretended eye witness of the greatest part of them; particularly that of his martyrdom; when on the place where his head fell, there sprang up a miraculous fountain, whose waters cured all, even the most incurable diseases, and retained their virtue a considerable time (13).

We have, therefore, chosen to follow the plain and artless account of the good patriarch *Bermudez*, than whom none could be better acquainted with every transaction; nor, from the unaffected simplicity of his relation, can challenge a greater credit and regard, where-ever he asserts any thing from his own knowledge; though, in other respects, he is justly blamed for his too great credulity; even by those, who with equal justice commend him for his honest simplicity (14).

(13) *Lobo*, apud *Le Grand*, relat. de *L'Abissin*. p. 91, & seq. *Bermud. Telles*, &c.

(14) *Telles hist. de*

His constancy
and policy.

leave *Abissinia*, and retire; which he immediately set about: but observing the eunuch, lately mentioned, to be set at his elbow, in order to watch every stroke of his pen, he found himself obliged to write what *Granbe* dictated to him, instead of what he himself intended to have done. However, to prevent any misapprehension of his true meaning, he took care to cross his name with two strokes, like two thorns, to intimate to his men to be very cautious in what they did. This letter, which was forthwith dispatched to them by two *Moors*, greatly alarmed the empress; who, taking it in the sense it was wrote in, could not forbear breaking out into bitter complaints against the writer, in whom she had placed her whole confidence; so that she was not less delighted at his artifice, when the meaning of the cross thorns was explained to her. The new general *Alfonso de Cadeyra* having undertaken to answer the letter in the name of the rest, with the same precaution sent him word, that he might applaud himself in the favour of *Granbe*; but that, as for himself and his men, they neither wanted nor sought it; being all resolved to complete, like true Christians, the work for which the king their master had sent them thither; which was to destroy *Granbe*, and deliver the empire from his tyranny.

Outwits the
Moorish general.

THIS answer was no sooner delivered into Don *Christopher*'s hands, than he carried it to *Granbe*; who, not suspecting the artifice, made him no reproaches about it, but only asked him how he came to be so soon healed of his wounds: to which he answered, that it was by means of an extraordinary composition which he had about him, which never failed of making a speedy cure. Here *Granbe* desired him to make the same use of it on his captain-general. *Lobo*^m adds, that he was his uncle, who had been grievously wounded in a late encounter (Y); instead of which, he dressed his wound with such corrosives as killed him in less than three days; and, being taxed with it, answered, that he came to destroy, not to cure, the enemies of Christ. This bold answer so exasperated the *Moorish* general, that he caused him to be severely cudgelled, and even threatened him with immediate death: to whom Don *Christopher* calmly answered, *You can only kill my body, but my soul is Christ's, who will receive it into eternal life*. Upon which he ordered him to be immediately conveyed to the place where the other wounded *Portuguese* had been massacred, and to be there beheadedⁿ. *Tellez* and *Lobo* say, that *Granbe* fell into such a rage at his answer, that he struck off his head with his own hand^o. However that be, *Bermudez* confirms the legend of the miraculous fountain; and of the great cures it performed; and adds several other particulars relating to this martyr, which we shall not trouble our readers with; except that his head was sent to the basha of *Kairo*, one of his quarters to the province of *Judab*, another to that of *Adel*, and one of his legs to *Zebid*, the *Turkish* basha, who had sent him the reinforcement we lately mentioned: all which plainly shew how much he valued himself upon the advantage he had gained over a few *Portuguese* troops. *Tellez*^p adds, that the basha *Zebid*, and his *Turks*, severely threatened him for having presumed to put him to death, instead of having sent him to *Constantinople*, as they designed to have done; which was the reason of his sending his head to *Kairo*, in order to be thence conveyed to the *Porte*. Four hundred of the six hundred *Turks*, whom *Zebid* had sent him, were ordered back, and only two hundred staid with him, to secure the tribute he had engaged to pay to the Grand Signior. These last particulars were brought to the new *Portuguese* general, we are told, by one of their men, who had been taken by the *Turks*, but had since made his escape^q. As for the remains of Don *Christopher*'s body, they were left, we are told, by the patriarch on the spot where he had been executed; whence some *Abissine* monks afterwards conveyed them to their convent, where they were preserved with great veneration, and as the relicks of a faint and martyr, on account of the supernatural fragrancy they still retained, and the many miracles that were wrought by them^r.

His intrepid
behaviour,

occasions his
death.

His head and
limbs sent
away.

Esteemed a
miraculous
martyr.

^m Relation de l'Abissin. ap. LE GRAND, p. 93.
ibid. ^q Ubi sup. ^r BERMUD. & al. ubi sup.

ⁿ LOBO, & al. ubi sup.

^o Ubi sup.

^p Ibid.

(Y) This was, according to the same author, in defending a strong important pass, which he had intrusted him with, and from which, in spite of his valour and stout opposition, they had forced him by their continual fire. He adds, by way of embellishment, that *Granbe*, tho' his nephew, could not forbear treating him with opprobrious language at his return: to which the old general could only answer, that the *Portuguese* were not men, but devils, who spit fire out of their mouths. Upon which account, he had, it seems, endeavoured since to dissuade his nephew from attacking them afresh; but he,

flushed with his former victories, despised his advice; alleging to him, that mountains never flinch. It happened soon after, that the old general caught his nephew flying from the enemy, and asked him, "whether mountains fled?" To which he replied, "No; but neither run they into the fire; for there is a deal of that in the place whence I come." Which answer is since become a kind of proverb among the *Abissines*, who, when they want to express the difficulty and danger of an enterprize, commonly cry out, *The mountains do not run into the fire; and there is a deal of it in that* (15).

- a superior enemy in the night ; by which he not only lost a fair opportunity of cutting them all in pieces, and, in all likelihood, of putting an effectual stop to all future hostilities from them ; the *Moors* being known to be so far from daring to fight in the night, that they dare not even stir out their tents ; but occasioned the loss of a great number of his men, and threw the rest of them, as well as the empress and her retinue, into that dreadful danger and distress in which we saw them. Neither is it likely, that both she, the patriarch, and his own commanders, in the confusion they were then in, could forbear upbraiding him with it in the strongest terms. And this was, questionless, the motive that induced him, against all their united efforts and persuasions to the contrary, to stay behind, and throw himself into the enemy's hands, in order to retrieve his character by a glorious and resolute martyrdom.
- b BUT it is time to return now to his little flying army, whom we left in a place of plenty and safety, where they were soon after, to their inexpressible joy, joined by a reinforcement of 150 horse and 1000 foot, with *Asmache de Douro*, and *Asmache de Guidini*, at their head. These were, it seems, subjects of the young emperor *Claudius*, and were presently introduced to the empress, to whom they gave the same account of Don *Christopher's* death, which she had received before ; adding, that they had fled from *Granbe's* camp immediately after his late victory, whilst he, they told her, flushed with his success, was advancing, by large strides, towards the lake *Dembea*, with a full design to attack the young emperor, who was then encamped with his army in the neighbourhood of it. The empress gave them a gracious reception ; soon after which, they all marched together towards the frontiers of the *Jewish* mountain, where their chief met them with a fresh supply of provisions and refreshments, and invited the empress to retire into that mountainous territory, where she would be in all imaginable safety ; there being but one entrance into it, which could be easily defended against the enemy, if he should attempt to force it. They accepted his offer ; and, as soon as they were entered into the mountain, he begged that he might be admitted to baptism ; which was readily complied with by the patriarch, and Don *Caldeyra* stood his godfather.
- WHILST they continued in this mountain, the young emperor arrived at the foot of it, attended by a few of his men, in a sorry plight. The *Portuguese* went down to receive him, with whom he condoled for the loss of their general with some seeming regret ; but bid them not to be too much discouraged, or think themselves in a strange country, but to look upon it now as their own, where they would be speedily furnished with cloaths, tents, mules, servants, and all other necessaries. In answer to which, after suitable thanks, they assured his majesty, that, since they had lost their old commander, they would now accept of no other but him ; after which they accompanied him to the tent of the patriarch. Here, again, he was not a little pleased to see the patriarch come to the door to receive him, looking upon it as a piece of great condescension, because the abuna is as much respected there as a pope is at *Rome*, and alighted from his horse to receive his blessing. From thence he passed into the empress's mother's tent, and, after a little stay, was conducted to his own, which had been reared in the centre of their camp. During his abode there, which was about two months, he got together most of his forces, amounting to about 500 horse and 8000 foot, deemed sufficient by the *Portuguese*, when joined by theirs, to attack the *Moors* ; which they begged his majesty to do, and revenge the death of their late noble general. The young prince appeared somewhat diffident of his strength ; but being told, that *Granbe* had but 200 of the 600 *Turks*, which their *basha* had sent him, he readily consented.
- BUT before they came to be thus unanimous, the young emperor had been obliged to put up with a great deal of insolence from *Bermudez* and them, before they would consent to fight for him, or even stay longer in his dominions. This circumstance *Tellez* seems to have carefully avoided mentioning in his history, as reflecting some dishonour on the patriarch and *Portuguese* chief ; though he himself hath made no scruple to give the world a full account of it, and in such terms as shew that he valued himself not a little for it, as it discovered how resolutely they were bent to take advantage of his present situation, to oblige him to establish the pope's authority in his dominions. But as it doth not so strictly relate to the political as to the ecclesiastical state of the empire, though, in other respects, well worth a curious reader's notice, we shall give the substance of it in the margin (Z), that we may the more closely stick to the main part of our history.

^s BERMUD. *ibid.* & al.

^t BERMUD. TELLEZ, LOBO, &c. *ubi sup.*

SOON

(Z) The good patriarch, as himself informs us (16), having prepared his *Portuguese* troops, in a set speech he made to them, to assist him in the rooting all schism and heresy out of the country, by reducing both king and clergy to the pope's obedience, went and addressed himself to the young monarch in the same pathetic style, calling him his dearest son (he was, it seems, his god-

father), and telling him, that, if he designed to shew himself a worthy successor of his late father, of pious memory, he must resolve to follow his steps, and send a proper ambassador to *Rome*, to assure the sovereign bishop of all bishops of his sincere and dutiful obedience to him ; and, to assure him that his father had done so before him, he shewed him his letter to that pontif, in

(16) *Bermud. relat.* c. 3.

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Y y y

which

Arias Diz
chosen general.

The young em-
peror tries to
give them the
slip.

Engage Gran-
he afresh.

The young em-
peror's strange
behaviour.

Soon after matters had been accommodated between the young emperor and the patriarch, and every thing was preparing to attack the enemy, the new *Portuguese* general Don *Alfonso* being dead by a fall from his horse, one *Arias Diz*, a gentleman who had been in *Ethiopia* ever since the year 1520, and had been intrusted by the former monarchs with some considerable commissions, was nominated in his room, at the desire of the young prince, who had put a great confidence in him. But young *Claudius* had still another view in it; for being quite dissatisfied with the patriarch's tyrannic behaviour to him, he had formed a design to give him the slip; to which end, he desired of him to permit the new general, and his *Portuguese* soldiers, to go with him on a secret expedition, that would turn to the glory of God. *Bermudez*, though he suspected his design, nevertheless consented, relying on *Diz*'s fidelity. Accordingly, as soon as he had got the rest of his army ready, and had reached the mountain where *Granhe* and his forces were posted, he sent an express to *Diz*, to join him with all speed, and to bring the young emperor with him. Upon their arrival, they left the empress in a place of safety, and marched on through very craggy passes and narrow defiles, where, in their way, they met with a *Moorish* commander, at the head of 300 horse and 2000 foot, in the province of *Ogara*, and attacked them by break of day with such suddenness, and loud shoutings, as made all the mountains echo with their voices. Fifty *Portuguese* horse, who led the van, slew the commander with most of his men, and took many others prisoners, who informed them, that *Granhe* was at a place not far off, named *Daraskea*, in the kingdom of *Dembea*, near the place where the *Nile* crosses the lake of that name, and where his wife and children, who had been from him a long while, were come to join him soon after Don *Christopher*'s defeat.

THIS good success was soon followed by the death of the *Abissine* general, who, having ventured too far on a skirmish, was surrounded by another party of the *Moors*, who quickly covered him with wounds, and, after their brutish manner, cut off his privities; the news of which so afflicted the young emperor, that he shed a flood of tears for him, tore his hair, and cast his crown to the ground, and shewed the most excessive tokens of grief and despair. This affliction was soon after followed by the news, that *Granhe* was in full march against him; which threw him into such a panic, that he resolved to save himself by flight; and would actually have done so, had not a *Babrnagash* apprised the patriarch of it, who immediately came out of

which he made a full acknowledgement of his plenary authority over the church of Christ.

This speech was made to him in the presence of his mother, who was then in his tent; but the young *Claudius*, like a rash youth, who little minds what he says (these are the patriarch's own words), plainly told him, that he did neither own him for his father nor his patriarch; and that he was the abuna of the *Franks*, and an *Arian*, who believed in four Gods. Whereupon, *Bermudez* as bluntly told him, that he lied in saying that he worshipped four Gods; but, added, he, "since you refuse to obey the holy father, I shall only look upon you as an excommunicated and accursed person, and will concern myself no more about you;" and, so saying, rose off his seat to be gone; and did so, without receiving any other answer from the young prince than this, "You are the excommunicated person, and not I."

The next step the patriarch took, after having acquainted his *Portuguese* with what had passed, was to forbid them all, under pain of death and excommunication, to assist the young monarch, or, in any case, to regard his commands. To this they answered, that, as neither they nor their ancestors had ever been disloyal to the pope or their prince, so neither would they now to him. A little while after, one of the emperor's officers being sent to distribute 3000 ounces of gold among them, and to make their general some valuable present, they all unanimously excused themselves, and sent him word, that the breach he had made with their patriarch would not permit them to accept of any thing from him, or to do him any further service.

This answer obliged the young monarch immediately to hold a council, in which it was resolved that the empress should go to the patriarch, accompanied with an archbishop of his ordaining, to beg pardon of him for her son, and to promise, in his name, that he would do every thing he should enjoin him, with respect to the pope. She came accordingly, and, in the humblest terms, de-

livered her message to the patriarch, who, instead of being softened by her tears and intreaties, insolently told her, that he had now nothing left to do but to retire with his troops into *Portugal* with all possible speed. This rough speech brought the afflicted princess upon her knees, and made her renew her intreaties to him with such vehemence and such floods of tears, that, being at length overcome by them, he accompanied her to her son's tent. At their arrival, the young monarch came out to receive him, and, in the humblest manner, took hold of his hand, and kissed it, and begged pardon for what had passed.

Here they all three sat down, and the young prince began the discourse, with assuring him of his readiness to obey the prince of bishops; but asked the patriarch, whether the homage paid to him by his father might not be sufficient, without his being obliged to send a fresh embassy to him? "No," answered the prelate, "you must send one in your name, which is no more than what every prince in *Europe* is obliged to do as soon as he comes to the crown: and since you have not done it hitherto, you must now perform it to me, who am commissioned by his holiness to receive it from you. Besides which," continued he, "you must give me an ample testimony in writing, signed with your own hand, and sealed with your own seal, and in the name of all your kingdoms and provinces, in which you shall make public acknowledgement, that God hath no more than one church, and one vicar of Jesus Christ, in all the world, from whom all the power and rights of all Christian princes and prelates immediately flow." He insisted further, that this public act should be read, with an audible voice, on some eminent place, and in the hearing of all the people, by one of the chief officers of the realm. To all which the young emperor was glad to submit; and the act, concludes the author, was accordingly read with the utmost pomp and solemnity, and with the sound of the trumpet (17).

- a the monastery, where he had retired to pray with the rest of the monks, or perhaps rather to be out of harm's way, whilst his troops were preparing to encounter with the *Moorish* army, and, with difficulty, prevailed upon the pusillanimous prince to stay, and encourage his forces by his presence against the approaching enemy^a.

ALL this while, *Granbe* was advancing at the head of 13,000 horse and foot, and his 200 *Turkish* musqueteers. He was mounted on a stately white horse, and had a *Turk* on each side. Several bloody skirmishes happened; in one of which an *Abissine* general, having been treacherously drawn into a pretended parley with the enemy, was murdered by them; which so discouraged the rest of the *Abissine* forces, that the emperor, to prevent a desertion, consented they should engage next morning by break of day. Accordingly the *Portuguese*, leading the van with 200 *Ethiopian* horse and 350 foot, set forward with great eagerness, whilst the emperor, who brought up the rear with 250 horse more, and 4,500 foot, stood with them posted on an eminence, to see them begin the onset. *Granbe* made no less haste to meet his enemy, and advanced in two lines; one of which he led himself, which consisted of the 200 *Turks* above-mentioned, 600 *Moorish* horse, and 7000 foot: the other consisted of 600 horse and 6000 foot, and was commanded by another general. The onset, according to *Tellez*, and other *Portuguese* writers, was very fierce and furious for some time on both sides, except on that of the *Abissinians*, who were easily thrown into disorder by the *Turks*, and, with some difficulty, were rallied by the *Portuguese*. In the height of the engagement, *Granbe* appearing on his white horse, with his *Turks* on each side, to support his own men, and venturing too near the enemy, a *Portuguese*, named *Peter Lion*, a man of low stature, but an excellent marksman, seeing him to be within gun-shot, let fly at him with such dexterity, that he quickly brought him sprawling on the ground. The two *Turks* fell dead on each side of him by some other shot, before they could carry his body off; which being observed by the rest of his troops, they immediately turned their backs without striking another stroke. The other *Turkish* general did indeed maintain the fight some time longer with great bravery, and, whilst the emperor's forces were in pursuit of the flying *Moors*, made a stout defence against the *Portuguese*, till all the 200 *Turkish* musqueteers were slain, except 14, who fled to *Granbe's* wife, and acquainted her with their defeat, and her husband's death. Upon the news of which, she immediately rode away with 250 horse, that were left to guard her, and all the treasure that *Granbe* had been hoarding up during the war. All this time the *Portuguese* were busy in slaying all that fell in their way, and plundering the camp, in which they found, besides a considerable spoil, a prodigious quantity of provisions, and a great number of *Abissinian* captives, whom they released, to their no small joy; some meeting with their parents, others with their children, wives, relations, and friends; so that they could not but express the liveliest gratitude to their brave deliverers; and the young emperor failed not to give them the greatest marks of his esteem for their signal bravery, and for so effectual a victory, which paved the way to the recovery of a great part of his dominions: and, among other tokens of his thankfulness to God for it, ordered a noble monastery to be built on the field of battle, in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ^w (A).

^a *Iid. ibid.*^w *BERMUD. ubi sup. TELLEZ, ex ALMEYDA, LOBO, & al.*

(A) *Bermudez*, however, adds a singular circumstance, which reflects no small discredit on the *Abissinian* gratitude, especially with regard to the young monarch. It is as follows: One of his officers having observed *Granbe* to fall off his horse, took an opportunity to cut off his head; which, as soon as the fight was over, he came and laid at his majesty's feet, and took upon him the honour of being the person who had slain him, and of course, of being the chief instrument of that complete victory. The young emperor, glad at heart to hear that he owed so signal a service to one of his subjects, not only thanked him very affectionately for it, but made him captain-general of all his forces.

Unluckily for the *Abissinian* boaster, the general *Arias Dix*, who was thoroughly acquainted with the affair, begged of his majesty to examine how many ears were on that head; which he did, and found that one of them had been lately cut off: upon which, he took the liberty to tell him, that that ear wanting was in the possession of a person of much superior valour to the braggadocio;

one who had actually shot the *Moorish* king, and cut off that ear, whilst his *Abissinian* forces were viewing the engagement from a distant eminence, where they stood posted; and, for a confirmation of what he said, ordered *Peter Lion* to be brought, who immediately produced the ear; which was found to match the other so exactly as to put the matter out of all doubt.

Lion, however, desired the bragging officer to shew him the weapon with which he had given *Granbe* his death-wound: to which he giving no answer, the *Portuguese* told his majesty, that, if they examined the dead body, they would find that he had been killed by a musket-ball; a weapon, added he, which he knows not how to use. This circumstance, upon examination, being likewise verified, the young monarch was covered with confusion, and ordered his officer to be cashiered and disgraced (18): for this brave soldier had, it seems, formerly belonged to *Don Christopher de Gama*, and had done that action merely to revenge his death.

(18) *Bermudez, cap. 3. Tellez, ex Almejd.*

Some of them
conduct his
mother to him.

Granbe's head
carried about
the empire.

They all sub-
mit, and are
pardoned.

The Portu-
guese fall out
with the em-
peror.

The patriarch
irritates him
by his proud
demands;

and obliges
him to yield.

The king of
Adel marches
against them.

Is defeated,
and killed.

His queen
taken prisoner,
and given in
marriage to
Arias Diz.

THE king and his army descending from the high grounds of *Oynadaga*, came and in-
camped on the banks of the *Dembean* lake, where they tarried two whole months; in which
time, forty *Portuguese*, who had formerly fled from the slaughter, when *Don Christopher*
was defeated, and had taken the way to *Mazowa*, with a design to embark for *Portugal*, hear-
ing of *Granbe's* overthrow and death, returned back, and, taking the empress with them,
came and joined the imperial camp. All this while, the head of *Granbe*, which had been
shewed first to that princess, was conveyed and shewed through all the other parts of the em-
pire, together with the news of his total overthrow, occasioned such universal rejoicings
among all the people, that the *Moors*, who were posted in garisons in several kingdoms and
provinces, by which means they held them in subjection, hearing of this grand defeat,
thought fit to abandon all those strong-holds, and those countries were glad to return to their
obedience; and even those who had been most forward in going over to them, and had
changed their religion, in order to obtain better terms from them, were, upon their re-sub-
mission, all pardoned, and received into favour. Great rejoicings were likewise made at the
arrival of the empress, whose son went to meet her about a league off his camp, yet without
acquainting the patriarch with it; which shewed that he still retained his former resentment;
so that that princess was not a little surpris'd at his not being of the company, and no less dis-
pleased when he acquainted her with the reason of it.

BUT this was not the only instance, in which the young prince mortified both him and the
Portuguese that were with him. Among those governors of provinces, that had been par-
doned for going over to the *Mohammedans*, and shewing an irreconcilable hatred to them,
there was one of them, who, by his defection, had occasioned *Don Christopher's* defeat;
against whom, therefore, they made strong remonstrances to the emperor, but in vain; his
majesty telling them, that as he had given his word to pardon him, he could not go back
from it. Which behaviour so exasperated the vindictive *Portuguese*, that they at once rushed
into the traitor's tent, and stabbed him to death with their daggers *.

THIS piece of insolence, which the young monarch was obliged to let go unpunished, on
account of their great services, did, however, give him to understand what tyrannic lords he
was likely to fall under, if he did not take some proper means to suppress them. On the other
hand, the haughty patriarch was daily soliciting him, in the strongest terms, to perform the
engagements he had forced from him, to make a public abjuration of the *Abissinian* heresy,
and submit to the pope and church of *Rome*. He proceeded so far as to threaten him with
excommunication, and the withdrawing his *Portuguese* forces; the worst of it was, that he
had, about this time, received a haughty message from the exasperated king of *Adel*, on ac-
count of his ill-treatment of the late vanquished *Granbe*, and causing his head to be carried
through all his dominions. He threatened him, that he should soon find a second and more
formidable *Granbe* in him, and be once more stripped by him of all his newly-recovered do-
minions. The young emperor saw himself obliged to manage the prelate and his *Portuguese*,
till he, by their assistance, had got the better of his powerful foe; and only begged time till
then to perform his promises to them. He intreated him to stay behind with the empress his
mother, whilst he and his forces marched with the *Portuguese* against the enemy ′. After a
long and tedious march, they came to a broad but shallow river, on the other side of which
the *Adelian* monarch and his forces were incamped, and which the horse crossed over with
ease, and the foot were ferried over on rafters covered with hides. All this was done in the
night, without being perceived by the enemy; so that they came suddenly upon them, and
plied their fire-arms so successfully against them, before they could put themselves in order of
battle, that they made a great slaughter among them. Several Christians were likewise killed
and wounded; and, among the latter, the young emperor, but not dangerously. At length,
the king of *Adel* was slain; at the sight of which, his dastardly *Moors* betook themselves to a
speedy flight; but were pursued with great slaughter, and a much greater number were taken
prisoners, and, amongst them, the *Adelian* queen. The young emperor failed not to express
his thankfulness to the *Portuguese* for this fresh victory; and, as a token of his gratitude, pre-
sented them with all the vast and rich plunder of the enemy's camp, to be equally divided
amongst them: reserving only to himself the horse and scymitar of the slain king, and the
person of the queen, whom he afterwards bestowed on *Arias Diz*, their general, together with
the kingdoms of *Doar* and *Belwa*, in order to raise him to an equal degree with her, as well as
to prevail upon her to become a Christian and his wife ′.

THIS was indeed a master-piece of policy in that young monarch, and such as was likely
to have disconcerted all the patriarch's measures, as we shall soon see, and rendered
all his haughty threatenings vain and abortive, could any princely policy be an equal
match with that of a selfish prelate, intrusted with such a plenary power both from the pope

* *Iid. ibid.*

′ *BERMUD. ubi sup. & al. sup. citat.*

″ *BERMUD. in fin.*

- a and king of *Portugal* over a set of slaves and bigots to their authority. The overthrow of Bermudez the *Moorish* army had no sooner restored peace and tranquillity to the empire; and the prince, with his victorious army, reached the kingdom of *Dembea*, than the flushed patriarch renewed his former instances with more boldness than ever; by which he became daily more irksome and odious both to him and his court. *Arias Diz*, the *Portuguese* general, gained and overcame by his late liberality, and raised to the royal dignity, had privately renounced the church of *Rome*, and been baptized into that of the country, and taken the name of *Mark*. The consequence of which was, that the young emperor, thinking himself sure of his interest, began to treat the patriarch with greater coldness and contempt, whenever he came into his presence. He now no more rose from his seat to receive his blessing, nor suffered him to sit any longer before him, or to remind him of his old promises. This strange behaviour soon raised in *Bermudez* all his pride and resentment, inasmuch that he scrupled not to tell him one day, renounces his instances to the emperor. *Treats him with severity and scorn.* that he was not only a shameful ingrate to the king of *Portugal*, by whose favours and victorious arms he was restored to his lost empire, but, which was still worse, a rebel to Jesus Christ, in violating that respect which was due to him as his representative; adding, that he would be accursed, rejected, and excommunicated, if ever he relapsed into the errors of the *Alexandrian* church, which God had suffered to fall under the tyranny of the *Turks* for its defection from the apostolic see of *Rome*. This speech, which rather exasperated than frightened the young monarch, was only answered with recriminations against the *Romish* church; after which, he bluntly told him, that if it was not out of consideration of his being his godfather, he would not scruple to have him drawn and quartered; upon which, he immediately withdrew to his own tent. The emperor resents it.

- Not long after he received express prohibition to send any further orders to the *Portuguese* forces, who were now under the command of *Marco*, his captain-general, and should no longer obey any but him. To which he answered, that they, being subjects of the king of *Portugal*, were now no longer under any obligation to obey one who had proved a traitor to his king and religion; and that since his majesty still persisted in his refusal of submitting to the pope, contrary to his former promise, he was resolved to withdraw his forces and himself out of his empire; but was soon given to understand, that he was absolute master in his dominions, and expected them to pay obedience to his general, and to none else; the upshot of which was, that all, as one man, resolved to die sword in hand, in opposition to such ungrateful tyranny; and went about immediately to fortify their camp against him. The Portuguese fortify themselves against him.

- The emperor, who interpreted this last step as bidding him open defiance, ordered them to be attacked with all speed; but with such ill success, that his cuirassiers, who were the foremost in the van, where either burnt to death, or forced to fly half burnt, by the fire which they set to a quantity of gunpowder scattered about in an ambush, into which they had drawn them by a feigned flight. This threw the king into a new fit of despair; upon which, the apostate *Arias*, now *Marco*, told him, that, since the *Portuguese* could not be vanquished by open force, he ought to try to do it by treachery. Pursuant to which advice, they were sent for by *Claudius*, who appeared extremely sorrowful for his too frequent breach of promise, and desirous again to make all possible satisfaction both to the patriarch and to them (B); but, in fact, meaning the very reverse; for *Marco* the traitor, whose counsel the young monarch followed in every thing, soon put him in a way to elude all their demands, by a double piece of fresh perfidy. viz. first, by forbidding all his subjects furnishing them with any kind of sustenance, and the other, by stopping their mouths with a timely donative of a considerable quantity of gold and fresh provisions, and a very valuable present to the patriarch, whilst the most proper means were taking for dispersing and confining their chiefs in several distant provinces of the empire, beyond the possibility of their ever re-uniting again. Repel the emperor's forces.

- The *Portuguese*, however, were soon apprised of this treachery, as well as of his having obtained a new *Abuna* from the patriarch of *Alexandria*, who was coming to him with all the speed he could. *Bermudez* was forced to come afresh to expostulate with him; but, instead of fair promises, as formerly, had the mortification to hear it all owned and excused with his own mouth. The reason which he gave for the one was, that he chose thus to separate them to prevent their raising new troubles during his absence, he being just on the point of marching against the *Gallas*: "and as to you, my father," added he, "you must be content Marco betrays them by his counsel. A new Abuna sent for. The Portuguese dispersed through the empire.

* BERMUD. *ibid.* c. 4.

(B) That is, as we are told, to the former, to give him leave, on the ensuing *Christmas*, to make a public ordination, over and above his making a public acknowledgment of his submission to the pope and church of *Rome*; and to the others, to bestow on them one third-part of the territories they had recovered for him. For these two additional conditions these incroachers had, it seems, extorted from him, since the former, in the time of his great distress (20).

(20) *Bermudez*, c. 4. *Tellez*, lib. ii. c. 3. *Lobo*, *Le Grand*, p. 295, & *al.*

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Z Z Z

" to

" to stay in the territory of the *Gaffates*, where you will have nothing to do but to pray for
 " me, till my return. There you will be respected, and have that canton allotted to you
 " for your maintenance. I found it sufficient for myself and my few troops, during my late
 " stay in it, and doubt not but it will be so for you and yours." *Marco* coming in just then
 to desire the emperor to send to *Alexandria* for the new patriarch, was answered, " God bleſs
 " my dear *Marco*! My dear friend, the thing is already done ^b."

Bermudez

sent among the
Gaffates.

Returns.

Marco's

death, and
pompos funeral.

BERMUDEZ was accordingly obliged to depart with his retinue, and some field-pieces, for
 the mountainous territory above-mentioned, under a strong guard, and arrived there after
 eight days difficult march; and, at his arrival, the captain ordered the heads of the people
 to pay him the revenue which they did to the emperor; which was done accordingly. About
 seven months after, hearing that the monarch was returned from his unsuccessful war against ^b
 the *Gallas*, he resolved to return to him; and, to prevent the captain's opposing him, caused
 him, on some pretence, to be tied hands and feet, and severely cudgelled, some of his field
 pieces to be fired at random among his men, two of whom were killed by the shot; which
 threw the rest into such consternation, that they were glad to let him go unmolested, and
 even to intreat him to do so: which he the more readily did, as he was since told that the
 traitor *Mark* was dead, and had been buried with the utmost pomp by the emperor, and
 with as real grief as if he had been a brother, or some dear relation. *Bermudez* met, in his
 way to court, one of his *Portuguese*, who was taking possession of some lands which that monarch
 had assigned him, and who told him, that he had divided his *Portuguese* troops into two
 squadrons, and given the command of one of them to *Lopez de Almanza*, and that of the ^c
 other to *Gaspar de Souza*, with a design that they should be always near his person; but that
 the *Portuguese* had rejected the first, as being a stranger, and one of the late *Marco*'s partisans:
 so that the whole command of them was given to the latter. This news was the more welcome
 to the patriarch, as *Souza* was his nephew, and much attached to him.

The emperor's
ingratitude to
Bermudez.Prevented by
Don Souza
from being im-
prisoned.New stratagem
of the emperor
against the
Portuguese.

He was accordingly joyfully received by those of his nation, and, in outward appearance,
 by the emperor; who sent him his compliments on his safe arrival, with a present of 500
 ounces of gold; but was obliged to keep him at a distance, on account of his being then
 expecting the new Abuna from *Alexandria*. During his stay in the camp, he was given
 to understand, by an officer of distinction, under the most solemn promises of secrecy, that
 the emperor so highly resented his behaviour to him, especially his obliging him to acknowledge ^d
 the *Romish* pontif, that he ran the greatest risk, if he did not quickly and privately withdraw
 himself. But as he still insisted on seeing and speaking to his majesty, he ordered two of his
 officers to seize and convey him to one of their *ambas*, or craggy high rocks, already described ^e,
 to prevent his ever getting out of his dominions. He was, however, soon rescued out of
 their hands by his brave nephew; who, when blamed for it by the emperor, made no scruple
 to tell him, that he had done nothing unworthy of his character, in rescuing their patriarch
 out of the hands of a tyrant, who knew only to return evil for good; and that he must not
 expect that he, or his *Portuguese*, should ever suffer a prelate of theirs, who had done him
 such signal services, to be cowardly given up to his resentment. *Claudius*, finding them so
 resolute in his defence, vouchsafed to invite him again to his presence, loaded him with fulsome ^e
 caresses, and appointed him an income of 20,000 crowns *per annum*, as patriarch to them;
 whilst *Joseph*, now arrived in his dominions, was declared Abuna of the *Abissines*. To prevent
 their making any resistance to this establishment, he bethought himself of sending them into
 some distant province, on the frontiers of the *Gallas*, and of the kingdom of *Adel*, where
 he was sensible they would meet with but a cold welcome from the inhabitants, and be con-
 tinually harassed by their neighbours (C).

ACCORDINGLY they were scarcely settled there, before the governor of that territory began
 to lay his treacherous design for cutting them all off; and would effectually have done it, had
 they not been constantly upon their guard, and had recourse at length to a stratagem, which
 they had often tried with success, and which would, at one lucky stroke, rid them of a foe ^f
 so much superior to them in number ^d: for, in other respects, they were such pusillanimous
 dastards, that they refused to attack them as soon as they found themselves observed by the

^a BERMUD. ubi sup. TELLEZ, ubi sup. LOBO, ib. LE GRAND, p. 93.

^c See before, p. 200, & seq.

^d See the last note.

(C) He made choice of the two small kingdoms of *Dowaro* and *Balc*, which he had lately bestowed on his favourite *Marco*, upon his marriage with the widow of the king of *Adel*, as has been already hinted; and, after that traitor's death, had given the government of it to one *Calido*, whom he knew to hate the *Portuguese*, and would be still a more inveterate enemy to them, as they were

to be maintained out of the revenue of these provinces, and thereby greatly diminish his own. To crush them more effectually, the king immediately raised 7000 horse 6000 foot, and 600 archers, against their little squadron, which, our author tells us, hardly consisted now of 150 men (21).

(21) Bermud. ubi sup.

a enemy, till *Calido* himself appeared, and obliged them to move forward; little dreaming of the imminent danger he was in: for as he was easily known by his dress, he was no sooner come within reach of their musket-shot, than seven of their best marksmen, who had been posted in the front, let fly at him at once, even before the onset had begun; so that the rest, seeing their commander dead before them, immediately laid down their arms, and readily promised to submit, and pay their tribute to them; which they accordingly did. This lucky hit procured them four months respite; and the emperor, who always looked upon *Calido* with a jealous eye, was no less agreeably surpris'd at the news of his death, and sent a messenger to congratulate them upon their success.

The governor of Dowaro slain by them. The rest submit to them.

At the end of the four months, they received a fresh message from him, to acquaint them, that the *Gallas* would soon pour in their numerous forces upon their little camp; as they accordingly did, and made several attempts upon the eminence on which they were then advantageously posted during the space of ten or twelve days. The *Portuguese*, who dared not come out of their camp, killed great numbers of them with their fire-arms, as long as their powder lasted: but that being now wanting, and they being in expectation of the emperor's arrival, they set themselves about making it, the country abounding with saltpetre and wood, till he brought them a fresh supply. Upon his arrival, and seeing so great a part of these two kingdoms almost depopulated by those barbarians, he not only swooned away, and continued senseless a considerable time, but was in danger of losing his reason, through excess of grief. They took that opportunity to induce him to be again reconciled to the church of *Rome*, and to her patriarch, and to give him hopes, that if he did, providence would not fail of proving more favourable to him. He lent a deaf ear to them, and ordered them to follow him; which they did through several of his provinces, some of which had refused their tribute, and others were ready to follow their example; and by their help, reduced the one to their duty, and over-awed the rest.

1555:
A new irruption of the Gallas against them.

Their brave defence.

The emperor's excessive grief on his arrival.

Takes a progress with them through some of his provinces.

The patriarch closely watched.

THIS expedition being ended, about winter they desired to return to the province of *Beth Miriam*, where he had allotted them lands to live on. *Bermudez* followed them thither; but *Don Gaspar de Souza*, who was their commander, had strict orders to prevent his making his escape; whilst others of his *Abissines* were enjoined to have a watchful eye over him, and even to kill him, if he attempted it. To prevent, therefore, his design being discovered (for he was resolved at all hazards to try to give that untractable monarch the slip), he pretended to be laid up with the gout, and to want a change of air; and during his nephew's absence, told the principals of the province, that he was going, for the recovery of his health, to the monastery of *Debarowa*; and hoped that the prayers of the good monks there would contribute to it. By this artifice, he found means to cross the kingdom of *Tigre* with only eight faithful servants; and, after many windings and stratagems, had the good fortune to reach it, without being stopped or suspected. Here he met with an affectionate reception from the monks, and other *Portuguese*; but was forced to keep himself concealed, or rather confined, near two whole years (D), before he could find an opportunity to get to the island of *Mazowa*, on the *Red Sea*, where he was to embark for *Goa*, in a ship which was likewise to take in an *Abissinian* ambassador, whom the emperor was sending thither to the viceroy. He arrived safe at that island, after a variety of difficulties and dangers, in the year 1556: and was likely to meet with fresh obstruction from the ambassador, who, surpris'd to find him there, whom he thought to have been closely confined within some strong *amba* of the empire, refused to go on board,

Makes his escape to Mazowa.

^c BERMUD. ubi sup. TELLEZ, & LOBO, pass.

^f TELLEZ.

(D) That this last was his case, appears from some further particulars which he himself gives of his stay there, and deserve to be here subjoined. Soon after his arrival, the *Bahr nagash* of that country, a well-wisher to him, came with no small joy to welcome him, and earnestly to intreat him not to offer to run away, but to return to the emperor; which last he absolutely refused; but, to conceal his design from him, told him, that he only desired to spend the rest of his days in a neighbouring hermitage, dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*. The *Bahr-nagash* then begged of him, that he would repeal the dreadful sentence of excommunication, which he had fulminated against the emperor and his subjects; promising, on that condition, to obtain his majesty's permission for his retiring to the hermitage; and accordingly sent an express to him about it. The messenger being returned in a few days, brought word, that his majesty was irreconcilable to him, for having branded him with the names of *heretic* and *excommunicate*; that if

it had not been out of regard to the *Portuguese*, he would have long ago put him to death. He added, that he was a traitor, a forsworn wretch, who had violated the oath he had taken to him, not to stir out of his dominions without his leave; and concluded with an express charge to that officer to have him narrowly watched, and to take particular care of him.

Not long after, whilst the *Bahr-nagash* was gone to court, *Bermudez* received the news of *Don Antonio Peixoto's* arrival with his two galleys at the island of *Mazowa*; a few days after which, the church of *Our Lady* at *Debarowa* being by some accident burnt down to the ground, he made that a pretence for going over to that island, in order to beg some money of those *Portuguese* towards the rebuilding of it; and, by that artifice, over-reached the *Bahr-nagash* and the *Abissines*, who had the charge of him, and embarked in one of the galleys for *Goa* (22).

if the patriarch was suffered to go with him. The captain of the galleys, whose name was Don *Antonio Peixoto*, however, paid so much regard to the prelate, that he readily took him on board his own vessel: upon which, the envoy went back as soon as he saw him on board, rightly judging that he should meet but with an indifferent welcome from the viceroy of *Goa*, if *Bermudez* failed thither with him, and perhaps a much worse from the emperor at his return.

Sails for Goa and Lisbon. As to what happened to the patriarch after his arrival at *Goa*, it being beside our present subject, we shall only add, that, after several fresh dangers and disasters, he happily arrived at *Lisbon*, where he met with a gracious reception from king *Stephen*, who had by that time succeeded *John III.* and obtained a handsome maintenance from him during the rest of his life.

His plain account worthy of credit. Thus ended the patriarch-commission, after a residence, or rather troublesome confinement of above thirty years in the *Abissinian* dominions. Upon which account, his plain relation to us appears the more authentic, as he had an opportunity of seeing many places in it, to which the Jesuits, ever suspected in those parts, were denied access, and consequently of being thoroughly acquainted with a much greater number of transactions than they, who were kept at a great distance from the court, and other scenes of action. Those that have written any thing concerning that empire, since their expulsion out of it, plainly appear to have affected, from motives of resentment, to extenuate the power and grandeur of its monarchs; and *Tellez* himself hath not scrupled to represent that, which is in the frontispiece of his book, as a negro half naked, quite contrary to the description which *Bermudez*, *Poncet*, and *Gregory* the *Abissinian* abbot, have given us of them. We shall conclude his relation with some observations with which he closes his own, to the prince to whom he dedicates it; and which, in his plain, yet zealous, way of expressing, give us a much clearer insight into the ends and views of the pope and king of *Portugal*, in sending the *Abissinian* emperors such a seasonable aid, than we could ever get from the writings of all his other cautious brethren. They are to this effect:

“ WE have been looked upon, and given over, in this country, as altogether lost beyond recovery; and it is wholly owing to the little care that hath been taken of us, that our expedition hath proved of so small advantage; and your highness will permit me to assure you, that our affairs were brought to such a state, that, if we had been duly supplied with fresh recruits, we should have proved so strong, and gained such authority over the emperor, that he must, whether he would or no, have submitted to the church; and the people, by our preaching and commerce with them, must have abjured the errors of the *Alexandrian* church. The conversion of the *Abissinians* would have proved so much the easier, as they have no proud and arrogant men amongst them, but are pious, humble, and sincerely zealous for the service of God, and readily yield themselves up to conviction^s.

“ AND as to the temporal advantage, it might have proved such as neither *Peru*, with all its gold, nor the *Indies*, with their vast commerce, would have been able to outweigh. There is a much greater quantity of gold to be found in the kingdom of *Damot*, and some others that border upon it, than in the whole continent of *Peru*, and much more easy to be come at, without that vast expence, and those continual wars, which attend the procuring it from the latter (E).”

CLAU-

^s Ibid. ad fin.

(E) We have elsewhere taken notice of the great quantities of that metal which is brought into the empire from the kingdom of *Narea* (23), which is contiguous to that of *Damot*. This author elsewhere mentions another province in that neighbourhood, inhabited by Gentiles, whose lord is tributary to the *Abissinian* monarchs (24). This province the emperor *Claudius* took in his way, in the last progress he made with the *Portuguese* through the remote parts of his empire, because the lord of it had revolted, and was then at war with the kingdom of *Damot*. and sent *Bermudez* to him to reduce him by fair persuasion; which he accordingly did, and waited on his majesty with a vast quantity of gold. The reception he met with proved so obliging to him, that, as an acknowledgment of it, he invited him and his *Portuguese* to come into his territories, where he would shew him what prodigious quantities of gold they produced. The way to it is across a large river, without either bridge or ferry-boat; and those who are permitted to go over it to fetch that metal, make use

of buffaloes brought up to it, who draw them across by their tails, and pay a certain duty to the lord. The land on the other side appears of a reddish brown hue, and the dust that is brought from thence yields two parts of gold to one of earth (25).

The emperor having fully satisfied himself of the truth of this by the men he sent over that river, and the essay which was made of the ore, advised the lord or owner of it to become a Christian; which he readily complied with, and was baptized by an *Abissinian* prelate of *Debra Libanos*. He then complained to that monarch of some very bad neighbours he had about him, who committed cruel ravages in his dominions, and begged the assistance of the *Portuguese* against them; who with his permission went, and put whole provinces of them to fire and sword, and returned laden with the richest spoil, particularly gold and precious stones, besides a good number of slaves.

Thus it appears very plain what this mission and succours from *Portugal* aimed at; and what indeed must

(23) See before, p. 174.

(24) *Bermud. ubi sup.*

(25) *Id. ibid. Vide & Tellez & al. sup. citat.*
have

- a CLAUDIUS, though vexed at the escape of the patriarch, who, without all question, would now use his utmost efforts at the courts of *Rome* and *Lisbon* for fresh supplies both of troops and missionaries, to carry on their politic views against his church and empire, took all possible care, during the short remainder of his reign, to prevent their entrance into his dominions, and at the same time shewed himself very generous, in all respects, to those that remained, by giving them fertile lands to live on, and to enjoy their rich plunder in peace; not doubting but that they would become now more tractable and submissive to him, their zealous patriarch being got so far from them. He had not, however, long enjoyed this pleasing prospect, before he saw it unexpectedly troubled by the arrival of a new patriarch from *Goa*, who quickly revived the old claim of his predecessor with as great assiduity and vehemence: for those two courts were so far from dreaming of the ill-success of the old one, that they thought of nothing less than to see themselves, in a short time, masters of the whole empire; and the famous *Ignatius Loyola* was taking all proper measures to introduce and settle some of his newly-founded fraternity in it, and would willingly have gone thither himself, if the pope had not declared against it ^h.
- b For the greater magnificence of this new mission, it was agreed that the king of *Portugal* should send *Don Ferdinand de Sousa* as his ambassador to the *Abissinian* court, along with *Don Nunez de Barreto*, the new patriarch. These, accompanied by *Don Andreas de Oviedo*, with the title of bishop of *Nicæa*, and father *Gonzalo de Sylveira*, with that of bishop of *Hierapolis*, and some others, embarked for *Goa* on the 15th of *March*, and arrived there on the 13th of *September* following, anno 1556. Here they were quickly apprised of the different state of that empire from what they expected, and therefore resolved not to expose either the patriarch or ambassador to the resentment of the emperor, but to send thither first *Don Andreas de Oviedo*, with some of his companions; who accordingly sailed thence in four small vessels, and arrived at *Arkico* about the end of *March*, the ensuing year, and thence travelled by land to the monastery of *Debarowa*, where the *Bahr-nagash Isaac* resided. This was the same who had formerly introduced *Don Christopher de Gama* into *Abissinia*; and as he had some private views in favouring the *Portuguese*, and was not without great hopes, by their means, of making himself master of the kingdom of *Tigre*, one of the largest and richest in the whole empire, received them with great pomp and courteousness. This happened to be at a time when the *Mohammedan Moors* had made some considerable conquests on that side, and were marching still nearer to *Debarowa*; so that not thinking it safe to continue long there, he dispatched a messenger with a letter to acquaint the emperor of his arrival, and the occasion of it, and to beg to be admitted to an audience as soon as possible. The emperor readily consented to it, and the bishop and his company, who made a most gallant shew in their march, met with a very gracious reception from him. *Oviedo* being introduced into his presence by the *Bahr-nagash* with great solemnity, immediately acquainted him with his commission; and that the pope and king of *Portugal* expected no less from him than an effectual and speedy performance of his former engagements to them.
- c He delivered it in such a manner, that the emperor could not prevent his dislike and resentment from appearing in his looks. At length recollecting himself, he represented to him the difficulty there would be to persuade his subjects, who had always acknowledged the *Alexandrian* patriarch as head of their church, to consent now to such a change; however, he promised that he would advise with his council, and his learned men, about it; and accordingly consented that the matter should be fairly debated between him and them. *Oviedo* justly looked upon all this as a pretence to gain time, especially as the emperor, who often assisted at their meetings, made use of such strong arguments as they could hardly withstand; and therefore chose to write against all their errors; and when he thought that he had mastered and sufficiently confuted them all, he delivered them to his majesty; who, on his side, did not fail to answer him in the same way, and in such a manner, as, if it did not convince him, yet gave him sufficient cause to think that he would never be prevailed upon to submit to the pope or *Roman* church (F).
- f This

Claudius's kindness to the other Portuguese.

Ignatius Loyola promotes a new mission.

A new patriarch and ambassador sent into Ethiopia.

Oviedo well received by the politic Bahr-nagash.

His audience at court.

Letter to the emperor.

TELLEZ, CODIGN, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup.

have been the fate of the *Abissine* monarchs, and their vast dominions, if those few *Portuguese* had been constantly supplied with fresh recruits, arms, and ammunition, from *Europe*. Nothing less than a double slavery must have been the consequence of that expedition, a spiritual one to the pope and church of *Rome*, and a temporal one to the *Portuguese* monarchs; either of which was too heavy for them to bear, and much more so when joined and closely linked together.

(F) what is somewhat surprising in that generous mo-

narch's behaviour towards this prelate, is, that he neither offered to detain him prisoner, as he had done the patriarch *Bermudez*, nor suffered any of the *Abissines* to shew him any disrespect; on the contrary, he even seemed touched with a sense of his danger, in withdrawing himself at a time when his way to the *Red Sea* was beset with *Mohammedan Moors*, who would shew him no mercy if he had the misfortune to fall into their hands; insomuch that his fear and concern for him is said (26) to have made him cry out, *Alas! what will*

(26) *Eman. Fernandez's Letter to F. Jac. Laynez*, 1562. *Tellez, ubi sup. lib. ii. c. 27. & al. sup. citat.*

Excommuni-
catory letter
and retirement.

This intercourse lasted till the latter end of *December* 1558, when the bishop thought fit to ^a withdraw himself from court, which he did in *February* following, and only left a circular, as *Tellez* calls it, but was rather an insolent, letter behind him, addressed to his *Portuguese*, and their converts, and cautioning them against conversing with schismatics; concluding with an earnest exhortation to the *Abissines* to forsake their errors, and submit to the *Roman* church.

Noor, a
Moorish ge-
neral, invades
Ethiopia.

ALL this while the emperor was making great preparations to go and oppose the progress of the forces of the king of *Adel*, who had invaded his eastern dominions with a powerful army, commanded by an experienced general, called *Noor*, or *Nour*, a man who then burned with impatience to revenge his father's death, who had been killed, with the *Moor Granbe*, at the battle of *Ogara*, lately mentioned; and had watched all opportunities to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the strength and state of the empire. Being at length informed ^b that *Claudius's* forces were neither very numerous, nor well disciplined enough to make head against his own, which had been long inured to the invading trade, he entered his dominions with a great army of foot, and 1700 horse, putting all to fire and sword where-ever he came, till his progress was stopped by the *Abissine* forces, which came to meet him, with all the speed they could, with their monarch at their head ^b.

The Abissines
put to flight.

THEY met accordingly in a spacious plain, fit for the purpose, and the two armies engaged with the greatest eagerness on both sides; but the *Abissines*, who were quite undisciplined, no sooner felt the fury of the first onset, than they threw down their arms, and fled with their usual speed, and left their sovereign in the greatest danger and extremity. The *Portuguese*, who had been called on this occasion, but were now dwindled to less than 150, behaved with their usual ^c bravery, as long as they were able; whilst he, like a wise and intrepid warrior, still struck terror among the infidels, and slew many of them with his own hand. At length being himself quite overpowered by numbers, forsaken by his dastardly troops, and, with only eighteen *Portuguese*, left to defend himself, he rushed with them, with more fury than prudence, upon the enemy, by whom he was soon pierced with wounds, and ended his life and reign by an honourable death, in the month of *March* 1558, or, according to others, 1559. The *Moors*, now become victors, and masters of the field of battle, pursued their advantage with their usual greediness, slew great numbers of the fugitives, took a great many of them prisoners, and plundered the *Abissine* camp of an immense wealth.

The emperor's
brave defence,
and death.

1559.

Noor's singu-
lar humility.

Noor, the *Adelian* general, having gained so complete a victory, immediately returned to *Adel*, laden with spoils and laurels, ^d and was every where received with acclamations of joy, but more especially in his master's capital, into which he chose to make his entry, mounted on an ass; alleging, that as God alone, for whom he fought, had given him the victory, so all the glory of it was due to him only. A wonderful instance of moderation in an infidel, says our author, and fit to confound the Christians, who are generally puffed up with vanity upon every small success ¹.

The emperor's
memory justly
blasted.

THIS was the unfortunate end of the wise and brave emperor *Claudius*, or *Asnaf Segued*, (which last name he took at his accession to the crown) in the flower of his age, and in the eighteenth, or, according to *Ludolph*, nineteenth of his reign; during all which, even in his minority, he still strenuously opposed the incroachments of the patriarch *Bermudez*, his god-father, and of his missionaries, in consequence of the great concessions which his father had ^e made to them: so that he never gave them any hopes of his submitting to the church of *Rome*, but when he was on the brink of losing his empire; but the danger over, he found means to evade the execution of his most solemn promises. And it is to this his frequent breach of his word, and stiff refusal to comply with their demands, that those good fathers ascribe all his ill success and untimely end, as well as all the disasters that happened in the empire after his death: as if it was indeed a more heinous crime in him to elude the per-

^b TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, &c.

¹ TELLEZ, l. ii. c. 27. LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al.

become of the poor bishop, if I should chance to be killed!

It was, however, far otherwise with the empress his mother, who, tho' once so great a friend to the patriarch and his *Portuguese*, and had taken such pains to reconcile her son to them and to the church of *Rome*, was now become one of their most inveterate enemies, and the most strenuous opposer of the re-union of the *Abissinian* church with that of *Rome*. But it is not unlikely, that their insolent and tyrannic behaviour, of which we have given many pregnant instances, was the occasion of this change (27). Neither will the good bishop *Owiedo's* circulatory, or, to speak more properly, excommunicatory letter, give them or us a

more favourable proof of his pastoral charity. It was to this purport: "We do, by this our sentence, decree
" and declare all the people of *Ethiopia*, who refuse
" to submit to the holy *Roman* church, the mother
" of all churches, excommunicate, &c. For which
" reason, we charge all our spiritual children to sepa-
" rate themselves wholly from them. And as to the
" *Ethiopians*, we turn them over to the sentence of
" the church, to be punished by it either in their
" persons or goods, either publicly or privately, and
" to be treated with mercy or severity, according as
" their amendment doth more or less deserve. Given
" at our church of *Dolomo*, February 2d, 1559. Signed
" *Andreas*, bishop of *Hierapolis* (28)."

(27) Tellez, & al. ubi sup. La Croze, Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie, 1697.
seq. Vide & Goddes's Church Hist. of Ethiopia, lib. iii.

(28) Id. ibid. p. 276, &

- a formance of such promises, which had been extorted from him in his extreme danger, and contrary to his conscience, and the declaration and learned defence he had caused to be published of his faith, than it was for them to extort and insist on those promises, knowing them to be such: for how much soever they have thought fit to blacken and tarnish his memory, on that account, yet he always acted towards them with frankness, and an open profession of his faith, not only in those disputes which he allowed them to have with his clergy, and wherein he often assisted, and repelled their arguments with such strength and reason, as sursum and substance of which the reader may see in the margin (G): for what was this but an open and sincere appeal to God and the world, against their tyrannic compelling him to apostatise from a church he could so well defend; and from no worthier inducement, than that of a reluctant promise forced from him by them in his greatest extremity.

He died without children, and was succeeded by his brother *Minas*; who, as we formerly hinted, had been detained a prisoner of war among the *Mohammedan Moors*; and, if we may believe the *Portuguese* writers, had there acquired such cruel savageness in his temper, that his reign proved a very tyrannical one, during the short time it lasted, and especially against the jesuits, missionaries, and all the favourers of the church of *Rome*. This those good fathers ascribe in a greater measure to the height of libertinism and immorality, which had by this time spread itself among the *Portuguese*, than to his education among the *Turks*. But though

His confession of faith.

Is succeeded by Minas.

A cruel prince and an enemy to the missionaries.

* FERNAND. letter to F. Laynez. TELLEZ, ubi sup. p. 178. LOBO, ap. LeGrand, p. 294, & seq. LUDOLPH, & al.

(G) The confession of faith of *Claudius* king of *Ethiopia*.

In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one only God.

This is my faith, and the faith of my ancestors, kings of the *Israelites*; and the faith of my flock, which is within the inclosure of my kingdom.

We believe in one God, and in his only SON JESUS CHRIST, who is his Word, Power, Wisdom, and counsel; who was with him before the world was created: and in the latter days came down unto us, though he left not the throne of his Divine Majesty, and was made man by the power of the Holy Ghost, and born of the holy Virgin *Mary*. He was baptized in the river *Jordan* in the 30th year of his age, and was hanged on the tree of the cross in the days of *Pontius Pilate*; suffered, died, and was buried, and rose again on the third day. And after forty days he gloriously ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right-hand of his Father; and shall thence again come down to judge the quick and dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.

And we believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father.

And we believe one baptism for the remission of sins; we hope for a resurrection of the dead, and a future eternal life. Amen.

We do, in this, walk in the plain and true highway, neither turning to the right or left hand, from the doctrine of the fathers, the twelve apostles, of *Paul*, the fountain of wisdom, of the seventy-two disciples, of the three hundred and eighteen orthodox fathers of the council of *Nice*, the hundred and fifty of that of *Constantinople*, and the two hundred of that of *Ephesus*. And thus I believe and teach; even I, *Claudius*, king of *Ethiopia*, and according to the name of my kingdom, *Asnaf Segued*, the son of *Vanag Segued*, the son of *Naod*.

As to our observation of the sabbath, or seventh day, we do not do it like the *Jews*, who crucified our Lord, and cried out, *His blood be upon us and upon our children*; and who neither draw water, nor kindle fire, nor dress victuals, nor bake bread, nor stir out from house to house: but we celebrate it by receiving the holy communion, and assisting at our *Agapæ*, or feasts of charity, as they were enjoined by the apostles, in their constitutions. We do not celebrate it as we do the first day, which is a new day, of which *David* speaks; *this is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it*: because on that day our Lord Jesus Christ arose, and the Holy Ghost descended on the apostles,

in the house, or parlour, (*Cenaculum*) of *Zion*; and on the same day Christ was incarnate in the womb of his ever immaculate virgin mother; and shall come again, to reward the just, and punish the wicked.

As to our rite of circumcision, we do not receive it as the *Jews* do, well remembering the words of *St. Paul*, the fountain of wisdom, that *neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ*. The same apostle saying likewise to the *Corinthians*, *Is any man circumcised, let him not become uncircumcised*. The same doctrine he teaches in all his epistles. But circumcision is deemed among us as a typical custom, like the scar in the face in *Nubia*, and the boring the ears among the *Indians*; and therefore is used by us, not out of regard to the *Mosaic* law, but as a custom merely human. The same we say with regard to our abstaining from eating swine's flesh; we neither do condemn those that eat it, nor command or forbid the eating of it, but follow the apostle's prescription to the *Romans*, *Let not him that eateth not, despise him that eateth, &c. For the kingdom of God consisteth not in meats and drink. To the clean all things are clean, but he sinneth who by his eating gives offence to his brother*. The same is also said in *St. Matthew's* gospel, *Not that which enters into a man, but that which cometh out of him, defileth him*; which utterly overturns the *Jewish* doctrine which was given to them by *Moses*.

My religion therefore, and the religion of my priests and doctors, who teach by my authority, and within the circuit of my empire, is not to deviate, or recede in the least, from the rules of the gospel, or the doctrine of our holy father *St. Paul*, either to the right-hand or the left. We read in the book called *Zarich*, that the emperor *Constantine* ordered all the *Jews* that were baptized into the Christian church to eat swine's flesh on the day of our Lord's resurrection; but with us, every man may either eat or abstain from it, as seems best to him: some like fish, others fowl, and some abstain from mutton; every one according as he likes best. But as to the eating of the flesh of any living creatures, we find neither law nor canon against it in the *New Testament*. *To the pure all things are clean. And he who believeth, (saith St. Paul, Rom. xiv. 2.) may eat any thing*.

This is what I intended to write to you, in order to inform you what my religion is.

Given in the kingdom of *Damot*, on the 23d of the month of June, in the year of our Lord's nativity 1555 (29).

(29) De hac, vid. Ludolph comment.

we do not deny but their loose morals might draw such a severe judgment upon them, yet it is plain enough to be seen, even by the writings of those fathers, that much more of that ill treatment which they met with from that emperor, was owing to their treachery to him, and their constant caballing with the old Bahr-nagash *Isaac*; who, as hath been lately hinted, had hatched some treasonable designs in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and was no farther a friend to them, than he found them so to his private views.

Who give into
the views of
the Bahr-
nagash.

1560.

MINAS, upon his accession to the crown, took upon him the surname of *Adamas Segued*; and, whether apprised of their intrigues with that ambitious governor, or on some other account, he began very soon to disclose his hatred against all the *Portuguese*. Father *Emanuel Fernandez*, chief of the mission, being then in great expectation of a fresh reinforcement from *Goa*, which had been promised to him on his departure from thence for this kingdom, wrote very pressingly for it, though to no purpose, which threw him into the greatest difficulties; because, on the one hand, the Bahr-nagash had put his chief hopes in that succour; and on the other, the emperor had not only deprived the few *Portuguese* that were left of the first expedition, of all the lands which his brother *Claudius* had given them, but likewise denied them the free exercise of their religion, and punished some of their converts, and others of their faith, with great severity. Their only refuge therefore was in the Bahr-nagash; but as no succour came from *Goa*, as that father had made him expect, they could hardly hope that he would undertake any thing in their favour, especially as they could give him so little assistance in their present distress.

Tazcaro set
up against the
emperor.

Isaac defeated
by Minas.

THE emperor, however, had so far disobliged his own subjects by his tyranny and cruelties, that the greatest men in the empire rebelled against him, and set up a bastard son of an elder brother deceased, upon the throne. This young prince, whose name was *Habitacum Tazcaro*¹, was soon joined by the prime officers of *Ethiopia*, and by the captain of the *Portuguese*, with about thirty of his men, the rest being then at too great a distance. Whether the Bahr-nagash *Isaac* was in the conspiracy or no, we are not sure; only thus much we know, that he was the first against whom the emperor *Minas* bent all his force. *Isaac* was then busy on the sea coast, and executing some orders he had received from *Tazcaro*, and being a martial man, marched out against him, and repulsed him at the first encounter, but was defeated and forced to fly. This victory gave that monarch an opportunity to march against his competitor *Tazcaro*, whom he reached about the beginning of *July* of the next year, and after a sharp engagement, overthrew him and took him prisoner^m.

1561.

IN the interim, the Bahr-nagash, who had with some difficulty escaped to the sea-side, was there waiting still in expectation of receiving the long wished for supplies from *Goa*; but his hopes being at length quite frustrated, and being no less afraid of a surprise from the emperor, found no other to provide for his safety, than by concluding a league with the neighbouring *Mohammedans*; by whose assistance he set up another bastard brother in the room of *Tazcaro*, whom *Minas* had put to death. *Minas* lost no time, but marched against him and his *Moorish* allies at the head of a numerous army. Both sides engaged at first with equal bravery and eagerness, on the 20th of *April* of the year following; but the fire which the

1562.

The Abissini-
ans put to
flight.
Some jesuits
taken prisoners.

Turkish artillery made against the emperor's forces, threw them into such panic and confusion, that they immediately betook themselves to flight without striking a blow, and left the enemy masters of their camp. They likewise made a great number of prisoners; among whom was *Emanuel Fernandez*, and some others of his fraternity, whom the emperor had caused to be detained in his camp as hostages, and to be closely watched, as well as severely treated. They might have fared still much worse now in the hands of the *Turks*, their most bitter enemies, had not the Bahr-nagash taken pity of them, and procured them their liberty, together with some chalices, and other church utensils, which they had been stripped of. The reader may guess at their distressed condition, by the conclusion of one of their letters to their general, which we have subjoined in the margin (H). As for the Bahr-nagash and his *Portuguese*, who had

¹ De hoc, vid. LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 6. §. 27. & seq. TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^m LUDOLPH, ubi sup. & auct.

(H) We were, says the writer of the letter, made prisoners by the *Turks* and *Abissinians* that fought against the emperor; and God saved our lives by means of the *Portuguese* that were there. We had been robbed four times before, and were now reduced to the last extremity; only the Bahr-nagash gave us our chalice, and some small things; the rest we ransomed as well as we could. You may, reverend father, judge of the miserable condition we now are in, being forty in family, and forced to relieve, when we are able, the *Portuguese* widows and orphans, and nobody to ask an alms of; for the *Portuguese* have more occasion to beg than give, and the

natives more inclined to steal than to impart any thing. For our table, we have scarcely a bellyful of parched barley. The bishop (*Oviedo*) is not fit to be seen. We beg your blessing, and the prayers of our society; and having no other way left to write to your reverence, may take this, if it comes to your hands, for the last. *Ethiopia, July 29, 1562.*

Emanuel Fernandez,
Francis Lopez,
Antony Fernandez,
Gonzalez Cardozo (30).

a consented to his having recourse to the *Mohammedans* against the emperor, their name became so odious to all the *Abissinians*, especially to their monarchs, that they would never suffer any of them to be in their army from that time. What became of the king is variously reported; *Mina's death.* some saying, that seeing his country ruined by the *Turks*, and his chief sea-ports in their hands, he once more tried his fortune against them, and was defeated and killed; others, that he was forced to flee into some high mountains, where he led a wandering miserable life, till death put an end to it the year after his defeatⁿ.

By this time, however, the viceroy of *Goa*, *Constantine de Braganza*, at the earnest and repeated instances of the patriarch *Nunez Barretto*, had made some attempts, in vain, to get intelligence from *Abissinia*, the *Turks* having blocked up all entrance into it, and guarding the sea coast with their ships, to prevent any being brought to the *Portuguese* that were in it; inasmuch, that of the three vessels that were sent thither by that governor, in *February, an. 1560*, one of them was taken, whilst the other escaped with great difficulty. In the first of them, father *Fulgentius* being taken prisoner, and very much wounded, continued a slave at *Kairo* some years, till he was redeemed by order of Pope *Paul IV.* and sent back to *Portugal*. Those jesuits that were still in the empire, and were no less desirous to transmit an account to *Goa* of their dismal situation, had no better luck in their attempt to send some of their society thither. The person they pitched upon was father *Gualdares*, and another *Portuguese*; who being come to *Mazway*, understood that there was a ship there ready to sail for the *Indies*; upon which they bribed a *Moor* with a considerable reward, to go privately and desire the captain to take them in; but the treacherous *Moor* went immediately and betrayed them to the *bascha* of that island, who caused the jesuit to be seized that very night, and to be cut in pieces^o.

THIS was the sad situation of the missionaries in *Ethiopia*, when *Adamas Segued* died, and his son *Forza Dangbil* succeeded him, who then took the surname of *Malac*, or *Melchi Segued*, and was crowned with the usual solemnity at the church of *Axuma*. He was a wise and valiant prince, and was blessed with a long, and, for the most part, successful reign, though hardly ever free from wars, either against some of his revolted subjects, or against his now powerful and inveterate enemies the *Gallas* and *Mohammedan Moors*; so that he had no time, nor perhaps any inclination, to revive the persecution which his father had raised against the missionaries and their converts, but let them go on in their usual way, without any molestation, or betraying the least favour or friendship towards them.

In the mean time, the Popes's patriarch, *John Nunez Barretto*, died at *Goa*, in the sixth year after his arrival there, that is, *an. 1562*, without having ever been able to come into his patriarchate; so that according to the tenor of the Pope's bull, he was to be succeeded in it by *Andrew d'Oviedo*, who, as we hinted in the last note, was now reduced to such a miserable condition, that his new dignity was of very little service to him, being in a manner abandoned by his people, having scarce food enough to keep life and soul together, or clothes to cover his nakedness; being now with a very few friends and proselytes retired into the monastery of *Fremona*, a small town not far from the *Red Sea*, and without any forces to support his authority, or the credit of his missionaries; for well doth father *Tellez* observe, from his own experience, that this *Ethiopian* mission never could thrive longer than the preachers were supported by a sufficient number of forces^p, of which they were now almost wholly destitute; and which was still worse, had not the least hopes of ever receiving any more, either from *Portugal* or *Goa*.

FOR by this time it was sufficiently known in both those countries, how dreadfully retrograde their affairs had gone during the two last reigns, and how small dependence could be had on the most flattering promises of the jesuits, of what they might do, if they could but receive a new reinforcement from either^q. Among the rest, prince *Henry*, who now governed *Portugal*, during the minority of king *Sebastian*, saw so far through the artifice, that he made no difficulty to write to Pope *Pius V.* to desire him to recall his patriarch and all his missionaries out of *Ethiopia*, and to send them to preach in *China*, *Japan*, or any other country, and set aside all further thoughts of gaining any ground in the *Abissinian* dominions, at least till time offered some better prospect of success. The pontif, who was no less apprised of the misfortunes that had attended the mission, readily agreed to his request, and ordered a bull to be expedited for the recall of *Oviedo* and the rest of the jesuits; which was accordingly sent to him in the year 1566. *Oviedo*, who received it the year following, answered his holiness, that he was very willing to obey his orders, and to go and preach in *India*, or any other country where he should please to send him; but at the same time humbly represented to him the difficulty and danger of getting out of *Ethiopia*, as well as his inexpressible regret for abandoning a country where so great and glorious a harvest of souls might be still reasonably hoped for, if the missionaries could but be supported by five or six hundred *Portuguese*; alleging

ⁿ Conf. TELLEZ, LOBO, & al. ubi sup. & LE GRAND, p. 295.
^p Ubi sup. p. 184.

^q TELLEZ, CODIGN. & al. ubi sup.

^o TELLEZ, CODIGN. LOBO, LUDOLPH,

the good disposition he had observed in many of the *Abissinians* to embrace the catholic faith, and their being only deterred from it through the fear of the punishment. He added, that there were moreover great multitudes of heathens, which might be easily brought over to the pale of the church; that many of them, he was credibly informed, had begged that favour of the late emperors, who had, for worldly interest, denied their request (I).

Begs for fresh troops.

THE question indeed was, how such a considerable reinforcement, had the king of *Portugal* been inclined to send it, could have found admittance into any part of the empire, now all the sea-ports and sea-coasts were in the hands of the *Turks*? And if they had, whether the known insolence of those troops would not rather have obstructed, than promoted, the conversion, either of the *Abissinians* or heathens; or at best have been justly looked upon as a kind of dragooning, rather than an evangelical mission? But the good patriarch was so zealously bent upon subjecting the *Abissinian* church to that of *Rome*, and the temporality of the empire to the king of *Portugal*, that he had not time to consider how far he over-acted the part of an apostle of the meek and gentle *JESUS*, whom he pretended to represent; and therefore left no stone unturned, nor motive un urged, to obtain the so much wished-for succour; and, among other things, represented the present emperor as a weak and indolent prince, quite unfit to hold the reins of such an empire, which would soon be swallowed up by the *Turks*, and utterly lost to *Europe*, and to the *Roman* see, unless an effectual stop was put to their progress, by the timely arrival of the *Portuguese* forces^c. The Pope, however, and

Dies miserably.

the king of *Portugal*, lent a deaf ear to all his specious pleas; so that he was left to die there in the greatest poverty and misery, in the year 1577, after he had resided near twenty years in that country. His death was soon followed by that of the few jesuits that were left with him.

His other missionaries die soon after.

Antony Fernandez, whom he had appointed chief of this first mission, expired soon after in the same miserable condition; *Gonzalez Cardoso* was assassinated in a wood by some banditti; *Andrew Gualdarez* was massacred by the *Turks*, as we lately hinted; *Emanuel Fernandez*, the oldest of all the four, died next; *Francis Lobo*, the last of them, was the only one who survived them, till the year 1596. This was the sad catastrophe of that first mission,

The sad end of the mission.

after it had lasted forty years; that is, from 1557 to 1597, when father *Lobo*, or *Lopez*, died; and which might probably have succeeded much better, had not the *Portuguese* insolently insisted upon one third part of the empire, as a reward for their timely assistance, and the Pope's patriarch as strenuously exacted a total submission of the emperor, and all his subjects, to the church of *Rome*^d (K).

The jesuits revive the mission.

ALL these multiplied disasters, which made the princes of *Europe* look upon this enterprize as wholly set aside and impracticable, did only whet the zeal of the jesuitical society to pursue their solicitations at the courts of *Rome* and *Madrid*, for reviving of it with greater vigour; to which they were encouraged by the great number of *Portuguese*, which were still left in *Abissinia*, as well as by the hopes they had conceived of *Philip II.* who, as shall be shewn in the sequel, had now got possession of the kingdom of *Portugal*; and as they rightly imagined, would gladly embrace any opportunity of renewing correspondence and commerce with that empire, especially as *Malac Segued*, who was still involved in wars, both against his rebellious

^c TELLEZ, ubi sup. p. 194, & seq. CODIGN. l. iii. c. 13, & seq. LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi supra
^d Ibidem ibid.

(I) Among these were the inhabitants of the large kingdom of *Damot*, and of the rich canton called *Sinaxi*, which produces great quantities of gold. Against these last, a kinsman of the late emperor had been making war; upon which they offered to become tributary, and to embrace Christianity, if he would desist; which he absolutely refused. Of those Gentiles, especially of *Damot*, the *Moorish* merchants, which are very numerous in this empire (31), buy vast multitudes, whom they drive to the *Red Sea*, and sell them to the *Turks* and *Moors* at a great price, who afterwards force them to turn *Mohammedans*, and breed them up for soldiers; so that they become in time very hurtful to the Christians (32).

It might, therefore, be justly questioned, whether these worldly ends, as the good patriarch stiles them, were not rather very impolitic, and whether the tribute which those merchants paid the *Abissinian* monarchs for every slave they carried out of those countries, could counterbalance the great harm those very slaves, when brought up under a military discipline, might do afterwards to their dominions.

(K) This last is reported to have foretold, as he was dying, to his distressed flock, that they should have the comfort, before a year was expired, to see some new missionaries arrive; which was verified by the coming of father *Belchior de Sylva*, by birth an *Indian*, and a Brachman, whom *Don Alexis de Meneses*, archbishop of *Goa*, who had converted him to Christianity, sent thither for that end (33). *Sylva* accordingly arrived before the year was out, and continued his mission in those parts till the year 1602, though with no great success that we can learn, through the difficulty of those times, says our author (34); but we may add, through the irreconcilable hatred which the *Abissinians* had justly conceived against all the *Portuguese*, whether missionaries or otherwise.

We are told likewise, by the jesuit *Guerrero* (35), that the patriarch *Oviedo* foretold that the monastery of *Fremona*, the residence of the *Roman* patriarch and his fraternity, should subsist as long as the world; but the event shews that he was no true prophet, as we shall see in the sequel.

(31) De his, vid. sup. p. 189, & seq. Codign. de Rel. Abass. l. iii. c. ult. ad fin. Annal. doc. annos 1607, & seq. fol. vers. 42. La Croze, ubi sup. l. iii. p. 284, & seq.

(32) Tellez, ubi sup. Lobo, Ludolph, & al. (34) Le Grand, Relat. d'Abassin. p. 297.

(33) Vide (35) Relacam

subjects,

- a subjects, and his *Mohammedan* neighbours, might, on that account, be glad enough to accept Malac of some assistance from him. He had indeed been very successful against them, and gained several considerable victories over both of them; and over and above that, had subdued the rich kingdom of *Enarea*¹, and caused the inhabitants to be converted to the *Abissinian* faith. But whilst he was employed with his army in one part of the empire, he was still plagued with some invasion or insurrection in another; and this encouraged king *Philip* to send him an obliging letter and message, in order to renew the alliance between the two crowns, and, if possible, to introduce some of his forces once more into that empire. The person he chose for that purpose was one *Lewis de Mendoza*, who was then settled at *Diu*, and well acquainted with the commerce of the *Red Sea*. Segued's success in Ethiopia. Conquers Enarea. Philip II. of Spain sends a letter to him.
- b He was to be accompanied by an *Italian* bishop, named *John Baptista*, to give an air of grandeur to the message; but he died in the way thither, and *Mendoza* found means to penetrate into *Ethiopia*, and delivered the letter to the emperor, who expressed a great satisfaction at it, as appears by the answer which he caused to be sent back by the same messenger. It was written in *Ethiopic*, in an elegant style, and full of expressions of friendship and good wishes; mentions the *Italian* bishop's death, and some epistolary correspondence that had passed between the viceroy of *Goa* and himself, wherein he had desired him to send him some able workmen, to cast cannon and other fire-arms, make gunpowder, swords, and other military weapons, and renews the same request to the king his master; but says not one word about sending him any auxiliary forces. The letter is dated *February 9, 1589*, according to the *Roman* style, and is kept among the archives of the escurial; a copy of which was sent from thence to Mr. *Ludolph*, by a *Swedish* gentleman, named *Sparwerfeld*, a person of note and learning; and afterwards translated into *Latin* by Mr. *Ludolph*, and published among many others of the *Abissinian* monarchs in his *commentary*², with his remarks upon it (L). The emperor's answer to it.
- c *MENDOZA* having so well succeeded in his first expedition, was easily persuaded by the jesuits to undertake a second, and to introduce thither with him two of that fraternity that had been pitched upon by Don *Emanuel de Souza Continho*, the new governor of *Goa*, from a good number of others whom their provincial presented to him: these were, *Antonio de Montferrato*, a *Catalonian*, and *Peter Pays* a *Spaniard*, whom he was to embark in some of the *Indian* vessels, commonly called *Banicans*, which frequently trade to *Mazwa*. They had accordingly failed from *Goa* in *February, an. 1588*, for *Diu*, the place where *Mendoza* resided; but had been driven by a storm into the gulph of *Babaos*, whence he fetched them privately in the night, and conveyed them into *Diu*, in the habit of *Armenians*, to prevent their being discovered. They staid a considerable time there before any of those ships would venture to take them in, because their discovery would have been followed by a confiscation of the whole cargo, that being the penalty of carrying white men on board without proper passes; so that it was not till *December* following that they went on board one of those *Banicans*, which designed to land them at *Zeyla*; but being shattered by a storm, was forced to put into one of the islands called *Curia Maria*, where they were discovered, and stripped, and made slaves and Pays attempt to get into Abissinia.
- d slavery, however, proved of singular benefit to father *Pays*, who became by that time a perfect master of the *Arabic* tongue, which was afterwards of great service to him upon his coming into *Ethiopia*. Taken prisoner.
- e *WHEN* the news of their captivity had reached *Goa*, it was immediately resolved, that two others of the same fraternity should be sent thither in their stead, there being now none of them left alive there but father *Lobo*, mentioned a little higher, and he extremely aged and worn-out. One of the persons they chose was father *Abraham de Georgiis*, by nation a *Maronite*, and by profession a jesuit; a man of great learning and courage, and a thorough master of all the eastern languages, and was then professor of the *Syriac* at *Malabar*, where he probably introduced the pronunciation of the western *Syrians*, which was afterwards followed in the Abraham, a Maronite Jesuit, sent into Ethiopia.

¹ De hoc, vide sup. p. 174.² P. 483, & seq.

(L) This transaction is omitted by Father *Tellez*, though he makes mention of *Mendoza* upon another account, as we shall see in the sequel. What induced him to pass it over, we know not; unless it be that king *Philip*'s making choice of an *Italian* bishop, instead of one of his own fraternity, might be looked upon as a slight upon his order, of whom there were enough that would gladly have accepted of that commission: however, both the message and letters, and the sending

of that prelate, are facts too well known to admit of a doubt; and are accordingly taken notice of in the relation of *Alexis de Mendoza*'s expedition (36). And as to the emperor's letter, it bears all the marks of a genuine one to a much greater degree than some others from the same monarchs, which neither their editors, nor any of the *Portuguese* missionaries, ever looked upon otherwise than authentic (37).

(36) *Lib. i. c. 4. p. 23. La Croze, Christian. Abissin, p. 286. p. 485, & seq. Le Grand, Relat. p. 451, & seq. 465, & seq. 470, & seq. & alibi pass.*

(37) *De his, vide Ludolph, Comment.*

pretended

pretended inscription of *Si-ngan-fu* ^w; of which an account hath been given in a former a volume ^x. This great man set out accordingly from *Malabar*, and arrived at *Diu*, and thence *Discovered, and beheaded.* at *Mazowa*, in a Banican vessel, anno 1595. But here being asked by the basha, whether he was a *Mohammedan* or a Christian, and he having made an open confession of his faith, and absolutely refusing to save his life by apostasy, was ordered by him to be beheaded. The next that was sent from *Goa* was Father *Sylva*, or, as some call him, *Sylvius*, whom we have *Sylva gets into Ethiopia.* mentioned in a former note ^y; and who having embarked at *Goa*, arrived at *Mazowa* in the habit of a seaman, and passed thence to *Fremona*, where he succeeded Father *Lobo*, who *Malec Segued beset by the Turks and the Gallas.* died there the year before ^z.

We return now to the affairs of *Abissinia*, which continued still in a bad plight. The *Turks*, having got footing into the empire ever since the year 1572, were still possessing them- b selves of some new territories, whilst the *Gallas*, who were ravaging whole provinces in some distant parts, prevented the emperor's driving them out, as he had often attempted to do. He was no less unfortunate in his marriage, his empress bringing him none but daughters, whilst he had several sons by his concubines; but, upon that account, excluded from succeeding him; so that he had, for some time, cast his eye upon a brother's son, named *Za-Denghil*, to be his successor; but, a little before his death, having set his affections upon one of his bastard sons, named *Jaacob*, then a minor, he bequeathed the crown to him, with the consent and approbation of all his nobles, though from no better motive than the hopes of governing that young prince, instead of being governed by his nephew, who was of age, and every way qualified to hold the reins of the empire, in such a perilous crisis. He was, however, c no sooner returned from his wars against the *Gallas* of *Bachilo*, but finding his health decay, and repenting of his former choice, he assembled his nobles and chief officers, and declared to them, that though he had, from a fondness to his own offspring, thought fit to appoint his young son *Jaacob* for his successor; yet now finding himself drawing so near to his end, his love, care, and concern, for his country, obliged him to alter his mind, and to ratify the preference he had formerly given to his nephew *Za-Denghil*, as a person, at this juncture, much fitter to mount the throne, both on account of his age, his bravery, and other princely qualities, which rendered him altogether worthy of it. He expired very soon after, about the middle of *August* ^a; but his rapacious courtiers, instead of complying with his choice, or consulting d the laudable inducements which led him to it, stiffly and unanimously adhered to his former declaration in favour of *Jaacob*, and refused to acknowledge any other monarch but him.

His death.
1596.
His nobles declare for his bastard son Jaacob.
Za-Denghil sent close prisoner.

In consequence of this resolution, they sent two bodies of armed men, the one to seize on *Za-Denghil*, and the other on *Susneus*, or, as the *Portuguese* writers, call him, *Socinius*, another grandson of the emperor *David*, before either of them were apprised of the emperor's death, or of the person he had made choice of for his successor. *Za-Denghil* was accordingly seized, and carried away to the lake of *Dembea*, where he was kept close prisoner in one of the islands of it formerly described ^b, and from thence sent some time afterwards upon one of their strong mountains: but *Susneus*, having got intelligence of their design, had the good fortune to make a timely escape to the frontiers of the empire, where, with a small army, he kept himself safe, till he was raised to the throne. This did not prevent the nobles pro- e claiming the young *Jaacob*, then about seven years of age, and engrossing the government into their hands, in conjunction with the empress *Mariam-Sma*, who readily sided with them; and had two of her sons-in-law for her associates, the one called *Rus Albaneus*, and the other *Castuade*, then viceroy of *Tigre*; so that young *Jaacob* had only the bare name of emperor, during his minority: but when he had attained to his 14th year, and began to shew a desire of sharing the government with them, the alarmed empress, and her two sons-in-law, conscious of their tyrannical conduct, immediately altered their behaviour towards him; and, under pretence of remorse for having deprived *Za-Denghil* of his right, ordered him to be fetched out of his confinement, and proclaimed him emperor even in the very camp where *Jaacob* f still was; who thereupon made his escape with all the haste he could, and with only eight of his servants, towards the high mountains of *Semen*, where he might have been safe enough had he not been betrayed by one of his own retinue. This traitor took an opportunity, whilst the young prince was taking a little rest, to go and alarm a neighbouring town, with the news of *Za-Denghil* being proclaimed emperor, and that *Jaacob* was fled thither for refuge; threatening them, at the same time, with the new emperor's displeasure, if they did not apprehend and carry him prisoner to the imperial camp. He was accordingly seized, and conveyed thither; and, when brought before *Za-Denghil*, his nobles proposed that his nose and ears should be cut off, in order to disqualify him for the government; but the more generous emperor con-

The empress joins with them.

Raised to the throne, and Jaacob sent prisoner to Enarea.

^w See LA CROZE, *Christianisme des Indes*.
^z TELLEZ, LOBO, CODIGN. LUDOLPH, & al.
§ 49, & seq. LE GRAND, & al.

^x See before, vol. iii. p. 547.

^y See before, note (K).

^a TELLEZ, l. iii. c. 14. LOBO, LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 6.

^b See before, p. 174.

^a tented himself with sending him close prisoner to the distant kingdom of *Enarea*, where he was strictly watched by the governor of it, till he found an opportunity of remounting the throne^c.

DURING these transactions, the famed Jesuit Father *Pays* had found means to penetrate into the borders of *Abissinia*, and had met with a joyful reception at the convent of *Fremona*, where he had spent some time in composing and distributing a catechism among their profelytes, whilst he was waiting for an answer to a letter he had sent to the young emperor *Jaacob*, then on the throne. *Za Denghil*, upon his accession to it, was soon apprised of his being at *Fremona*, and of his character, as a learned man, a great traveller, politician, and zealous catechist; and, being naturally curious and affable, sent him a pressing invitation to come to his court, by an obliging letter, which, for its singularity, we thought worthy of being inserted in the margin (M). The father gladly accepted the favour; but the viceroy of *Tigre*, who was to conduct him to court, was obliged to delay his departure, on account of an irruption which the *Gallas* had lately made into three different parts of the empire; against the most considerable of which the emperor was obliged to march in person, whilst his viceroys had orders to stop the progress of the other two. The first of these was made into the kingdom of *Gojam*; the viceroy of which had orders from him not to attack the numerous barbarians, till he had joined him; but he, willing to put a stop to their cruel ravages, and venturing to fall upon them contrary to his instructions, was totally defeated; which obliged the emperor to double his speed to go and attack them. By that time he was come within their reach, his forces were so fatigued with their march, as well as discouraged by the late defeat, that they would willingly have deferred fighting; but seeing themselves attacked by the enemy in three different bodies, with their usual fury, the right and left wing were quickly put to the route, and betook themselves to flight; which as soon as the main body perceived, the chief officers came to persuade the emperor to retire, before he was surrounded by the enemy; but were not a little surpris'd, when they beheld that undaunted young prince, instead of clapping spurs to his horse, alight from him; and taking his shield in one hand, and his sword in the other, told them, with an intrepid look, *Here I am resolved to die; you may indeed escape the enemy's sword, but never can the infamy of abandoning the emperor you have so lately proclaimed.* These words had such a sudden effect upon his troops, that one would have thought he had at once transformed them from sheep into lions: they gathered themselves up with the utmost speed, and fell with such desperate fury upon the enemy, that they forced them to turn their backs, and run with all the legs they had, whilst the other two wings, observing their flight, pursued them with such fresh vigour, that they did not give over killing till night obliged them to desist^d.

Father Pays's invitation and arrival at court.

The emperor defeats the Gallas with great slaughter.

Returns victorious to his camp.

Father Pays is brought to court.

His grand reception there.

ON the next morning, the emperor leaving the field of battle all over strewed with their dead bodies, marched immediately over craggy and high mountains to find out their second army, whom his troops, now flushed with victory, charged with such success, that they defeated them with a fresh slaughter of the greater part. The news of which so alarmed the third body, that they all betook themselves to a hasty flight, excepting 400, who were posted on a high mountain to guard some of their booty. These likewise the emperor caused to be attacked by some of his best climbers, which was executed with the same valour and success; the *Gallas*, after a stout defence, being for the most part cut in peices. After which the emperor led his victorious army to his usual residence; being no less beloved by his subjects, than dreaded by his enemies, for his singular valour and extraordinary success.

IT was not long, however, before he quite forfeited the affections of the former, by the arrival of Father *Pays* in the imperial camp, and the surprising ascendant which that politic and intriguing Jesuit gained over him: for no sooner had the *Tigrean* viceroy received the news of his victorious return, than he accompanied him, as he was ordered, to *Ondegere*, near the *Dembean* lake, where the court was, and where he was quickly admitted into the royal presence with great solemnity; and, after having had the honour to kiss his majesty's

^c TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al.

^d TELLEZ, ubi sup. LUDOLPH, LOBO, &c.

(M) The letter of the emperor *Za-Denghil*, alias *Aznaf Segued*, to Father *Pays*.

" May the letter of the emperor *Aznaf Segued* come to the hands of the worthy father, who is master of the *Portuguese*. How is your health? Hear what follows, and the good things which our Lord God hath done for us. We were seven years in prison, and endured innumerable hardships: but our Lord God, taking compassion on our misery, brought us

" out of it, and hath given us the empire, and hath made us head of all; even as *David* says, *The stone which the builders rejected, is become the head corner stone*. Now may the same Lord end that well which he hath begun. Hear farther, that we are very desirous that you should come speedily to us, and that you bring the books of justice of the kings of *Portugal*, if you have them, for we shall be glad to see them (38)."

(38) *Apud Tellez, ubi sup. l. iii.*

hand, was immediately ordered to sit down on the highest step on which his couch or throne stood, where they both conversed a considerable time, without any regard to the rest of the company; after which, the emperor ordered him to be handsomely entertained, and gave him leave to withdraw ^a (N).

Holds a conference about religion.

The emperor favours the church of Rome.

Letters to the pope and king of Spain.

Sends for fresh missionaries and forces.

WHAT the subject of their conference was, *Tellez* leaves us to guess; which is no hard matter to do, since he sent for him again on the next day, to hold a public dispute with the *Abissinian* monks, and other persons of note; and among them, the viceroy of *Tigre*, who begged of the emperor, that, having heard the matter, he would also his scholars, who were brought thither for that purpose; and, with whose answers to their catechism, the prince was so highly pleased, that he begged a copy of it; which was immediately presented to him. On the next *Sunday*, he sent for the father to say mass, and preach before him; and profited so well under his new instructor, that he forthwith issued out a proclamation against observing the sabbath, and went on so fast in other respects, that the good father was forced to advise him to go more gently on. It is indeed very likely that all this pretended warmth was rather owing to the expectation he was in of receiving some considerable reinforcement from *Goa*, which that father made him hope for, than to any conviction in favour of the *Roman* church. This made him write two letters, the one to pope *Clement VIII.* and the other to *Philip II.* of *Spain*, filled with the greatest expressions of zeal for their church and persons. That, in particular, to the pontif, contained the strongest promises and engagements of universal obedience to his see, and the deepest sentiments of gratitude to his holiness, whose zeal, he was given to understand by Father *Pays*, for the salvation of souls was such, that he was labouring at it even to the effusion of his blood. He therefore desires him, as the true vicar of Christ, and the successor of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, to promote the alliance and friendship he was then negotiating with the king of *Spain*, and to prevail on him to dispatch a sufficient number of forces into *Abissinia*, to assist him in suppressing the barbarous *Gallas*, and, at the same time, to send him some father to instruct his subjects in the true faith. He concludes with these words, *Let those fathers you send us be virtuous and learned, that they may teach us what is requisite for the good of our souls. Few words to the wise* ^b.

THESE letters Mr. *Ludolph* very much suspects of being forged, and the reader may see his reasons for his thinking them such^c: however that be, Father *Pays* sent them into *Europe*, as delivered to him by the emperor's own hand, who calls himself in them *Aznaf Segued*, the name he had taken at his coronation. He adds, that he ordered him at the same time to write more explicitly to the pope, and to acquaint him, that the succours which he asked for were to secure him against such of his subjects as should oppose his establishing the *Roman* faith in *Ethiopia*; and that he only mentioned them as designed against the *Gallas*, in order to amuse his secretary, as he himself dared not write it with his own hand, lest, if it should be intercepted, his own subjects should rise up and murder him. The letter is dated *June 26, 1604*, and may be seen intire in *Tellez* ^d. The other, which was written to the king of *Spain*, was much in the same strain; and, besides the above-mentioned supply of forces, desired him to send one of his daughters to give in marriage to his son. Father *Pays* was moreover presented with 300 ounces of gold, which he absolutely refused, begging only of him the liberty of building a church; which being readily granted, he went in quest of some proper person to send his letters by ^e.

A rebellion raised against him:

Abandoned by his forces;

and interdicted by the Abuna.

THESE open proceedings soon alarmed the great officers of the empire; the Abuna *Peter* himself declared against them, and absolved all the people from their allegiance to the emperor. At the same time, a turbulent fellow, named *Za-Salasse*, whom that prince had recalled from his banishment in the kingdom of *Enarea*, during the reign of young *Jaacob*, put himself at the head of the revolted; who, perceiving the danger of their church, were now rising up in arms in defence of it, and had resolved to restore the crown to young *Jaacob*, then close prisoner in *Enarea*. He was joined in this design by some of the greatest officers in *Abissinia*, and particularly by *Ras Athenæus*, one of the empress's sons-in-law; so that the conspiracy was soon brought to too great a head, under those great commanders, to be suppressed by *Za Denghil*, especially as the Abuna's interdict had caused such a defection among his troops, ^f

^c TELLEZ, ubi sup. c. 18, & seq. LOBO, LUDOLPH. sup. See also GUERREICO. CODIGN. & al.

^d Ibidem ibid.

^e Lib. iii. c. 10.

^f Ubi

(N) The reader may not perhaps be displeased with the description of this prince, which father *Pays* hath been pleased to give us of him. He seemed to be about twenty-six years of age, tall, manly; and well-shaped; his eyes large and beautiful, his nose sharp, and his lips thin; his complexion was somewhat tawny, and,

were it not that that colour is reckoned in *Europe* less becoming, he would not have been inferior to the finest men among us: in a word, adds that father, his person was worthy of the empire he held, and the majesty he represented (39).

(39) Apud Tellez, ubi sup. l. iii. c. 18, & seq.

a that he had hardly any left to support him, or that he could confide in, except his *Portuguese*, about 200 in number, with their brave commander *John Gabriel* at their head. To these, and to Father *Pays*, he addressed himself in words to this effect: "This revolt is raised against me, because I was desirous to bring my subjects into the true faith, and to deliver them from the oppression of tyrants;" meaning those who held the reins during *Jaacob's* minority. To which they replied, that he would do well to delay engaging the rebel army, which was so superior in number, till he could so far increase his own as to be able to make head against them, which advice was so much the more reasonable, as he had, in his march, augmented his own forces to about 10,000 men, and new ones came daily still to him.

THEY came at length to the large plain of *Varcha*, almost in the very heart of the kingdom of *Dembea*, where they were soon alarmed with the noise of the enemy's trumpets and kettle drums, who lay incamped at a small distance from them. The traitor *Za-Salasse* no sooner heard of their arrival, than he was for attacking them immediately, before any of his men had time to go over to the emperor: and, for the same reason, the *Portuguese* general was for declining the battle for a while; but *Za-Denghil*, who could not bear to be braved by the rebels, confiding perhaps too much in the justice of his cause, ordered his army to be ranged in battle array. He placed his 200 *Portuguese*, with some of his own men, on the right, whilst he commanded the left himself. The *Portuguese* fell immediately on the rebels with their usual fury, and soon put them to flight, whilst *Za-Denghil*, on his side, fought with no less eagerness and intrepidity; but being by degrees abandoned by the greatest part of his pusillanimous troops, and supported only by a small number of his faithful and bravest friends, one *Humardin*, a *Moor*, who served under the rebels, observing the confusion they were in, made up directly towards the emperor, and with his lance gave him such a desperate wound on the neck, that he brought him to the ground. He quickly started up, and with his sword defended himself for some time, till the traitor *Za-Salasse* came riding full-speed, with his lance couched against him, and wounded him in the face; upon which the rest soon put an end to his life with their swords. *Attacks the rebels too soon.*

Thus fell that noble emperor a sacrifice to his untimely zeal, who might, in all probability, have reigned long and happily over his subjects, if he had not exasperated them by his too open affection for a church, against which they professed an irreconcilable dislike. The battle was fought on 13th of *October* of the year succeeding that of his coronation, after a short reign of fifteen months. His death put an end to the rebellion, which had been chiefly raised in opposition to his too violent measures in favour of the church of *Rome*; whilst the disorders that followed soon after gave *Susneus*, the next competitor for the crown, a fair opportunity of making a successful attempt upon it. *Defeated and killed.*

WE have already taken notice how this prince, whom the *Portuguese* writers commonly call *Socinius*, made his escape into the distant frontier kingdom of *Ambara*, to escape the snares of the ministers and partisans of young *Jaacob*; and here, it seems, he maintained himself, though in great distress, yet with resolution and bravery worthy the son of the great *Basilides*, or *Faciladas*, who lost his life in fighting against the *Gallas*, and the grandson of the noble emperor *David*. As soon, therefore, as he understood that the throne was become vacant by the death of his cousin *Za-Denghil*, and that the deposed bastard *Jaacob* was detained close prisoner in the furthest parts of the empire, he sent immediately one of his faithful friends, named *Bella Christos*, to *Ras Athenæus* and *Za-Salasse*, the two chief leading men in the empire, to assist him in his rightful pretensions to the crown: to which the former consented, after some hesitation, and soon after joined him with his forces; at the head of whom he was proclaimed emperor, by the title of *Soltan Segued*. The same messenger came next to *Za-Salasse*, who answered, that though he thought the crown belonged to *Jaacob*, as he had been already crowned, yet if he did not come by *June* next he would acknowledge *Susneus*. This answer not satisfying him, he sent another nobleman, and a monk, with a letter, importing, "that, as he was now proclaimed emperor, he would never resign his title to *Jaacob*, nor even to his own father, if he was to rise from the dead." Upon which, *Za-Salasse*, having secured the messenger, he marched with his whole army against him, resolving to deliver his own answer to him with sword in hand; which obliged him to retire again to *Ambara*, he being then sick: but when he perceived that the summer was almost spent, and *Jaacob* not yet come out of *Enarea*, he was easily persuaded to make his submission to the new emperor before he forced him to it. Upon which, *Susneus* sent a monk to administer the oath of allegiance to them, and they proclaimed him emperor. Immediately after which, *Za-Salasse* sent ten of his chief officers to compliment and pay homage to him in his name, with an additional protestation, that he would stand by him against all opposers, and even *Jaacob* by name, should he now come from *Enarea*. *Susneus receives his pretensions. Proclaimed by Athenæus, and Za-Salasse's message to the emperor.*

¹ TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, LE GRAND, &c.

² Ibidem ibid.

They prove
treacherous to
him.

Jaacob's offers
rejected by
Susneus.

Za-Salasse
surprized, and
defeated.

Susneus
amuses Jaacob
and his army.

Engages and
defeats them
with great
slaughter.

Clemency to
them.

THESE were no sooner come to the kingdom of *Bagemder*, or *Begamder*, where *Susneus* a was already arrived, and where he was receiving them with feasting and other tokens of joy, than news was brought to *Za-Salasse*, that *Jaacob* was got near *Dembea*, and sent orders to come and join him: upon which, without the least hesitation at the oath he had taken to *Susneus*, he immediately complied, and led his army to him; sending, at the same time, a private message to the ten officers he had sent to *Susneus*, to hasten away and come to him. This obliged the emperor to withdraw once more to *Ambara*, as he was not in a condition to make head against them, whilst *Jaacob* was received with all demonstrations of joy; who immediately created the traitor general of all his forces. *Ras Athenæus* came next with all his troops, to pay his homage to him, and met with a no less gracious reception: but their treachery proved a serious warning to him against putting too great a confidence in them; b so that, unwilling to depend on the instability of fortune, he chose rather to come to a composition with his rival, and sent him accordingly an offer of the kingdoms *Ambara*, *Olear*, and *Xaoa*, with all the rich lands his father had in the kingdom of *Gojam*, provided he quitted his title to the empire to him. To this *Susneus* answered, that he had a just claim to the throne, and would have all or none: upon which, *Jaacob*, finding himself strong enough, marched directly against him, and incamped so near, that he was forced again to withdraw, and wait for a more favourable opportunity.

FORTUNE soon offered him an advantageous one: for whilst *Jaacob* marched in pursuit of him, *Za-Salasse*, instead of following him, took a quite different road with his own army, without giving any reason for his so doing; the news of which being brought to *Susneus* by c his spies, he went and posted himself in an ambush, at a pass called *Montor Daffar*, where he suddenly fell upon and totally routed him. The traitor, with some difficulty, escaped to *Jaacob*, and left his army, camp, and treasure, at the mercy of the conqueror; so that he met with but a very cold reception from *Jaacob* at his arrival. This slight exasperated him the more against him, and made him abandon his party to go over to *Susneus*. *Jaacob*, not less vexed at his treachery, marched directly against his competitor; fully resolved to give him battle. He removed his camp from place to place, whilst the more politic *Susneus*, like another *Fabius Cunctator*, kept himself on the more elevated grounds, watching for a proper time to fall on him. At length, as he was decamping on *Saturday* the 10th of *March*, the enemy, who were thirty to one, believing that he fled, pursued him with loud shoutings, so d that he was, against his inclination, obliged to engage them; and having animated his handful of men with great promises of reward, he led them down the hill with such impetuous bravery that, to use the words of the *Ethiopic* historian *Tino*, the enemy fell down before him like autumn leaves before the wind. *Jaacob* himself was borne down in the hurly-burly, yet no man could boast that he had killed him. The *Abuna Peter*, who was of the same side, was slain likewise; which *Susneus* no sooner heard, than he put a stop to the pursuit, in order to spare the rest; but they were all seized with such a panic, that there was no possibility of stopping them; insomuch that, night overtaking them in their flight, a much greater number perished by their falling down the rocks and precipices, than by the sword. Next morning they found e above 600 horses dashed in pieces at the foot of a rock an hundred yards high, and the ground covered with the dead bodies of their riders. *Ras Athenæus*, who had likewise gone over to *Jaacob's* side, escaped, and took refuge in the monastery of *Duna*, and was afterwards pardoned by *Zela Ebristos*, *Susneus's* brother. Thus ended *Jaacob's* life and reign, after having been twice raised to the throne, from thence sent the first time into banishment, and the second into another world^m.

SUSNEUS, or Soltan *Segued*, by this unexpected victory, secured to himself the crown, and freely forgave all the revolvers that had escaped, excepting only the *Moorish* officer *Mabardin*, or, as some call him, *Humardin*, who had formerly given the first wound to *Za-Dengbil*, and whose head he caused to be struck off: so that he gained as great reputation by his clemency f as he had for his valour (O), upon this occasion. He spent three whole days in distributing

^l Ibidem ibid.

^m TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup.

(O) *Susneus* was about thirty-three years of age when he gained this noble victory. He is described to us as a well-shaped genteel person, his visage long, but well-proportioned, his head of hair well-spread, his eyes of a fine hazel-colour, very sparkling and amiable, seemingly obliging to all men by his looks: his nose was sharp, his lips thin, his beard black, but broad, his stature above the middle size, well-set, and brawny; and, in all re-

spects, much like an *European*, except the brownness of his complexion.

He was moreover, an excellent horseman, bold, brave, and resolute, and well-read in the *Ethiopian* books. He was discrete, courteous, bountiful, and warlike, inured to martial hardship, as having been ten years successively in arms, without one day's intermission (40).

- a the spoil of the enemy among his foldiers, and with a singular generosity rewarded those who were most deserving: after which, he marched with them to *Coga*, a place situated between *Dembea* and *Bagameder*, where the late *Jaacob* usually kept his court. As for the traitor *Za-Salasse*, he soon drew upon himself, by his indiscretion, the punishment which he had deserved so often by his treachery: for being one day heard to brag, that some wise men had foretold him that he would be the death of three monarchs, and that he had destroyed two of them already; the words were immediately carried to *Susneus*, who caused him to be sent to the strong mountain of *Guzman*, in the kingdom of *Gojam*, of which he had been lately made viceroy by *Jaacob*. He thence made his escape, after a year's confinement, and put himself at the head of a gang of banditti, in the province of *Oleca*, where the inhabitants, having caught him in an ambush, cut off his head, and sent it stuck upon a spear to the emperor, who caused it to be set up before his own palace. *Athenæus*, or *Atbanatæus*, fared not much better; for that prince caused him to be stripped of his ill-gotten lands, and soon after, his wife, according to the custom of the *Abissinian* princesses, formerly taken notice of^a, abandoned him: so that he was reduced to the meanest condition, after having been formerly the first man in the empire, next to the emperor. *Susneus* likewise caused the grants of lands formerly settled upon the Jesuits to be confirmed to them for ever^o; the publication of which was performed by proper officers, with the usual ceremony, which the reader will find described in the margin (P). So fond was that monarch of the company of those fathers, that finding upon his arrival at *Coga*, that they were retired to their monastery at *Fremona*, he sent immediately for them; and, as it was then in the winter season, ordered them to come by the way of the *Dembean* lake; which they readily complied with, notwithstanding the risk they ran from the lightness of their tancons, or small rush-boats, and the sea-horses which infest that lake; being no less ready to answer the summons of so kind a friend than he was to have them near him, to consult them on every exigence, and especially about getting, if not some fresh forces, at least a supply of workmen, to cast him some new guns, bombs, &c. make gunpowder, and other necessary utensils of war.
- But whilst they were thus hatching their new projects, a strange report was spread about, which failed not to surprize and alarm them all: it was, that the emperor *Jaacob*, whom they had supposed to have been slain in the late fight, was still alive, and had gained a considerable number of partisans in the kingdom of *Tigre*. There had been, in fact, a bold youth, whether the real *Jaacob*, or an upstart impostor, who assumed the title, appeared in and about the monastery of *Bizan*, a proper place for his purpose, on account of its vicinity to the port of *Mazwa*, especially as those monks, who were of the order of *St. Eustacius*, were very numerous, and dispersed through great part of that kingdom, where they served as curates, and bore a great sway among the populace, who came flocking about him accordingly, as to their emperor, whom God had miraculously preserved, and sent to them. The better to disguise the unlikeness there was between the countenance of that prince and his own, he wore a scarf over his head, which, in the coming down below his chin, covered the greater part of his face; pretending that he had received a stroke of a spear in the late battle, which had broke out his teeth, and sadly disfigured him; all which was believed without any farther examination: infomuch that all, either out of pity to his misfortune, or in hopes of being amply rewarded, accommodated him with horses, mules, arms, and what other things they could spare to him. Many more, who lived by robbing, came over to him, in hopes of plunder; and he saw himself, in a short time, at the head of a powerful army, with whom he descended into the low lands, and committed the most cruel outrages and robberies. Having plundered a caravan of some gold, he caused it to be flatted, and made into the shape of the *Abissinian* crown, elsewhere described.
- He was at length grown so powerful and formidable, that the emperor was obliged to send his brother *Sella Christos* with an army against him, composed of what forces he had, though

^a See before, p. 193, & seq.^o TELLEZ, & al. ubi sup.

(P) This ceremony is usually performed by an azagge, or lord, or a haumar, who is a kind of magistrate or judge, and takes a circuit round the border of the lands contained in the grant. He is generally accompanied by the emperor's musicians, with their trumpets, kettle-drums, &c. which summon all the people of the neighbourhood to come and see the land-marks placed and fixed. They likewise sometimes kill here and there a

goat, and bury the head of it, to serve for another kind of land-mark; and the removing of any of either sort is punished with great severity.

The lands thus granted enjoy considerable immunities, and are as perpetual as any thing of that kind can be in a country where the government is liable to such frequent changes and revolutions (41).

(41) Tellez, ubi sup. Ludolph, & al.

New revolts
in other pro-
vinces.

The sham Jaa-
cob defeated.

The emperor
crowned.

Jaacob hides
himself in a
cave.

Two revoltors
defeated and
killed.

Jaacob ap-
pears again.

A plot to mur-
der the vice-
roy defeated.

Jaacob be-
headed.

much inferior in number, whilst *Ala Christos* was ordered to march with another body into *Baga-* a
meder. However, the imperial forces being better disciplined, easily routed those of the sham
Jaacob, and forced him to fly back to the mountains beyond *Debarowa* more than once. But
whilst the emperor thought of putting a stop to one evil, he brought a much greater one
upon himself; for the restless *Gallas*, whom *Sella Christos*'s presence deterred from committing
any hostility in his government, no sooner heard of his being marched far enough off, than they
entered the province with such a numerous train, that *Susneus* was obliged to collect what forces
he had, and to march against them; and being vastly inferior in number, was twice defeated
by them. The news of this disaster rendering the counterfeit *Jaacob* more daring and insolent,
and *Sella Christos* less able to make head against him, an express was sent to the emperor by the
latter, desiring him to march with all possible speed with his whole army to *Axuma*, in order to b
be crowned there, as usual; to which he the more readily consented, as he had now taken his
revenge on the *Gallas*, and gained a complete victory over them.

WHILST he was upon his march, the impostor, who had heard only of his two defeats, but
not of his victory, was the more encouraged to come down from his high mountains, as a report
had been, perhaps designedly, spread among his men, that *Sella Christos* was fled, and had left
all his tents behind. He was, however, soon undeceived, when the viceroy came suddenly
upon him, and, after an obstinate fight on both sides, routed him with great slaughter, and
drove him afresh to his old shelter among the rocks, but without being able either to kill or
take him; the king still continuing his march over the high mountains of *Lamalmon*, formerly c
described, and arrived safe at the head of his army in the neighbourhood of *Axuma*; and
was soon after crowned with the usual solemnity in that metropolis, by the abuna, on *Sunday*
the 23d of *March*; his brother *Sella Christos* and Father *Pays* assisting at the ceremony.

As soon as the coronation was over, the king marched directly in search of the impostor
among the mountains of *Debarowa*; of which he having notice, dismissed his men, and with
only four servants and a few goats, hid himself so closely, that the emperor could not get scent
of him all the time he staid in that neighbourhood. In the mean time, as one revolt is no
sooner quelled in one province than a new one is raised in another, a slave of the late emperor
Malec Segued, named *Melchizedech*, came from the mountains of *Ambara*, and joined him-
self to one *Arfoo*, said to have been a brother of the late *Za-Dengbil*, and marched with him d
into the kingdom of *Dembea*. Against these he sent his brother with a good force, who came
time enough to stop their progress. The head rebels thinking themselves strong enough to
engage him, the slave was slain in the fight, and *Arfoo* taken prisoner, and sent to the emperor,
who ordered him to be beheaded. *Susneus*, before his departure from these parts, was pleased
to visit the monastery of *Fremona*, and made a present to the Jesuits of 300 pieces of eight,
leaving the abuna *Simeon* there to be instructed by them in the *Romish* faith; after which he
began his march homeward, accompanied by the viceroy *Sella Christos*, and left *Ampfala*
Christos, a brave and prudent nobleman, governor of the kingdom of *Tigre*.

ALL this time *Jaacob* had continued in his cave, he and his four servants being only sup-
ported with the milk of a few goats; but being now informed of the emperor's departure, he e
ventured himself out again, whilst the governor *Ampfala*, whom that monarch had left with
a strict charge to ferret him out, had tried all the ways he could think of, though all in vain, and
now lay sick at *Getopel*, near *Fremona*, with only a handful of men. This encouraged a couple
of banditti to join themselves with *Jaacob*, in hopes to surprise and murder the sick governor.
They had 1500 men with them, and would infallibly have succeeded in their attempt, had not
one of them, by taking a shorter cut, brought him timely notice of it. The viceroy, sick as he was,
would have gone to meet them; but a *Portuguese* advised him to conceal a few of his musketeers
in some convenient pass, who should fire upon them as soon as they approached. The plot suc-
ceeded to their wish, and the villains, at the first firing, fell flat upon their faces; then starting
up, betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter; seventeen of them being
taken prisoners. *Jaacob* escaped once more; but was at length taken by two *Abissine* officers, f
who beheaded him, and sent his head to the emperor (Q). This was the end of that impostor,
who

* See before, p. 201.

† TELLEZ, LOBO, & al. ubi sup.

(Q) These were called *Ambara Georgis* and *Zarab*
Jaunez, two relations of the late emperor *Jaacob*, who,
believing this impostor to be the same person, had en-
gaged to stand by him with their lives and fortunes:
but coming to him to be satisfied about it, they being
well acquainted with the true one, the cheat was soon
found out, though he shewed them but a small part of
his face; and they resolved to secure him. He was,

however, aware of their design, and timely gave them
the slip, with his 600 men; which put them to the trou-
ble of searching afresh among those high and rocky
places where he usually skulked.

They caught him at last, and, upon pulling his mus-
sler off, found that he had not the least scar upon his
face; upon which they took care to have him publicly
exposed, to take off all suspicion of his being the real
Jaacob;

- a who had caused so much mischief and bloodshed in the empire ; and yet there wanted not partisans, who, either out of dislike to the emperor and his Jesuits, or for some other views, gave out that he was escaped, and fled into *India* ; insomuch that it was afterwards strongly reported that there was a man in the kingdom of *Decan* so very like him, that he was believed to be the very same person ^u.

HITHERTO we have only dwelt on matters of state ; and it is probable enough that the disasters we have been speaking of hindered Soltan *Segued*'s applying himself so closely to those of religion, as he was otherwise inclined to do ; at the same time that they took off the eyes of the people from seeing the progress which the *Roman* missionaries made in several parts of the empire. One may say, their affairs had never been in so hopeful a condition as now ; and the pope and king of *Spain*, though they seemed quite forgetful of the emperor's request, with respect to either forces or workmen, yet took care to send him fresh supplies of preachers, who were sure to meet with a gracious reception from him, especially as they came fraught with fresh promises with regard to the other two articles ; though, in all likelihood, no such thing was designed.

- THE following year, the court being removed from the old station to *Deghana*, a place on the north side of the *Dembean* lake, and in the neighbourhood of *Gorgora*, where the fathers resided, gave them frequent opportunities of conversing and disputing with *Sella Christos*, the emperor's brother, during that and the following year. He is represented as a wise, learned, and affable prince ; and whether really convinced in his mind, as they affirm, or out of a servile complaisance to his brother, we will not take upon us to say ; but it appears from their account, that, about the same time that he made public profession of his conversion to the church of *Rome*, which was the very next year, the emperor removed his imperial camp from thence into the kingdom of *Gojam*, and created him viceroy of it ; which was almost equivalent to the making him king of it, as he gave him the whole revenue of that country, and as he was to be obeyed in it like the emperor himself. From that time *Sella Christos* became not only a zealous profelyte, and main support to the *Roman* church, both during the life and after the death of that monarch, but drew great numbers of the grandees and nobles of the empire, by his example and interest, into the same creed. He next caused a church and monastery to be built for the use and residence of the Jesuits, which was the first they ever had in the kingdom of *Gojam*, and the third they now possessed in *Abissinia* ; the first being at *Fremona*, in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and the second that of *Gorgora*, near the lake of *Dembea* ^w. But this new one was moreover endowed with large revenues, and extensive territories, by that viceroy, for the maintenance not only of the Jesuits, but for the *Portuguese* widows and orphans, which were dispersed through the empire, and in great want of such a charitable provision. The emperor on his part, who had not yet sent an answer to the obliging letter which Father *Pays* had brought him about five years before from *Philip II.* of *Spain*, was now more at leisure to do it with more grandeur ; and, to that end, made choice of one of his court, named *Takor*, or *Tagur Egzye*, a person of great prudence and experience, and a very great zealot for the *Romish* church, to go thither on an embassy from him, accompanied by Father *Anthony Fernandez* ; who, instead of going, as usual, to *Mazowa*, were, for their greater safety, to make the best of their way through the kingdom of *Enarea* to the coast of *Melinda*. This road, which was contrived by *Sella Christos*, in order to avoid the *Turks*, proved no less difficult and dangerous from another quarter, which he had not foreseen. They set out of *Dembea* about the beginning of *March*, the following year, attended by ten *Portuguese*, four of whom engaged to attend them to *India*, and the other six only to the frontiers of *Enarea* ; and, when they came to the kingdom of *Gojam*, the viceroy furnished them with an escorte of *Gallas* and *Xates*, whom he had hired to conduct them, because the way lay through both their territories. They set out again from *Ombrana*, where the viceroy's camp was, for the kingdom of *Enarea*, on the 15th of *April*, attended by forty men, armed with darts and targets. It would be too tedious here to tell our readers the many difficulties they met with in their crossing the *Nile*,

^u TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup. Vide & LE GRAND, Dissert. ix. p. 300, & seq.

^w Ibidem ibid.

Jaacob ; after which they caused his head to be struck off, and sent to the emperor, who ordered it to be carried about through the whole kingdom of *Tigre*, that they might be satisfied of their having been deluded. This soon allayed the confusion he had thrown the kingdom into, and all readily submitted to the emperor, who punished only some few of the ringleaders, but spared the rest. *Ambara Georgis* and *Zarah Jaunez*

threw themselves on the mercy of that monarch, and pleaded their having seized and dispatched the impostor as soon as they had discovered him to be such, as a motive for their siding with the true *Jaacob* ; which was the more readily granted, as their request was backed by Father *Pays*, who was sent with them to court by the viceroy to be their intercessor (42).

(42) Tellez, ubi sup. Ludolph, lib. ii. c. 7 n. 48, & seq. Le Grand Relat. Abissin. Dissert. ix. p. 300, & seq.

and vast ridges of mountains, and through some of the territories of the barbarous *Gallas*, *Cafres*, &c. before they reached the kingdom of *Enarea*, the last territory belonging to the *Abissinian* empire *. It will be sufficient to say, that even the *Abissines* themselves were so dissatisfied with this expedition, which they looked upon, though disguised under various false colours, as calculated to introduce the *Portuguese*, in order to bring their nation under their power, and their church under that of the pope, that they did all they could to render their journey more difficult and dangerous. This was more plainly perceived by the cold reception which the ambassador met with from the suspicious viceroy of *Enarea*, and from the various stratagems he used to find out the design of the embassy, which they were, on their part, as careful to conceal from him. He discovered enough, however, to convince him, and the great men of his court, whom he consulted upon it, that it was by no means expedient to let them continue the route that had been chalked out to them; seeing that was indeed the most safe and expeditious into *India*, and with which, if the *Portuguese* were once acquainted, it would be easy for them to pour in their forces upon them, and subdue them both to their king and religion: wherefore they resolved to send them a great and difficult way about, through the kingdom of *Balii*; to which the fathers, after much contesting, were obliged to submit. Upon which, having presented them with thirty ounces of gold, to defray their charges, and ordered proper officers to conduct them on their way through the kingdom of *Gingiro*, along with an ambassador from that kingdom, who was then at his court, to whose care he committed the fathers, he gave them leave to depart.

WE shall follow them no farther, but observe, upon the whole, than an *Abissinian*, named *Manker*, who was dispatched, as may be justly supposed, by some of those grandees of *Susneus's* court, who were averse to this embassy, to put a stop to its going further, betrayed their whole design to the governor of *Amelmal*, in the kingdom of *Camale*, and, at the same time, incensed all the people against them; upon which, the governor caused them to be arrested, till he had sent to the *Abissinian* court for further instructions. Three months elapsed before an answer returned, with one *Babare*, a man well known in these parts, with express orders to that governor, accompanied with rich presents, both for him and for the *Moorish* prince *Alico*, to help them forward on their journey, and to furnish them with all they wanted. It was in the month of *June* next year before these orders came; so that they had spent already fourteen months from their first setting out. The governor complied with the emperor's orders; but *Alico*, being instigated by *Manker*, caused them to be stopped afresh, and imprisoned, when they came into his territories. A strict search was made into all their cloaths and baggage, in order to find out the emperor's letters, which the father had providentially tied about the brawny part of his arm; so that they escaped a discovery. The father, who was confined apart from the rest, apprehending the danger of a second search might prove more fatal, resolved at any rate to prevent it; and calling for some fire, and a pipe of tobacco, found means to burn the letters undiscovered; which put an effectual end to all their fears and dangers. *Alico*, having detained them for ten days in that confinement, released them without farther harm, though *Manker* was very pressing to have them put to death; only, at his instigation, he kept three of his four *Portuguese* prisoners, and, to prevent the governor of *Amelmal's* assisting the ambassador to proceed on his journey by some other way, ordered him to return to the *Abissine* court by another route; where, after many fatigues and dangers, he at last safely arrived, with Father *Fernandez*, though not without great regret for their disappointment, and the loss of their three companions that were left behind †.

THE emperor was no less vexed at their return, and the account they gave of their journey; from all which he could not but clearly perceive how odious all his measures were become to most of his subjects, and what a difficult task he was like to have to bring about his designs. To remove one of the main obstacles to it, he bethought himself of ordering fundry conferences and disputations to be held between the *Portuguese* and the *Abissines* on the controverted points between them ‡: the result of which was, that, becoming impatient at the obstinacy of the latter, he issued out a proclamation, forbidding, under the severest penalties, any of his subjects maintaining that there was but one nature in Christ. This, and some others which followed in favour of the church of *Rome*, failed not of putting the whole empire, and especially the clergy, into a grievous ferment. The abuna *Simeon*, who was then absent, immediately came to court, and threatened to excommunicate all that adhered to the *Romish* doctrine; and being supported by *Emana Cbristos*, another of *Susneus's* uterine brothers, ventured so far as to do so, and to have his excommunication affixed on the gates of one of the churches of the imperial camp. In revenge of it, the emperor immediately caused another proclamation to come out, giving leave to all his subjects to embrace the faith which the *Portuguese* fathers preached, and

* De hoc, vide supra, p. 174.

† TELLEZ, LUD. & al. ubi supra.

‡ Ubi supra, p. 142, & seq.

a had so learnedly defended in their late disputations against the *Abissine* doctors. This was soon followed by a fresh anathema from the abuna, who, taking advantage of the emperor's being absent, and forced to winter in the kingdom, to suppress the revolted *Agaus*^a, wrote circular letters to all his clergy, in defence of the old *Abissinian* faith, and condemning all that opposed it.

This last augmenting the general discontent against the *Roman* missionaries, a young nobleman, named *Julius*, or *Ælius*, or, as the *Abissinians* pronounce it, *Eulos*, son-in-law to the emperor, at that time viceroy of the kingdom of *Tigre*, and a great enemy of *Sella Christos*, ventured to take up arms in defence of the old religion, and to persecute the *Romish* fathers at *Fremona*, and all their converts throughout his government, women as well as men. The

b emperor was soon apprised of it, who forthwith sent orders to the abuna, and father *Pays*, to repair to the imperial camp, that the scruples of the one might be removed by the arguments of the other (R). They both readily obeyed; but the former came attended with such a multitude of monks and nuns, that they out-numbered the army; and all of them protested, that they would sooner die than forsake the antient faith, and, on their knees, begged of him that he would not persist in his innovations. The manner in which that monarch rejected their request was such as put them out of all hopes of prevailing; whilst *Ælius* his son-in-law, *Emana Christos* his brother, and one *Casto*, who was his high steward, being grown out of all patience at his unnatural inflexibility, began to hatch a conspiracy both against him and his brother *Ras Sella Christos*, into which old *Simeon* the abuna was easily drawn.

c THE better to pave the way to it, they agreed that the latter should thunder out a fresh excommunication against all who maintained the two natures of Christ; at which the emperor was so provoked, that he forthwith ordered him to take it off, or else he would order his head to be struck off. The pusillanimous prelate was obliged to obey; and the other three, finding no other way to compass their end, marched directly to the new palace built by Father *Pays*, where the emperor then was, and, leaving their men at the door, went up-stairs directly to him, with a full resolution to dispatch him. *Susneus*, who was just before apprised of their design by a kinswoman of his, named *Ileamata*, saw them enter the chamber with their swords in the scabbard in their hands, as is the custom at that court, without betraying either fear or mistrust; but rising from his seat, as it were to walk, laid his hand, in a familiar manner, on *Ælius*'s sword, and went with them to the stair-case that led to the top of the house. The others followed him, thinking that a more proper place to execute their design; but, as we formerly observed, the door being purposely contrived by that Jesuit to shut with a spring-lock^b, the king pulling it after him, left them on the outside, and disappointed their treacherous intent, without noise or disturbance; which reminded him of what *Pays* had formerly told him, that the door might prove of singular service to him^c.

ÆLIUS was, however, so far from being discouraged by this disappointment, or from pursuing his former views, that he issued out an edict, enjoining all the *Portuguese* and their adherents, to depart out of the kingdom of *Tigre*, and all those who wished well to the *Alexandrian* church to follow him. At the same time the abuna published another, in which he communicated all the opposers of the *Abissine* church, and poured out showers of blessings on the defenders of it, and more especially on *Ælius*, who had taken up arms in its defence. This last it was, in all probability, which so highly encouraged that young and rash nobleman to

^a De his, vide supra, p. 190. *DOLPH*, lib. iii. c. 10. n. 54.

^b See before, p. 206.

^c Pays apud TELLEZ, lib. iv. c. 14. *LU-*

(R) It may not here be amiss to observe, that Father *Pays*, and others of his society, had been very busy in translating and publishing several polemic treatises of their own church in the *Ethiopic* tongue, for the use of their converts, and more particularly such as they thought entered most into the controversy between the *Abissines* and them. Among these were *Maldonat's* Comment on the Gospels, *Toledo* on the Epistle to the *Romans*, *Reibera* on that to the *Hebrews*, and some others of the like stamp. All which were liked by some, but more generally disliked by the rest, on account of the many *Amharic* words and idioms that were intermixed with the *Ethiopic*, and were looked upon as so many ungrammatical barbarisms.

What still more confounded them was, that in these books, they had written the Lord's Prayer and *Ave Maria* in the *Ethiopic* character, but had left them untranslated from the *Latin* tongue; so that they look upon them with horror, and as on some pieces of conjuration (43). In the same absurd manner the congregation *de propaganda fide*, at *Rome*, caused the *Pater Noster*, and *Ave Maria* to be printed in the vulgate *Latin*, but in the *Ethiopic* character (44): which plainly shewed, that they did not design to allow them to perform the Divine Service in their own tongue, and could not but add to the other prejudices they had justly conceived against their church.

(43) Tellez, lib. iv. c. 14. *Ludolph*, lib. iii. c. 10, n. 56, & seq. capit. p. 17.

(44) *Idem* ibid. in indic.

attack the emperor, who was returning to *Dembea*, at the head of a powerful army, and, in a spite of all the earnest prayers and tears of his wife, to run the risk of a battle rather than be reconciled to him.

*Marches
against the
emperor.*

HE was, indeed, strongly prepossessed by those of his party, that, if he bent his whole force against his father-in-law, he could hardly fail of gaining the victory, because part of his commanders, who disliked all his measures, would be easily induced to abandon him. Flushed with these hopes, and impatient to put an end to the war, he rode up directly towards the emperor, accompanied with only six or seven volunteers, and, marching sternly through the ranks, asked aloud, *Where is the emperor?* In this manner did he pass through them unmolested quite to the emperor's tent, near which stood posted a battalion of troops, who knew nothing of his design; between whom and him a scuffle arose, in which he was knocked on the head with a stone; soon after which, another soldier came and run him through, and, b having cut off his head, carried it to the emperor. His few followers were immediately cut in pieces; at the sight of which his army betook themselves to flight, but were pursued with great slaughter, till the emperor commanded a retreat. The old abuna, who had beheld these transactions from an eminence, stood like one thunder-struck, and either had not power to fly, or hoped that his character would have proved a safeguard to him. It did so accordingly for some time, and the imperialists passed by him without any notice or insult, till at length *bum valente catholico*, a valiant catholic, as one of their authors styles him, laid him prostrate on the ground with a stroke of his lance; after which, he was soon dispatched by his followers, his head cut off, and brought to the emperor. Some others of the revolted underwent the same fate, particularly the eunuch *Caslo*, whose head, with those of *Ælius* and the abuna, were c exposed to public view; which put an effectual end to the rebellion, and gave *Susneus* a breathing-time to resume his religious projects in favour of the church of *Rome*.

*Slain with a
stone.*

*His army dis-
persed.*

*The abuna
murdered.*

*The Agaus
converted.*

*The Turkish
Basha bribed.*

*Two Jesuits
arrive.*

*A proclamation
against the
Abissines.*

*Jonael raises
a revolt.*

*The emperor's
severity com-
plained against.*

THEY were at this time in great expectation of the patriarch from *Rome*, whom that monarch had desired the pope to send to him, to assist him to complete the good work, which he looked upon now as more likely than ever to succeed to both their wishes. He had by this time suppressed the *Agaus*, and reconciled them so far to Christianity, that they had agreed that Father *Pays*, who had done them some signal services, and obtained for them some better terms from the emperor than they could otherwise have hoped for, should come among and instruct them: but as that father was more usefully employed at court, they accepted of Father *Fr. Antony de Angelis* in his stead. The emperor had likewise taken care to secure an easy entrance to the d Jesuits that should come from *Europe*, and more particularly for the promised patriarch, by obliging the basha of *Swakem*, with dint of presents, to let them go to and from *Fremona* unmolested. Accordingly there arrived two of them from *Goa*, who came, as it were, as fore-runners of the patriarch *Mendez*; but, by reason of the badness of the roads and great rains, were obliged to winter at the monastery of *Fremona*. Their names were *James de Mattos*, a Portuguese, and *Antony Bruno*, a Sicilian; the former of whom met with a gracious reception at court the summer following, and the other staid there to supply the place of Father *Laurence*, who died about that time. The emperor growing still more zealous against the *Abissinian* rites, issued out a proclamation against the observation of the sabbath, or seventh day, which caused a fresh ferment, and some severe expostulations to be conveyed to him by an anonymous hand. e Notwithstanding which, he ordered it to be followed by a second; by which he obliged his subjects to work on *Saturdays*, under the small forfeiture of a piece of cloth, worth a crown, for the first, and confiscation of all for the second offence; and this last occasioned a new revolt, which was like to have had fatal consequences, and to have unhinged all his projects.

IT was raised by *Jonael*, viceroy of *Bagameder*, and one of the greatest men in the empire, and who had published that proclamation, not so much out of obedience to the emperor, as with a view of stirring up the people to a general rebellion: so that, by the latter end of the same year, he found himself at the head of a considerable body, who followed him to some of the high mountains on the frontiers, where he was to be joined by the *Gallas*, whom he had engaged to come to his assistance. The emperor, perplexed and exasperated at the many obsta- f cles laid in his way, and to find so many traitors, as he called them, about him, resolved to have recourse to severe means, and caused some to be beheaded, others hanged, and others banished; which, however, rather heightened than allayed the general discontent; insomuch that many noble persons of both sexes, some of them his near relations, besought him in tears, "that he would not expose his empire to the danger of a general revolt, but rather take pity " of those multitudes of his subjects, who offended more through ignorance than wilfulness, " than to drive them by his rigour into despair." He grew so much the warmer at their intreaties, as he found so great a number of them in the same mind. To give them, there-

^c TELLEZ, & al. ubi supra.

^d TELLEZ, lib. iv. c. 20. LUDOLPH, lib. iii. c. 10. n. 65, & seq.

- fore, such an answer as should, he thought, at once confirm the unsteady, and deter the
- a obstinate, he convened the chiefs of his council and army, and such other learned priests and monks as followed the court, and, in a set and determinate speech, upbraided them with *having deprived the late Za-Denghil of his life and crown, for having forsaken the Alexandrian faith, and embraced that of the Portuguese: notwithstanding which, when he himself came to the crown, after the defeat of the late Jaacob, instead of using any severity against them, he had forgiven them all; in return for which lenity he had met with nothing but seditions and revolts, under pretence of his introducing innovations into the Abissinian church, when, in fact, he was only reforming it; seeing he affirmed no more than they all did, that CHRIST OUR LORD WAS PERFECT GOD AND PERFECT MAN; which he could not be, unless he was invested with the human as well as with the divine nature; which two natures being distinct from each other, it necessarily*
- b followed, that they both must be hypostatically united in him; *which, he said, was not a forsaking, but professing, the true religion. And as to his forbidding the observance of the seventh day, he had done it, because he judged it unbecoming a Christian to observe the Jewish sabbath: that these he firmly believed, not out of regard to the Portuguese, but because they were the genuine decrees of the Chalcedonian council, and were confirmed by the practice of all Christian churches from the time of the apostles; for which, he added, he was ready to lay down his life, if there was occasion; but hoped that would rather prove the fate of his opposers.*
- He had scarce done speaking, when a letter was brought to him from the revolted *Jonael*; in which, we are told, that viceroy insisted upon very high terms, and particularly on the total expulsion of the Jesuits. The emperor was not long debating about it; but, resolving to
- c answer him sword in hand, marched at the head of his choicest troops towards him; but finding the mountains, on which he was posted, too difficult of access, he encamped about the foot of them, not doubting but some of the revolted would come quickly down to him, as they actually did, and in such numbers, that *Jonael*, finding himself in a great measure abandoned, fled to the *Gallas*, his confederates, where, instead of a refuge, he met with his death; they having been bribed by the emperor to dispatch him. *Gets him murdered by the Gallas.*
- In the same year, another such revolt was quelled in the frontiers of the kingdom of *Gojam*, which had been raised on the same account at the instigation of the monks and *Batavis*, a kind of hermits, of the kingdom of *Damot*. These *Ras Sella Christos* at first endeavoured to reduce
- d by fair means; but, upon their answering him that they would not submit, unless he delivered to them the books translated by the *Latin* fathers to be committed to the flames, and the writers to be hanged, he attacked them with such fury, that above 3000 of them were cut in pieces, and, amongst them, 188 out of 400 of those monks, after a most desperate defence. All this while Father *Pays* had been employed in building a sumptuous church of square
- e stone, after the *European* manner, near the lake of *Dembea*. This structure had a very stately arch over the high altar, supported by curious columns, whilst six others of the *Ionic* order supported the frontispiece; over which was a high steeple for the bells. A winding stair-case led to the top, which was flat, and fenced by a parapet; whence one had a delightful prospect over the lake and adjacent plains. The building being now finished, the emperor went two days journey to view it, and entered it bare-footed; and, at his departure, left a considerable
- present to it.
- HAVING by this time quelled the most considerable revolts, though not the ferment that
- f still reigned in the hearts of his subjects, he thought fit, the following year, to make a most public profession of his religion; an act which he had still delayed, partly on account of those frequent seditions, and partly through the reluctance he found to cast off all his wives and concubines, except his empress; a great number of whom he had taken, and had children by; and without which the fathers refused to admit him into their church. He was at length prevailed upon to comply; which done, he publicly abjured the *Alexandrian* church, made a general confession of his sins, in the *Romish* form, at the feet of Father *Pays*, and afterwards made a public profession of his faith in terms to this effect: "That he renounced all obedience and communion with the *Alexandrian* see, and acknowledged that of *Rome* alone; the pope of which was the only true successor of *St. Peter*, the chief of the apostles; to whose authority he intirely submitted, being fully persuaded that he is incapable of erring in any points, either of faith or practice." This confession and submission was afterwards published at full length through most parts of the empire, and concluded with an exhortation to his good subjects to follow his example, and with some severe censures against the errors of the *Alexandrian* church and patriarchs; as may be seen at full length in the authors quoted in the margin, as well as
- Susneus abjures the Abissinian, and embraces the Roman church.*
- A stately church built by Father Pays.*
- Publishes his confession thro' the empire.*

^c TELLEZ, lib. iv. c. 22. LUDOLPH, ubi supra, p. 71, & seq. c. 27, & seq. LUDOLPH, ubi supra, & Comment. p. 509, & seq. LE GRAND, ibid. p. 309, 498, & alib.

^f TELLEZ, ubi sup.

^g Ibid.

ALVAREZ, c. 59. LOBO, Relat. i. p. 14, &

*Leaves the
abunas vices.*

their annual letters of 1624. We shall only add, that he doth not spare in it the abunas, especially the later ones, whose vices and ill conduct are by him painted in the vilest colours, and with such a zealous warmth, as, he imagined, would not fail of recommending him to the patriarch *Mendez*, who was daily expected, as well as to his two principals at *Rome* and *Madrid*. And this was the prevailing motive which hastened this his recantation, and induced him, tho' much against his will, to discard all his wives and concubines, together with their children; not doubting but that his example would excite many of his nobles and courtiers to follow it, whom nothing but that strong tie of nature deterred from so doing.

*A new revolt
raised.*

BUT though some of them actually did so, yet they were but few in comparison of those who dared still shew a public dislike against all his measures. Accordingly a new insurrection was raised much about the same time by the son of *Gabrael*; which was, however, soon

*Quelled by his
brother Sella
Christos.*

quelled by the artful *Sella Christos*, who immediately marched against him, and forced him to retire into the most inaccessible mountains of the kingdom of *Sheva*, or *Xaoa*; where, unable to follow him, he quickly bribed some of the *Gallas*, under pretence of siding with him, to apprehend and send him either alive or dead to him. They chose the latter, and dispatched him with such zeal and fury with their clubs, that they could only send his jaw-bone and beard, which was all that remained of him unbroken. *Ras Sella Christos*, however, ventured over the mountains with some of his expert climbers, and there found the treasure which had belonged to the revolted, which he distributed among his troops, reserving to himself only some rich utensils, of which they had plundered a church, with a design to restore them to it. The misfortune was, that some of his enemies had by this time so far misrepresented him to the emperor, that, when the news of this defeat was brought to him, instead of rewarding or commending him for it, he stripped him of his viceroyship of *Gojam*; and though he quickly after restored him to it, yet his jealousy of him still increased, and proved the occasion of farther disasters, as the sequel will soon shew ^b.

*The emperor
grows jealous
of him.*

*Father Pays
dies.*

IN this year *Father Pays*, who had the greatest hand in bringing the emperor over to the *Roman* church, ended his days in the monastery of *Gorgorra*, after having spent nineteen years in that mission, besides his seven years captivity in *Arabia* lately mentioned ¹. He was soon after followed by another of his society, named *Antony de Angelis*, who had been sent in his stead to convert the *Agaus*, as was likewise hinted above, and was famous for his skill in the *Ambaran*, or court-language. We mention them both more particularly, as they had lived so long, and travelled through so great a part of the empire; and as it is from the relations they have left behind of the *Abissinian* affairs, that *Father Tellez* hath taken the greatest part of the transactions of this epocha.

*Succeeded by
four other Je-
suits.*

1623.

1624.

THESE were soon after succeeded by four others, among whom was *Father Emanuel d'Almeyda*, often quoted through this history, who was the chief of them. The other three were called *Emanuel Barradas*, *Lewis Cardeyra*, and *Francis Carvalho*; all of whom had embarked at *Goa* in an *Indian* vessel, and in the month of *November* the same year, after many difficulties and hazards, arrived at *Suakem* on the 4th of *December* the year following, where their rich presents procured them a kind reception from the *Turkish* basha. From thence they departed for *Fremona*, and arrived there about the beginning of next *February*, accompanied by some others of that society, who had joined them in the way. There they staid till they received orders from the emperor to proceed to *Dembea*, where the court then was; to which they were soon after conveyed by a very good escorte, and where they met with a most gracious reception from that monarch.

*Alphonso
Mendez sent
patriarch into
Abissinia.*

IN the mean while, the news of the emperor's abjuration, profession, and extraordinary zeal, had long ere now reached the courts of *Rome* and *Madrid*, and encouraged them to send the patriarch which he had so earnestly requested of them in his former letters, though the two first, *Bermudez* and *Oviedo*, had been so severely treated by his predecessors. The person pitched upon was *Alphonso Mendez*, a Jesuit, and doctor of divinity, and a person every way qualified for such an expedition: to supply whose place, in case of death (a thing so common in those long and dangerous voyages) as well as for the greater grandeur and pomp, they appointed him two successors; the first of whom was *Father James Seco*, with the title of bishop of *Nice*, and the other *Father John de Rocha*, with that of bishop of *Hierapolis*. All three having been consecrated for that purpose the foregoing year, in the cathedral of *Lisbon*, set sail immediately for *Goa*, with seventeen others of the same society. We shall not enter into a detail of their voyage thither, and from thence to *Fremona*, but only observe, that they lost the bishop of *Nice*, who died on the way, whilst the patriarch and his retinue continued

*Two Jesuits
appointed his
successors.*

^b TELLEZ, ubi supra, c. 31. LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup.

¹ See before, p. 279, & seq.

a their route through the kingdom of *Dancali*, joining to the frontiers of that of *Angot*, and, *The rest arrive*
after a tedious and fatiguing journey, arrived safely, with his company, at the monastery of *in safety*.
Fremona, on the 21st of *June* of the current year 1724 ¹.

WE have already observed that the winter, in that country, begins on that day of this month, and ends on the same day in *September* ^m; so that he was obliged to stay there till *October* following, on account of the dangerous travelling through *Tigre* and *Dembea* at that season, occasioned by the corruption of the air, and noxious vapours, which are frequently fatal to the inhabitants, and much more so to strangers. He set out in *October* for the new monastery at *Gorgorra*, on the lake of *Dembea*, and, during his short stay there, ordained conditionally about twenty monkish converts, who had been so before by the abuna, and allowed
b such of them as had wives to keep them still, to prevent the want of curates. *Mendez ordains 20 new converts.*

WHEN he went to wait upon the emperor for the first time, which he did in his pontifical habit, he was met about half a league from the imperial camp by the grandees and nobles of the court, at the head of 15 or 16,000 armed men, of horse and foot, officers and soldiers, in their best attire, the horses richly caparisoned, and the whole procession making a magnificent show. The horsemen first coming up to the patriarch, made him a low bow; then, opening to the right and left, received him in their centre, with sound of trumpets, kettle-drums, and other warlike instruments, and with loud shouts and acclamations, where a grand pavilion was reared for him to go and put on his cope, mitre, and pontifical ornaments. At his coming out he was mounted on a stately pyed horse, richly covered and trapped, which had been
c sent to him from the emperor; a sumptuous canopy was held up over him by six viceroys; *Ras Sella Christos* leading his horse by the bridle, and variety of vocal and instrumental music marching before him. At his entrance into the church, he was saluted by the discharge of some cannon, and all the small arms of the horse and foot. The emperor was seated on his throne in the chancel, magnificently cloathed, with the crown on his head: a hymn, called the *Benedictus*, or song of *Zachary*, was sung by the best voices; the patriarch was conducted to the emperor, who tenderly embraced him; after which he went up to the altar, and made a short speech, with which his majesty was mightily pleased; and then they all withdrew in the same grand manner ⁿ.

d AT his first audience with the emperor, in which he was seated on a chair equal with the throne, they appointed the day on which that monarch and all his nobles, clergy, and laity, were to make their public submission, and take the solemn oaths of obedience to the church and see of *Rome*, which was to be on the eleventh of *February* the following year. The day being come, the palace magnificently adorned, and the emperor, his eldest son *Basilides*, his brothers, relations, viceroys, governors, and officers, cloathed in the richest apparel, the patriarch, in his pontificals, entered the grand hall, and being seated, as at his first audience, on his chair at the emperor's left hand, began the ceremony with an elaborate discourse on the supremacy of the church and pontif of *Rome*, intermixed with severe reflections on the past ages, in which the *Abissinian* monarchs had revolted from their allegiance to him: but now the time
e was come, he said, in which they were again to be reduced and re-united to their great and only pastor and fold, and make amends for the defection of their ancestors. This speech was, by the emperor's orders, answered by *Melcha Christos*, his cousin and lord high steward, with great encomiums on the *Portuguese*, and with a declaration that it was his present majesty's sincere intention to perform all his promises and obligations to the pope of *Rome*. The king now-and-then prompting him what to say next, and observing, among other things, *that this was not the first time that he had promised obedience to the pope, seeing he had done it once before, in the presence of one of the fathers of the society of Jesus*. To this the patriarch having given a
f short reply, by way of assent, ordered the holy gospel to be delivered to him; upon which, falling upon his knees, he took the oath of supremacy to the pope, in words to this effect ^o; "We, *Emperor swears submission to the pope.*
" *Soltan Segued*, emperor of *Ethiopia*, acknowledge and confess, that St. *Peter*, the chief of the apostles, hath been appointed by our Lord Jesus Christ head of the whole Christian church; *The purport of the oath.*
" and that he gave him plenary power and authority over the whole world; when he said to him, THOU ART PETER, AND UPON THIS ROCK WILL I BUILD MY CHURCH, AND I WILL
" GIVE THEE THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, &c. and when, on another occasion, he commanded him TO FEED HIS SHEEP. And we likewise believe that the pope of *Rome*, duly elected, is the true successor of St. *Peter*, and is invested with the same dignity and

¹ TELLEZ, ubi supra, c. 35, & seq. LUDOLPH, ubi supra, c. 11. LOBO, Relat. i. p. 27, & seq. LE GRANDE, & al. ^m See before, p. 181, & seq. ⁿ TELLEZ, ubi supra, lib. v. c. 2, & seq. LUDOLPH, lib. iii. c. 11. n. 17, & seq. ^o Id. ibid.

“ power over the whole Christian church. Wherefore we do here promise and swear to our
 “ lord and holy father *Urban VIII.* and to his successors, a true and sincere obedience,
 “ most humbly laying our person and empire at his feet. So help us God and his holy
 “ gospels ^p. ”

*Taken by his
 heir, nobles,
 &c.*

His example was followed by prince *Basilides*, his eldest son, and by all the other princes of the blood, as well as all the other viceroys and grandees, and the whole clergy and laity of the empire ; at the end of which the ceremony was closed with a speech by *Ras Sella Christos*, which he pronounced with his drawn sword in his hand, to this effect : *What is past, is past ; as for those who shall be deficient in their duty, let this (sword) be their punishment.* Which words were thought to have been meant to intimidate those who had joined *Gabrael's* son in the late revolt. After this, they all took the oaths to prince *Basilides*, as the immediate heir to the crown ; upon which occasion, the same *Ras Sella Christos*, like a true son of the *Roman* church, to use Father *Tellez's* own words, tacked to his oath a condition worthy of his noble heart and zeal for Christianity, in words to this effect : *I swear and promise to acknowledge him (the prince Basilides) as the lawful heir and successor of his present majesty, and to obey him like a faithful subject, as long as he shall protect, favour, and maintain, the true catholic faith ; otherwise to become his first and most irreconcilable enemy* ^q.

*Ras Sella
 Christos's
 bold declara-
 tion.*

THIS bold declaration, which neither the emperor nor his presumptive heir thought proper to take notice of at present, was so far from inspiring that monarch with a more favourable opinion of him, that it rather inflamed his jealousy, and much more that of young *Basilides* ; so that, instead of proving of any advantage to the *Roman* church and her missionaries, it rather accelerated their ruin and subversion, as the sequel will soon shew ^r.

*Aproclamation
 for re-ordina-
 tion.*

THIS grand ceremony was immediately followed by a proclamation, expressly forbidding any of the *Abissine* clergy, monks, and priests, to perform any priestly functions, till they were previously examined and approved by the patriarch : there being some reason to doubt whether they had been lawfully examined (S). What was still more insupportable, was another edict, which was issued out quickly after, expressly enjoining all the subjects of the empire to embrace the *Roman* faith under pain of death, and to conform in all the injunctions of that church, with respect to the keeping of Lent, Easter, &c. By this last, all the ladies of the court were likewise obliged to go and take the same oaths of supremacy above-mentioned ; which they actually complied with : so that there seemed now to be nothing wanting to complete the wishes of the prince and his missionaries, and bring the whole empire under the obedience of the pope. They found, however, a greater obstacle to it than they imagined from the clergy and laity, and especially the monks, whom neither threats nor punishments could deter, nor fair promises and caresses induce into a compliance with the edict, but rather drove them away into the mountainous parts for refuge ; where they were, nevertheless, punished with the utmost severity when caught.

*To oblige all
 to turn pa-
 pists.*

*The emperor
 settles great
 revenues on
 the patriarch.*

WHILST the patriarch and his agents were carrying on these forced conversions with a high hand, the emperor was no less solicitous to settle them at their ease. He built him a good house, and gave him large lands for his maintenance, on the borders of *Dembea* and *Ba-gameder*, and added to it a seminary for sixty *Abissinian* and *Portuguese* youths, to be instructed in both languages, and in the *Roman* faith. Besides these, he caused other houses to be built in several parts of the empire, for the residence of the missionaries, and another edifice near the camp of *Dancas*, where he resided usually in the winter, that the patriarch might be always nigh his person, and preach to him every *Sunday*, on such topics as were most likely to reconcile his subjects to the *Romish* church. Yet all these pains and

^p TELLEZ, lib. v. c. 3, & seq. LUDOLPH, ubi supra. ibid.

^q TELLEZ, & al. ubi supra.

^r Idem

(S) If *Tellez* and his brethren may be believed, there was more occasion for such an examination than a reader would at first imagine ; witness what we have had occasion to observe on that subject in a foregoing section (44) : for, besides that they did not confer any of the lesser orders, the ordination of deacons consisted, it seems, only in anointing their heads, and shaving some parts thereof ; and that of the priests, in taking a loaf of bread off the church window with their own hand :

infomuch that, on a certain time, almost 3000 resorting to the abuna of *Alexandria* to be ordained, he not being at leisure to perform the ceremony, bid them all go and take what orders they would, and go about their business (45). But there is something so improbable in this account, that one would wish for a more impartial authority than those writers, before he can give credit to it (46).

(44) See before, p. 225, & seq. Differt. de Ordinac. p. 342, & seq.

(45) *Alvarez, Tellez, ubi supra.*

(46) Vide Le Grande,

- a precautions brought as few sincere profelytes into it as their other severities. Still the people found something to dislike and complain against in their worship; such as kneeling at church, fixed altars, crucifixes, auricular confessions, and many other such; particularly the structure of their churches, one of which was built at *Gorgoras*, of lime and stone, with a stately roof, and a great deal of carving in it and in the choir and vestry, all which appeared strange and irregular to them. It was, however, dedicated this year, with great solemnity, after the *Romish* manner, which pleased them no better than the building. About the same time two missionaries, who had made a great number of converts in the province of *Cegued*, in the extreme parts of the kingdom of *Tigre*, were massacred by that people: soon after which, that kingdom was visited with a plague of locusts, (such as we have elsewhere observed is very common in that empire^a), which did such damage to it, that above 5000 families were obliged to seek for sustenance in other provinces. This judgment was, according to their natural superstition, attributed by the *Portuguese* to the murder of the two missionaries above-mentioned; and by the *Abissinians* to the persecutions raised against them by the *Romanists*.

The people dislike the popish worship.
1626.

Kill two of their priests.

The locusts ravage in Tigre.

- ON the next year the kingdom of *Gojam* was over-run with the neighbouring *Gallas*, where, among other cruelties and ravages, they surpris'd the viceroy at *Buco*, and murdered him. They would probably have done more mischief, had not *Ras Sella Christos* come upon them suddenly, and obliged them to re-cross the *Nile* in the dead of the night, and return to their own mountains. The next year, in which five more Jesuits, with some difficulty, arrived at *Fremona*, a new sedition was hatched by one of the emperor's sons-in-law, named *Tekla Guergis*, or *Georgios*, then viceroy of *Tigre*, in which he was joined by two famous nobles, *Gebra Marjam*, and *John Acayo*. These immediately declared for the *Alexandrian* church, in opposition to that of *Rome*; and, to shew they were in earnest, he ordered some crucifixes, rosaries, beads, and other popish trinkets, to be thrown into the fire; and one of the new ordained priests, whom the Jesuits had recommended to be his chaplain, to be stripped of his priestly dress, and strangled. Against him the emperor sent *Kebaxos*, al. *Keba Christos*, who had lately been viceroy of that kingdom, at the head of 500 targeteers, 100 horse, and 1000 men, whom he drew out of that of *Gojam*, and with whom he marched against the revolted with such swiftness, that though they were above a hundred leagues from them, he overtook and defeated them, and put an end to the rebellion in less than a month. *Tekla Guergis*, the ringleader of it, being taken, and sent prisoner to the imperial court, was condemned by the emperor, though he was doubly his son-in-law, as having married two of his daughters, one after the other, not only to lose his life, but to be hanged like a common malefactor, at the head of his camp. What must appear still more rigorous, he ordered a sister of his to undergo the same shameful death, for having, as he pretended, favoured that revolt under-hand: and this, in spite of all the prayers and intreaties of his court, of both sexes, in her behalf; it being, till then, an unheard-of thing in *Ethiopia* to condemn a woman, much more a lady of rank, to such a death. No wonder if the whole court was seized with dread and horror at such an unusual instance of inflexibility.
- By this time the *Romish* religion seemed to have reached the highest pitch of success that it ever had in this country. They had, besides nineteen Jesuits, many natives who had been ordained by the patriarch, and a prodigious number of converts. They were now laying the foundation for a new cathedral; other churches were beautified and ornamented in the *Romish* way. The proud patriarch had got such an ascendant over the monarch, that he was above paying any regard to the laws and customs of the country, assuming to himself an authority vastly superior to what any of their abunas had ever pretended, or dared to have aimed at: he thundered out the most dreadful excommunications, for the least offences, even against some of the chief officers of the court, and could hardly be prevailed upon by the sovereign to recall them. An Iegee, or chief of the monks, a man of great sanctity, dying in the *Abissinian* faith, had been buried at the foot of the altar of their church: of which *Mendez* being apprised, he ordered his body to be taken up and thrown on a dunghill; which was accordingly done; infomuch that the *Abissinians* could not forbear complaining aloud, that the *Portuguese* exercised their cruelties and resentment, not only against the living, but against the dead.

1627.
The Gallas over-run Gojam.

1628.

Tekla Guergis raises a revolt.

Is taken and hanged with his own sister.

A new cathedral built by the patriarch.

BUT whilst every thing seemed to go according to their wishes, the seeds of all the disasters that befel them soon after, had been for some time sowing underhand by *Melcha Christos*, a rank schismatic, as *Tellez* styles him; but, in good truth, an enemy to all *Roman* innovations, and

^a See before, p. 187, & seq. & al.

^c *Iid. ubi sup.*

^u *TELLEZ, ubi supra, c. 14, & seq. LUDOLPH,*

their authors and favourers: and one who plainly foresaw how impossible it would be to stop a their surprising progress, as long as two such powerful friends as the emperor and his brother *Ras Sella Christos*, went so unanimously hand in hand to support them: so that there could be no other means found to stop the career of the former, but by sowing the seeds of jealousy between the latter (T). We have already taken notice of the one being deprived of his viceroyship of *Gojam*, the best and richest in the whole empire, by the other; and this it was that laid the foundation for all the disturbances and revolts which we are now going to relate.

1629. ONE of the first of these seditions was raised in the next year among the *Agaus* of *Bagameder*, whose dwelling is amongst some of the highest mountains in the empire; against whom the emperor marched at the head of 25,000 foot and 2000 horse; but attacking them too indiscretely among their high rocks, was repulsed with great loss. He next ordered his brother *Ras Sella Christos* to lead another army against them; who, though lately stripped of his government and rich territories, readily obeyed; and, falling upon such of them as had ventured down from the mountains, prevented the rest from doing any more mischief. He was soon after obliged to march into the kingdom of *Ambara*, where another revolt had been raised by one *Lacu Mariam*, when he came so suddenly upon them, that the greatest part were either slain, or perished in their flight, by their fall into those deep precipices. This was no sooner quelled than another began on the mountains of *Lasta*; against whom the emperor dispatched *Keba Christos*, viceroy of *Tigre*; who, venturing too far with his small force, was slain by those mountaineers, and his men put to the route. About the same time the *Gallas* made a fresh irruption into the kingdom of *Gojam*, whom *Zegur Egzi*, lieutenant to *Ras Sella Christos*, venturing to oppose with too small a force, was himself slain, and his troops utterly defeated. By the death of these two last commanders, the *Romish* religion lost two of its most principal props, next to the emperor and his brother: and these two last coming at length to an open rupture, soon occasioned an extraordinary change; and those who disapproved of that monarch's measures in favour of it, ceased not filling his mind with fears and jealousies, both against him and the *Portuguese*; so that matters quickly put on a different face; and those who had, for fear of punishment, complied with his edict, and embraced his new religion, only conceived the greater dislike to it, and missed no opportunity of shewing it^w, whilst the patriarch was still giving them fresh occasions for it.

FOR besides his excommunications, and other violent measures and proceedings already mentioned, he had lately taken it into his head to have a woman arrested for a witch; which he soon found gave universal disgust to the people, who abhor the supposition of any such contract between men and devils, as implying, in their opinion, two Gods, or first causes, one of good the other of evil. In this they seem much more judicious than the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, who greedily swallow every absurd story of witchcrafts, possessions, and diabolical works: and when these have urged the Scriptures against them in favour of wizards, witches, &c. their answer was, if there ever were any in other countries, they never had any in *Ethiopia*. But it is not unlikely that the patriarch intended to introduce the inquisition, with other innovations, among them; witches and wizards commonly affording a plentiful, as well as gainful, exercise, to the greedy inquisitors; as one may judge by their *attos de fe*: and it is the more probable that this woman was pitched upon to lead the dance, as *Tellez* himself says, that she had been convicted of, and had herself confessed, the crime. However that be, the patriarch was obliged to let her go unpunished.

^w TELLEZ, *ibid.* c. 15, & seq. LUDOLPH, & al. *ubi sup.*

(T) This was done, it seems, by inspiring the emperor with a strong suspicion that there was a private understanding between the *Portuguese* and *Ras Sella Christos*; and that, notwithstanding the specious pretences of gratitude and zeal for him and his successor, they had united their interests with no other view than to deprive him and *Basilides* of the crown; and, by their assistance, to seize upon the empire. To this end, they assured his majesty, that the patriarch and his missionaries had sent pressing instances into *Europe*, for a

fresh supply of forces and artillery from thence, and that they only waited for their arrival before they ventured to declare for that false brother of his: who, on his part, had engaged to make them such large concessions, as he well knew could not fail of engaging that haughty and ambitious nation to his interest (47). This was a double piece of *Machiavilian* policy, and raised an equal jealousy in that monarch against *Ras Sella Christos*, and the whole *Portuguese* tribe. We shall soon see how well it succeeded.

(47) *Tellez, Ludolph, & al. sup. citat.*

- a He behaved, indeed, much more becoming his character with regard to one of the emperor's daughters, a light princess, (as most of that rank are said to be*) who had two husbands living, yet cohabited with a third in open adultery, and was desirous to be married to him. She solicited the patriarch for some time in the most pressing manner, to consent to, and to grant her a dispensation for it; which he as strenuously refusing, it exasperated her to that degree, that, to be revenged on him, she set all the men over whom she had any influence, against him. Thus, by one means or other, both he and his church became daily more odious to the people; and the emperor, who in this last case acted so much below the character of a pious prince, as he would have been thought, with respect to his lewd daughter, lost daily more the love and esteem of his subjects, and gave them new occasion and encouragement for fresh revolts.

b ACCORDINGLY, on the next year, the revolters in the kingdom of *Ambara* took up their arms again; and having made choice of a new chief, to whom they gave the title of viceroy, sent him, at the head of a powerful force, to possess himself of the kingdom of *Tigre*. Unfortunately for him, he kept himself so little upon his guard, that he was surprised by the viceroy of that province, as he was carousing on a *Saturday* (which they still observed as the sabbath) and intirely defeated, with the loss of 4000 men and 32 pair of kettle-drums. About the same time another party of the *Agaus* was intirely cut off on the mountains by *Ras Sella Christos*; yet did not this, nor his other late services, diminish in the least the suspicion which the emperor entertained against him. Towards the latter end of the year arrived a new bishop of *Nice* from *Goa*, and last from *Suakem*, in the room of *James Seco*, who, as was hinted a little higher, died at sea, in his way hither. This new prelate was called *Don Apollinaris d'Almeyda*; and arriving at *Fremona* about the middle of *August*, (their winter) could not come to court till that season was over: but upon his reaching the imperial camp on the 16th of *December*, he met with a most gracious reception there; and, after a fortnight's stay, retired to the patriarch's palace at *Depsau*, four leagues distant from *Dancaz*.

- c ON the next year, the emperor having sent the new viceroy of *Gojam*, named *Serca Christos*, with a small army, to convoy the tribute of gold that was coming from the kingdom of *Enarea* (V) against the *Gaffates*; as soon as he entered the territories of those free-booters, and saw them covered with multitudes of large cattle, he set aside the thoughts of escorting the tribute, of which he knew he had no share, and seized upon such a large number of their cows, as he judged would yield him a much richer booty; and accordingly was driving near 100,000 of them towards *Dancaz*. The emperor, highly indignant at this insult, sent him express orders to restore the cattle to the owners, and to surrender himself prisoner; but he, instead of obeying, issued out a proclamation, declaring prince *Basilides* emperor; and commanding all that embraced the *Romish* faith to abjure it out of hand, and return to that of *Alexandria*. This was done without the young prince's consent, or even knowledge; and did no less exasperate him against him, than it did his father; and having obtained his leave, he marched directly against him at the head of his army. The rebel was no sooner apprised of his approach, than he sent an express to a young prince of the race of some of the antient emperors, inviting him to come and accept of the crown, and assist him in restoring the old *Abissinian* church, and driving all the jesuits and *Portuguese* out of the empire; assuring him, that he could not fail of being supported in it by all the monks, and the far greater part of the grandees and people.
- d THIS prince, whose name was *Melcha Christos*, readily accepted the offer; and raised what forces he could get, in order, if possible, to join those of *Serca Christos*. In the mean time he caused a manifesto to be published, importing, that he did not take up arms with any intent of seizing on the sovereign power, but only to extirpate the *Roman* religion, and restore the old *Alexandrian* faith through the empire. This declaration failed not to draw great numbers of monks, and other people who had retired into the mountains, to his

* See before, p. 193.

† Vide LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 14. & al. sup. citat.

(V) We have elsewhere observed, that this new-conquered kingdom paid rather a free-will offering, than a tribute, to the *Abissinian* monarchs; they being in no condition to oblige them to it, by reason of their vast distance, and the country of the *Gaffates* lying for the most part between them. For this reason, though it consisted only of 1000 ounces of gold, or about 10,000 crowns, yet such was the indigence of those monarchs, that they were glad to send a caravan, under a strong convoy, to fetch it from thence, and to prevent its being intercepted by those free-booters (48).

These *Gaffates* spread themselves along the banks of the *Nile*, on the south side of the empire, between the kingdoms of *Gojam* and *Damot*; and their country so abounds with grass, that they breed an innumerable multitude of black cattle; which being of a large size, and very fat and fleshy, bear a great price thro' all the neighbouring kingdoms and provinces: so that we need not wonder at the preference which this revolted viceroy gave to 100,000 of them, before 1000 ounces of gold (49).

(48) See before, p. 175.
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(49) Tellez, Ludolph, Lobo, et al. sup. citat.

party. But upon information that young *Basilides* was advancing towards *Serca Christos*,^a he thought it more expedient to fortify himself among those almost inaccessible rocks, and wait for a more favourable opportunity. On the other hand, the emperor, seeing himself threatened by those two revolts in different parts of his dominions, was obliged to send for his brother again, and to be reconciled to him, in order to advise with him what course to steer against them: whereupon *Ras Sella Christos* counselled him to send a new reinforcement to his son, together with express orders to go and attack the rebel *Serca Christos*: of which he acquitted himself with such diligence and success, that he was forced to retire with all speed over the *Nile*; whither still closely pursuing him, he obliged him to come to a sharp engagement, in which his foes were totally routed: upon which he fled to the neighbouring mountains; but before three days were over, he surrendered himself to the prince; by whom he was sent prisoner to the imperial camp, and there bastinadoed to death.^b Seven of his companions being likewise conducted thither in chains, had their heads cut off. One of his chief officers, who was of the number, and had the boldness to vent his dire blasphemies, as *Tellez* styles them^c, against the church of *Rome*, as he hung suspended on a hook, had his tongue cut out; and, towards night, was dispatched by a volley of darts^d.

This success encouraged the emperor to march at the head of his whole army against the other revolters, who lay encamped on the high mountains of *Lasta*: for by this time he was relapsed into his old suspicions against his brother, and obliged him to retire to his own house. He therefore divided his army into three bodies, in order to enter those mountains by as many ways; and had the good luck at first to surprise and kill some of the revolters: but one of his bodies having met with a more warm reception, and been repulsed^e with great loss, he thought fit to withdraw with more haste than honour, before the rebels had stopped his way through those passes, which would have cut off his provisions, and reduced his army by famine, as well as prevented his retreat: and he had the good fortune to time it so well, that he gained the imperial camp at *Dancas*, without any farther damage than the dishonour of leaving the kingdom of *Begameder* exposed to the fury and resentment of the revolters: the consequence of which ill-concerted expedition was, that it greatly tarnished his fame, and disheartened his friends, at the same time that it raised the spirits of his enemies^f. The patriarch was very diligent in making his visitations in the kingdom of *Dembea*, and others about it; whilst the new bishop of *Nice* did the same in other parts; and the jesuits, in their respective cantons; and all of them successfully enough, by their own accounts, to make daily a great number of proselytes. But notwithstanding all these boasted conversions, the *Alexandrians* gained so much ground at court, that they now made no scruple to tell the emperor, *That all these disasters were wholly owing to the change of religion he had occasioned in his dominions, and that neither he nor the people must expect peace or tranquility, as long as he upheld and promoted the Romish religion; which, how right soever it might be, could never appear so to his subjects, as long as it condemned that in which they had been brought up: that it was next to impossible ever to persuade them that circumcision, or the observance of the sabbath, could be offensive to God; or that the Alexandrian liturgy, and calendar of fasts and festivals, ought to give place to those of Rome. That it would therefore be more safe if he would relax his severity in those points, which did in no-wise attain the essentials of Christianity, and grant them a full liberty to go on in their antient rites and customs, seeing all the efforts of Ras Sella Christos, and his partisans, to the contrary, were chiefly levelled against his and his kingdom's safety*^g.

THESE representations, joined to the danger he was in from the revolters in *Lasta*, lately mentioned, made such an impression on the emperor, that he communicated them to the patriarch; who, on his part, though very loth to relax, yet at such a juncture, being glad to lower his sails, and rather remit a little, than lose all, consented that some small concessions should be made to the people, provided they were not repugnant to the *Roman* faith. Accordingly, before he went afresh against the revolters, he issued out a proclamation in his army, 1. That they should be allowed the use of their old books and rites in the divine service, provided they were revised by the patriarch. 2dly, That they should observe all their festivals according to the old *Alexandrian* calendar, except that of *Easter*, and those that immediately depended upon it. And, 3dly, That those who cared not to fast on *Saturday*, should do it on *Wednesday*. These were indeed very trifling concessions at the best, and consequently such as neither could satisfy the *Abissinian* clergy nor laity. But what more surprised the emperor, was, that they highly displeased the patriarch himself; who thereupon took the liberty to expostulate with him in very unbecoming terms; telling him, that he might as well have given them free liberty to return to their old *Alexandrian* faith, seeing they

^a Ubi sup. c. 25.
& seq. LUDOLPH, ubi sup.

^b Id. ibid. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 11. p. 70, & seq.
^d TELLEZ, c. 28. LUDOLPH, ubi sup.

^c TELLEZ, ibid. c. 26,

a would of course take his proclamation in that sense. Yea, he went so far as to remind him of the fate of the Jewish king *Uzziah*^c, who was smitten by God with a leprosy, for having presumed to infringe on the priestly office: intimating thereby, that it belonged solely to the Pope, and to himself, his vicar, to grant such licences; and that he had in that usurped a power which did not belong to him. 1631.

THIS bold epistle could not but nettle the emperor to a great degree, and could not fail of making him sensible how much too generous he had been in his vast concessions to those pretended successors of *St. Peter*, and what advantage they took now of his too great weakness. Nevertheless, as he was now going on such a dangerous expedition, he contented himself with sending him a suitable answer; in which, among other things, he reminds him, *That when the Romish religion first began in his dominions, it did not owe its establishment to the preaching of the jesuits, nor to any miracles they wrought in confirmation of it, nor to the good-liking of his subjects, but merely to his own approbation and free good-will; inasmuch as we found that the doctrines of our (Alexandrian) books were quite conformable to it: and consequently could not see that he had given the patriarch any occasion of complaint.* We shall beg leave here to subjoin a remark or two upon this answer: the one is, that the *Abissinians*, whom the *Portuguese* writers represent as ignorant, illiterate, and untractable, were yet able enough to perceive, that the dispute about the incarnation was founded on mere words, ill understood and explained: and, 2dly, that all the miracles which are related by those writers, particularly by father *Guerreiro*, are no better than mere invented fables; seeing that monarch, though so zealous for their religion, did not know of any such having been wrought. All this did not put an end to the contention between him and the haughty patriarch, whose savage behaviour on this occasion is justly blamed, even by those of his own church, and looked upon as the chief cause both of the total expulsion of all the missionaries and *Portuguese* out of that empire, and likewise of that of the irreconcilable hatred which the whole *Abissinian* nation hath borne ever since, and doth to this day, not only to the *Portuguese*, but to all the *Franks* or *Europeans*. *His just answer to him. Two remarks upon it.*

BUT it is time now to come to the emperor's new expedition against the *Lastan* revolt, in which he once more thought fit to recall his brother *Ras Sella Christos* to take the command; and, in spite of all his remonstrances, obliged him to go and attack them with only 3000 men. Whether this was done with a design to sacrifice him to his still corroding jealousy or not, we are not told, neither will pretend to affirm; but that brave general was presently beset with 20,000 rebels, and though he defended himself with the utmost bravery, as well as did at the same time *Keba Christos*, viceroy of *Begameder*, who lay at a small distance with his forces, yet being abandoned at length by their men, in the night, they were both forced to save themselves by flight. This disaster so alarmed the emperor, that he retired to the kingdom of *Gojam*, whilst the elated revolted were taking their measures to go and make themselves masters of *Dancaz*, the usual place of his residence; and a great part of his forces were plotting to go over to them. The fear he was in lest if the rebels seized on his court, the rest of the empire should declare for them, obliged him to try his fortune once more; so that leaving his baggage behind him, he marched directly towards them, all night, at the head of 20,000 men^f; in which attempt he succeeded much better than ever he had done. *The emperor marches against the rebels. Ras Sella Christos put to flight by them.*

HE was then encamped advantageously for the season, which was the beginning of winter, when on the 27th of *June* news was brought to him by his scouts that the enemy was advancing towards him with 25,000 men, but most of them ill disciplined and armed. They arrived accordingly about noon within sight of his camp, upon which, the imperial horse leading the van; the emperor himself clapping spurs to his horse, and being followed by the rest of his cavalry, they charged the rebels with such fury, that they fled at the very first onset like so many sheep before the wolf, and yielded them a complete victory. Night coming on, many of these mountaineers endeavouring to save themselves by flight during the darkness, dashed themselves in pieces among the rocks; the others were either slain or taken by the pursuing imperialists; insomuch that, by the next day, the slain were found to amount to 8000: the rest endeavoured to regain their high recesses, and abandoned their camp to the victors. 1632. *Susneus engages and defeats them.*

THIS signal defeat, which filled the *Portuguese* with joy and triumph, and made them imagine now that none would be so bold as to oppose the progress of their religion, had, however, a quite contrary effect, as it drove both the *Alexandrians* and imperialists into the utmost consternation. The chief officers of the court, in particular, accompanied the emperor in a mournful guise to the field of battle, and there addressed themselves to him in words to this effect^g. "You see here, Sir, many thousands of your subjects slain be- *His officers pathetic remonstrance to him:*

^c TELLEZ, ub. sup. c. 19. p. 482, & seq.

^f TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, &c. ibid. c. 32. p. 488, & seq. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 12. n. 13, & seq.

^g TELLEZ, ibid.

“ fore your eyes, and by your arms; they were neither *Mohammedans*, nor Gentiles, nor
 “ enemies of the Christian name, but unhappy vassals of yours, and our relations, and our
 “ own flesh and blood; so that whether you conquer, or be conquered, you still are sure
 “ to sheath your sword into your own bowels. Those who took up arms against you, did
 “ not do it out of any dislike to your person or government, but in defence of their ancient
 “ religion, which you would force them to renounce, and exchange for one to which they
 “ can by no means be persuaded to conform. What a deal of blood-shed hath this un-
 “ happy change already caused, and what a deal more is it likely to cause, unless you will
 “ suffer them to continue in that old way of worship, which they received from their an-
 “ cestors? Without this, we shall never enjoy any rest, and you will find yourself shortly
 “ without empire or subjects. Add to this, that our worst enemies, the *Gallas* and *Turks*,
 “ against whom your arms might have been more successfully and gloriously employed, do
 “ hate and despise us still the more, and brand us with the name of renegadoes, for hav-
 “ ing thus deviated from our ancient faith (U).”

backed by his
 son, empress,
 and court.

THIS pathetic remonstrance made so much the deeper impression on the emperor's mind, as he was by this time much worn with age, fatigues, frequent wars, and revels, to say nothing of his suspicions against his brother and all the *Portuguese*: but what helped to sink it still deeper, was, that the prince, his son, the empress, and all the great ones of the court, were daily making pressing instances to him to restore the old religion, inso- much that he fell into a deep melancholy, and took to his bed; during which time the courtiers took that opportunity to publish an edict as from him, that the people might all return to the ancient faith, or embrace which church they liked best. The patriarch failed not, according to custom, to censure this conduct in the severest terms, and to exhort him to make a better advantage of the victory which God had granted to him, and to finish what he had so nobly begun. The emperor answered, that he had done all that was in his power, till he saw himself on the brink of being abandoned by all his subjects; and so without any further regard to his censures, or the solicitations of the bishop and his jesuits, suffered the proclamation to come out; which was to this effect: “ Hear ye, hear: “ we gave you this faith because we believed it good; but as innumerable have lost their “ lives on account of it, among which were *Elus* (*Ælius*, or *Julius*) *Gabrael*, *Tekla*, *Gerguis*, “ *Secra Christos*, and now lately the *Lastan* mountaineers, we do now restore to you the faith “ of your forefathers. The former clergy may return to their churches, perform the divine “ service after their ancient ritual, restore their tabots (small portable altars) and other “ branches of their function. Farewell, and do ye rejoice.”

Issues out a
 proclamation
 for liberty of
 conscience:

THIS edict (which *Tellez* scruples not to style impious, sacriligious, and the source of many dangerous errors, which crept in, in consequence of it, through the perverseness of the *Abissinian* clergy^h) caused an inexpressible joy among not only all the monks and priests, but among the army and laity. These last expressed it more particularly by flinging the beads, and other popish trinkets which the missionaries had given them, into the fire. The clergy began to perform their functions as usual, to administer the communion in both kinds: the ceremony of circumcision, together with that of the general ablution on the festival of epiphany, and by the *Portuguese* falsely styled rebaptizationⁱ, were renewed every-where with extraordinary zeal and exultation; a short hymn having been composed on that occasion, and sung at the revival of the old worship, to this effect.

Ganticle sung
 in memory of
 “.

THE Ethiopian sheep are now delivered
 From western wolves, by the doctrine of the apostle St. Mark,
 And of Cyril, the two pillars of the Alexandrian church.
 Rejoice and be glad, and sing hallelujahs;
 Ethiopia hath escaped from the wolves of the West^k.

IT may be proper to observe, that though the proclamation above-mentioned restored the *Abissinian* church in *statu quo*, yet it did not exclude the *Roman* priests from the free exercise of their own. But by this time the latter were become so odious through the whole empire, and the emperor so little able, if he had been still inclined, to support them,

^h Ub. sup. c. 35. LUDOLPH, ub. sup. sup. num. 51.

ⁱ De hoc, vid. sup. p. 243. & seq.

^k Vid. LUDOLPH, ub.

(U) This last was so far true, that *Tellez* tells us, in another place, that the king of *Adel*, his neighbour, and a *Mohammedan*, who had caused two jesuits, then going into *Abissinia*, to be apprehended, and put to death, afterwards wrote a haughty reproachful letter, in which he styles him the apostate *Susneus* (48).

Neither need we wonder that *Jews*, *Turks*, and *Heathens* should be so exasperated at his defection; not indeed out of any particular regard they could have for the *Abissinian* church, but out of downright hatred against that of *Rome*, and the *Portuguese* nation, whose growing power in his dominions had justly alarmed them (49).

(48) *Tellez*, lib. iv. c. 29.

(49) *Ludolph*, . iii. c. 12. n. 16.

- a. as he was now languishing under a deep melancholy and a broken constitution, that the *Abissinian* clergy made no difficulty to seize on several of their new churches, such especially as came nearest to the *Alexandrian* model; some of which more resembled strong fortresses than Christian churches. Here the patriarch tried once more to rouse up the drooping zeal of the desponding monarch, by representing to him, that his forbearance and inactivity was going to bring a civil war into his dominions between the *Alexandrians* and the *Romanists*. An indiscrete and ill-timed intimation this at such a juncture! but to which he could only answer, *What can I do? I, who have now neither empire nor authority left.* His brother, *Ras Sella Christos*, wrote a pressing letter to him, which is still preserved by the *Portuguese* writers; but which, if genuine, shews more zeal and prejudice, than either reasoning, or even common sense; nor was it then a proper time to apply to him, in the bad state he was in¹.

The Abissinians seize on their churches.

The emperor's low condition.

- b. THE emperor, unable to support himself longer under such a load and variety of diseases and calamities, expired on the 16th of *September* of the same year, in the sixty-first of his age, and 24th of his reign, not without some suspicion of his having been dispatched before his time by poison; though by what appears from all accounts we have from thence, he really died of excess of grief and a worn-out constitution, occasioned through a long series of rebellions within, and wars from without, and other murmurs and disasters which followed him closely during his whole unhappy reign; which might have proved a glorious and prosperous one, had the missionaries never set foot within his dominions. He died, we are told, in the *Romish* faith, and still kept two of those fathers about him to his dying hour. His body was buried with great pomp in the church of *Ganeta Jesu*, about four leagues from *Dancaz*, the place where he usually resided, and now died. We have elsewhere described the ceremony of his interment, and of his son's installation to the throne, and need not repeat it here^m.

Death.

1633.

Funeral.

- c. *BASILIDES*, al. *Facilades*, his eldest son, succeeded him (who took the name of Soltan *Segued*); and, from the very beginning of his reign, shewed himself a mortal enemy to the church of *Rome*, to her missionaries, and to all her friends and converts. The very first person on whom he wreaked his resentment, was his uncle *Ras Sella Christos*, whom he stripped of the few lands and dignities which the late emperor had left him, and ordered him to be conducted into banishment, in chains, to the kingdom of *Samen*, or *Cemen*, where he lived like a common criminal under a guard; which severe treatment was probably less owing to the extraordinary zeal which he had always shewn for that church, than for the threatening words he uttered as he was taking the oath of allegiance to himⁿ. Several other great men underwent the same banishment; particularly *Azag-Tino*, the late emperor's secretary, and the princess *Vatatta Georgissa*, his first cousin; and others were put to death for having spoken too vehemently against the *Alexandrian* church, and called that faith the religion of dogs. The fathers *Mattos* and *Giroko*, two jesuits who had continued with the emperor till his death, were ordered to depart from *Dancaz*, and repair to *Ganeta Jesu*, whence they were again turned out with four, and sent with eight more out of the monastery of *Gorgorra* to *Cottela*, where twelve of them lived for some time very hardily.

Succeeded by Basilides, who prosecutes the popish partizans. Ras Sella Christos banished.

- d. AMONG all these delinquents, one may easily imagine that the haughty patriarch was not treated more favourably than his inferior brethren. This prelate had taken the liberty to write to the emperor in favour of these fathers, whom he had stripped of all their lands, and designed to confine them at *Fremona*; but having now received an order from him, by two of his officers, to surrender into their hands all the fire-arms which were in his possession, and to retire immediately to the same place, he now resolved to expostulate with him in a second letter; in which, among other things, he said, "That it was not of his own accord that he was sent patriarch into *Abissinia*, but at the command of the pope and king of *Portugal*, and at the request of the emperor his father; and now he begs of him, since he is going to dismiss him out of his dominions, to let him and the world know his motives for so doing; and whether he and his brethren are condemned to banishment on account of their faith or morals. I have," continued he, "in compliance to your father, remitted all our peculiar rites, except that of the communion in both kinds, which the pope alone can dispense with; and now make you the same offers, provided you and your subjects do submit yourselves to the *Roman* church, as to the mother of all churches; and lastly, I beg that we may again, as at the beginning, be allowed to have the matter debated in a proper assembly of both parties, that it may be made plainly to appear which side is most in the right."

The patriarch ordered to retire to Fremona.

His letter to that monarch.

- f. To this letter, which *Tellez* hath inserted at full length in *Portuguese*, the emperor was pleased to answer in a calm and judicious manner, by reminding him, *That the breach be-*

The emperor's answer to it.

¹ TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, &c. before, p. 294.

^m See before, p. 211, & 240, & auct. sup. citat.

ⁿ See

^o Histor. Ethiop. lib. v. c. 3. p. 517, & seq.

tween him and the Abissinians was not so much owing to the dispute about the two natures of a Christ, but to their denying them the cup in the communion; to their altering of the fasts and festivals; to their presuming to rebaptize their proselytes; and to re-ordain their priests and deacons; as if the former had not been true Christians, nor the others lawfully ordained before the arrival of the Portuguese. As to having any further conferences about these matters, he plainly tells him, that it was not by dint of arguments that they got their doctrines and rites established among them, but rather by persecution and tyranny, and that there was no good to be expected from any such disputes. He concluded with telling him, that he expected a new Abuna from Alexandria, and last from the kingdom of Enarea, where he was now waiting only for his departure for Fremona; he having signified to him, that he could never consent to appear in any country where there was a Roman patriarch^p (W).

The patriarch obliged to depart:

robbed by his escort.

1633. Arrives safe at Fremona.

Ordered to depart out of the empire.

Hardships and cruelties they met with.

Redeemed at a vast price.

1634.

SOME other messages passed to and fro after the receipt of this letter, but which had no other effect, than to hasten the delivery of all the fire-arms, and the departure of the patriarch and his brethren to their college at *Fremona*; for which place they set out, without farther demur, accompanied by one *Paul*, the emperor's nephew, who was ordered to guard them through the deserts, which swarm with robbers; though, instead of protecting, he was the first who fell foul upon them, and would have stripped them of all their baggage and valuables, had not some of the patriarch's Portuguese killed two or three of his men, and sacred the rest away. Neither would it have been possible for them to have saved any thing that was left them, or even their lives, had not the two other governors, *Tekla Salus* and *Azma Gerguis*, who were to escort them through their own territories, proved more faithful to them. So dreadfully were they way-laid and assaulted through every place they came to; till at length, with much fatigue, loss, and danger, they safely arrived at *Fremona*, on the 24th of *April* of the following year, though in a very miserable plight. We shall follow them no farther than to this place, where they were hardly allowed a small time to refresh and recover themselves, before they received a fresh order from the emperor, expressly enjoining them to leave it, and depart instantly out of his dominions, and embark for the *Indies*. They staid, however, some time, to try to soften the *Abissinian* monarch in their behalf, and used what friends they had left to represent to him the imminent danger they must run from the *Turks*, *Moors*, and other enemies to their religion; and that it was in effect to send them as sheep to the slaughter; or, what was much more dreadful, as poor naked men into a miserable state of slavery. The emperor, though he knew all this perfectly well, was yet so exasperated by his clergy, and others of his court, that he proved inexorable to all these solicitations, and they found themselves obliged to comply with his severe commands. They were first conducted to *Mazowa*, and thence to *Suakem*, where they were most cruelly used by the rapacious and inhuman bashaw; and after having suffered the hardest imprisonment and cruelest indignities, were forced to ransom their liberty at a most exorbitant price. From thence, after many other difficulties and hardships, they arrived at *Goa*, and thence returned to *Lisbon*; where they published this most melancholy account, both of their sufferings and disappointments; though we may reasonably suppose they suppressed the main motives that occasioned it. All that we need add of the patriarch and the two jesuits, that were detained at *Suakem*, is, that they did not obtain their liberty till the 24th of *April*, 1635; when having paid 4000 pieces of eight for their ransom, they were put on board, and arrived safe at *Diu*; from which place *Mendez* soon after sailed to *Goa*, in order to solicit for a fresh reinforcement to be sent into *Abissinia*, but without any success^q.

It is now time to return to *Ethiopia*, and see what passed there after their expulsion. It might indeed have been expected, that after so severe a treatment of those missionaries, and the haughty patriarch, the ferment which they had kindled in the spirits of the *Abissinian*

^p Id ibid. c. 4. & seq. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 13. n. 27. & seq. LOBO, LE GRAND, & al. ub. sup. l. vi. c. 14. & seq. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 14.

^q TELLEZ,

(W) The patriarch *Mendez* couches this last circumstance in much harsher terms, in his letter to the king of *Spain*; and tells him, "That the new Abuna staid some years *incognito* in the kingdom of *Enarea*: but that upon the news of *Mendez's* abdication, he had sent the emperor word, that he could not perform the functions of his dignity, unless the *Latin* patriarch, and the jesuits, were either killed, or banished far enough off (50)." It must be owned, however, that the emperor seems here to have used them with an unbecoming cruelty, in sending them to so distant a place, through deserts which he knew

swarmed with banditti, and not leaving them any fire-arms to defend themselves against them. To which we can only answer, that it was not without good grounds that he feared to trust the Portuguese with such dangerous weapons, which they knew so well how to use upon all occasions, and might be easily induced to have turned against himself; and therefore chose a less hazardous way to secure their retreat, by ordering them a sufficient escort through every place of his dominions which they were to pass; and which, as the sequel shews, actually conducted them safe to that place.

(50) Tellez, l. v. c. 4. Ludolph, Lobo, &c.

- a clergy and laity, as well as the emperor's, would have been in some great measure allayed : but there remained still sufficient cause for it, as long as father *Apollinaris d'Almeyda*, the lately made bishop of *Nice*, and some other of the jesuit fraternity, continued still concealed in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and were privately protected there by the viceroy *Casla Mariam*. Other jesuits discovered and put to death. The emperor was soon apprised of it, who immediately sent him orders, either to deliver them up to the mercy of the *Turks*, or to cause them to be put to death : so that being afraid of concealing them any longer, yet unwilling to sacrifice them to his resentment, he left them at liberty to retire whither they could ; which they did, the bishop to father *Rodriguez's* retreat, where he continued for some time, and the other to a poor thatched cottage, where he lay concealed a whole year. About the same time *Tekla Emanuel*, governor of *Affa*, being removed for having entertained three others of the fraternity, his brother, who succeeded him, did not leave off searching after them, till he found them Tekla Emanuel removed for protecting them. in the retreat where they lay hid, and killed father *Gasper Pays*, and three other *Portuguese* youths, and left the rest dangerously wounded ; particularly F. *John Pereyra*, who died a week after of his wounds. Nor was the emperor less severe against such of his subjects as still persisted in their profession of the *Roman* faith ; six of the principals of whom he caused to be put to cruel deaths, and others to be persecuted with equal rigour : to avoid which, many of them either fled, or returned to the ancient church. Their deaths.

- THIS continued till the year 1638, when the bishop of *Nice*, and his two companions, being delivered up to the emperor, he condemned them to death ; but afterwards changed their sentence into that of banishment : but this not pleasing their enemies, they were all three hanged. Several others, some of whom had lain concealed till this time, and others who were lately arrived, particularly six *French* Capuchins, were all likewise put to death. Notwithstanding all these severities, there remained yet some other jesuits concealed here and there ; and among them F. *Lewis Cordeyra* and *Bruno Bruni*, who, in spite of all the emperor's promises and threats, were publicly protected by the lord of *Temben*, an *Abissinian* nobleman, of the kingdom of *Tigre*. But he was quickly after closely besieged, and, after a vigorous defence, slain by the viceroy of that kingdom : the news of whose death was brought to *Amba Salama*, or the holy mountain, where those two fathers had made a vast number of such zealous proselytes, that rather than deliver up their spiritual guides, they chose to endure the greatest extremities of hunger and thirst, during more than a year ; that is, till the year 1640 ; when being reduced to mere skeletons, and having obtained of the emperor an amnesty both for themselves and their two guides, they suffered them to be conducted to a neighbouring town, where a fair was kept in the month of *March*, and where, we are told, they were publicly hanged, notwithstanding the emperor's solemn engagement to the contrary. and at length publicly hanged.

- WE shall go no farther with the history of those persecutions and public executions, nor with the methods which the courts of *Rome* and *Spain*, and the society *de propaganda fide*, took afterwards to gain fresh footing in *Abissinia* ; those transactions relating rather to the church history of that country, and consequently out of our province. Those of our readers who are curious in those things, may have recourse to the authors mentioned in the following note (X) for a fuller account. We shall therefore conclude this head with a remark, no less judicious than true, of one of the learned of the *Romish* church, often quoted in this chapter. Le Grand's character of the prelate Mendez. “ It were to be wished that the patriarch (*Mendez*) who was in other respects a man of excellent talents, had never intermeddled with such a variety of affairs, and had not carried his authority to such a height, and behaved in *Ethiopia* as if he had been in a country where the inquisition is established ; by which means he set all the people against him, and made all catholics, and the jesuits especially, appear so odious, that the hatred which the *Abissinians* conceived against them, still continues to this very day.” He might have added, that they bear the same irreconcilable hatred

^r Id. *ibid*,

^s TELLEZ, *ub. sup.* l. vi. c. 16, & seq.

^t LE GRAND, *relat. hist. dissert.* ix. ad fin.

(X) The reader may consult on that occasion the remainder of father *Tellez's* history, and that of Mr. *Ludolph*, so far as they both go. He may also have recourse to the ecclesiastical history of *Ethiopia*, written in *English* by the Rev. M. *Geddes*, chancellor of the cathedral of *Salisbury* ; printed at *London*, anno 1696, 8vo ; and to an epitome of it, written by the learned Dr. *Michael*, professor of divinity and of the oriental languages, at *Hall* in *Saxony* ; in which he takes particular notice of all the disasters which the arrival of the jesuits occasioned in the *Abissinian* empire.

This last piece, which is written in *High Ger-*

man, was first printed at *Hall* above-mentioned, anno 1724, at the head of another piece, intituled, *The life of Peter Heyling of Lubeck*, a young *Lutheran* gentleman, well versed in the *Arabic*, who passed into *Ethiopia* with the new *Egyptian* Abuna ; and during his stay at *Suakem*, held some disputes with the patriarch *Mendez* ; with which this last was so little pleased, because he explained all that was said in the *Arabic* tongue to the by-standers, that he cried out, after they were parted, that if that young doctor ever got into *Abissinia*, he would plunge the whole empire into a most dangerous heresy (51).

(51) *De hoc, vid. Ludolph, Hist. Ethiop. lib. iii. c. 14. n. 6. & seq.*

to all the *Europeans*, of what country or religion soever, whom they all confound under the common name of *Franks*; which they seldom pronounce without the addition of some curse or execration. But let us now take a view of the temporal state of the empire.

1640.

An eruption of
the Gallas.

The emperor's
army routed.

Solicited in
favour of the
jesuits;

raises new per-
secutions
against them.

The patriarch
solicits the
pope and king
of Spain in
vain.

Tries to cor-
rupt the
bashaw of
Suakem;

who sides with
the emperor.

Three Capu-
chins put to
death by him.

The patriarch
and jesuits
suspected at
Rome.
Capuchins
sent in their
stead.

The patriarch
still plots in
India.

Soon after the death of the two fathers last mentioned, there happened a dreadful eruption of the *Gallas* into the kingdom of *Tigre*; a great part of which was laid utterly waste by those barbarians; against whom the emperor sent his son at the head of the choicest part of his army. These were to be joined by the *Saentes*, or lords of lands of that kingdom, and gave the enemy battle on the very spot, we are told, where the fair above-mentioned was kept: the onset was furious on both sides, till the young prince was slain, together with the Bahr-naghash *Tekla Salas*, and some other nobles; upon which the whole imperial army was put to the rout with a great slaughter. Flushed with their success, they returned the following year with such an additional force, that they over-ran above twelve provinces belonging to that large kingdom, and penetrated as far as the sea-coasts, where they intended to have made themselves masters of *Decano*, or, as the *Europeans* call it, the fort *Arkico*; but were forced back by the *Turkish* artillery of it, which began to fly about their ears. The cruelties and ravages they committed in this expedition, were such, if we may credit the intelligence that hath come from thence by the way of *Maxwa*, from some *Portuguese* monks, and others, that the generality of the *Abissinians* looked upon them as judgments from heaven, for their persecutions against the missionaries and their converts: even the empress-mother, as well as his brother *Claudius*, who had been their greatest enemies, became now their most zealous intercessors with her son, and even begged of him to return to that church, and prevent thereby the total ruin of the empire. To all these solicitations he lent only a deaf ear; or, as our author words it, he hardened his heart, and persisting in his old measures, resolved, if possible, to extirpate the very name and memory of papists and *Portuguese* out of his dominions^a.

From this time forward, we hear and read of nothing but of persecutions and civil wars, and other calamities within, new projects and fruitless attempts without, to revive the mission, and get fresh footing in *Abissinia*; and of now-and-then some new monks discovered, and put to death, for endeavouring to procure a private admission into it; whilst the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez*, conscious of his having been the cause both of their expulsion, and of all avenues being so closely shut up against them, ceased not to solicit the courts of *Rome* and *Madrid's* assistance, in favour of some project or other he was hatching, not so much in hopes of regaining his lost dignity, as of retrieving his character, and the credit of his order; but met with nothing from either but discouragements, or at best fair words and fruitless promises. He was even so impolitic as to endeavour to corrupt the bashaw of *Suakem*, who was the greatest enemy and obstacle in their way, by great presents and pompous promises, to permit some fresh jesuits to steal into the empire in disguise, in order to supply the place of the old ones, who he knew were all dead by this time; not considering that the bashaw, being retained by the emperor, would not have failed of putting them to death, or at best to have extorted vast sums from them for their ransom: an eminent instance of which he gave in the year 1648; when having caught three Capuchin friers who were sent on that dangerous errand, he ordered them to be beheaded, their heads to be flayed, and the skins to be stuffed with straw, and sent to that monarch, as a testimony of his compliance, and a claim to his reward.

From this transaction one may draw these two inferences; 1st, That the emperor not only retained an irreconcilable prejudice against all missionaries, but took all proper precautions to prevent their even approaching his dominions. The other, That by this time both the pope, and society *de propaganda fide*, as well as the king of *Spain*, were quite dissatisfied with the proceedings of the patriarch and his jesuits, and their chusing from that time to send Capuchins, Dominicans, and men of any order but theirs, plainly shews that they had conceived some strong suspicions against that politic society. But this caution, instead of producing any good effect towards the reintroducing a mission into the country, rather proved an obstruction to it; the jesuits and their friends being no less industrious and diligent in misrepresenting and undermining all the measures of the other friers, than they were in contriving and promoting their own. The same contrast reigns between the *French* and other missionaries, who were pitched upon for that work, and the *Portuguese*, who were now set aside on account of their being become so odious to the *Abissinians*; although from their frequent disagreements and recriminations, a reader may much sooner perceive their measures and proceedings to favour more of the politic than apostolic spirit, than be able to assign which side is either most guilty, or most misrepresented.

As for the patriarch, though he never dared to return into *Europe*, after his expulsion and disgrace, but still continued in *India* to the day of his death, when he found that all

^a Idem ibid.

- a his solicitations proved ineffectual at *Rome* and *Madrid*, he tried to set up a correspondence with the Capuchins, whom he supposed to be either still at *Suakem*, or to have by that time got into *Abissinia*, in order to know what passed there, and consult about such other measures as the present juncture should suggest; little dreaming that the *Turkish* bashaw had put them to death. He sent thither with this view an *Italian*, named *Torquato Parisiano*, Torquato in the disguise of an *Englishman*, in a ship of the same nation, to that island, where they ^{sent into} landed on the 7th of *May*, 1648. Here they were soon informed, though contrary to the ^{Abissinia.} bashaw's express prohibition, of the fate of the Capuchins: upon which, the *English* advised *Torquato* to return to the ship, seeing he could do no good on shore, but rather ran the ^{Forced to go} risque of his life; to which he complied, and returned in the same ship to *India*. Some other stratagems the old patriarch set on foot afterwards, which proved equally abortive, ^{back.}
- b till death at length put an end to them, and his life and exile, the 29th of *June*, anno 1656, ^{The patriarch} in the 77th year of his age, and 22d of his banishment. ^{dies in India.}

As for the remainder of the emperor's reign, and those of his successors, they are all either wrapped up in obscurity, through the general stop which has been put to all future commerce with that empire, or so differently related by the jesuitical and capuchin writers above-mentioned, that little certainty can be had from either party. If any thing can be depended upon that they have written on the subject, it is the severity with which *Basilides* treated all the missionaries and their converts: among the former, *Tellez* closes his history with, what he styles, the martyrdom of father *Bernard Nogueyra*, whom the patriarch *Mendez* had appointed his vicar-general, after the death of all the others, and was the last who suffered for that cause. As for their converts, they had not so much as the least toleration allowed them, but were obliged to return to the *Alexandrian* church, or to abscond themselves from punishment by retiring into mountains and deserts: but there is little reason, whatever those writers may pretend to the contrary, to suppose that the numbers of these were any thing so great as they represent them; seeing, even by their own accounts, the *Abissinians* were always more ready to change sides upon all emergencies, than to suffer for either. It is therefore more probable, that after the death and expulsion of those fathers, and the arrival of the new Abuna, that church resumed its ancient state; especially as *Ras Sella Christos*, and other great partisans of the see of *Rome*, were effectually deprived of the power and means of raising any new disturbances in favour of it ^w.

- d THIS the patriarch *Mendez* was so sensible of, that, whilst he lived, he ceased not soliciting the viceroy of *Goa*, and the king his master, to attempt a fresh invasion and revolution in that empire. His advice, which favoured more of the martial conqueror, than of the Christian apostle, was, to send a sufficient naval force into the *Red Sea*, to seize on the isle of *Mazowa*, and the port of *Arkico*; then to corrupt or subdue the *Bahr-naghast* to their side, recall the exiled *Ras Sella Christos*, and proclaim him emperor in the room of *Basilides*, and by that means to kindle a civil war throughout the empire: all which he proposed not only as a feasible, but as the only means left of reducing it under the pope's authority. The father *Jerom Lobo*, often quoted in this chapter, had been sent to *Rome* ^{The patriarch's strange politics and advice;} upon the same errand by the patriarch, and had expatiated upon that favourite subject at that court with such warm zeal, that the pope and cardinals began to suspect, that their ^{Lobo's at Rome, suspected.} expulsion and late disasters were rather owing to their having been guilty of some such
- e treasonable attempts and practices, than to any other motive they alleged to throw the blame from themselves. The very slight mention which *Tellez* makes of their endeavours of releasing *Ras Sella Christos* from his exile, and of the revolt of *Za Mariam*, who died sword in hand at the head of the rebellious mountaineers of *Lasta*, lately mentioned, may be sufficient to shew how much reason there was for such a suspicion. However, as neither the pope, nor *Spanish* king, were inclined, or perhaps in a capacity, to attempt any such project against the emperor, it is very likely that both church and state continued peaceable and free from any future attempt, at least from that quarter.

- BUT if we will believe the blind reports that came from thence, a more shameful disaster happened to both from the pretended Abuna, whom we left in the kingdom of *Enarea*, and who, we are told, proved no better than an obscure layman, who was bringing thither some horses from *Nubia*, and who had ventured to assume the patriarchal dignity, and to perform the functions of it undiscovered and unsuspected, till he was at length found out by an *Egyptian*, who knew and betrayed him; at which he was so exasperated, that he murdered him. The emperor was not long uninformed both of the crime and imposture of the pretended Abuna, whom he deposed by his own authority, and sent ^{A false Abuna,} into banishment in the barren island of *Deck*, where all the great criminals of state are ^{deposed and banished.} confined ^x. The true one arrived soon after from *Alexandria*, with his wife and children; but behaved in such a scandalous manner, that the emperor was obliged to depose him like-

^w TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, &c.^x De hac, vid. sup. p. 203.

wife; and sent him under a strong guard to bleach on the top of an almost inaccessible a rock.

The true one
tampered with
by missionaries.

Converses
with the pa-
triarch Men-
dez.

Proves an ene-
my to the
Romanists.
Heyling gets
into Abissinia
with him.

Two Capu-
chins betrayed
by the Abuna,
and stoned.
Heyling's suc-
cess in Ethi-
opia.

Leaves it af-
ter some years.

Put to death
on his return.

AN express was dispatched with all speed to *Alexandria* for a new one; but, in the mean time, father *Agathangelus de Vendosme*, who was now become chief of the Capuchin mission, went thither on purpose to intreat the patriarch to consider the deplorable condition of the new converts in *Abissinia*, and to send thither a milder and more humane Abuna: and one who, by a prudent and charitable conduct, might soften the minds of the court and clergy in their favour, and dissipate, by degrees, those violent prejudices they had conceived against the *Roman* church. The patriarch not only promised to comply with his request, but even wrote a letter to desire the emperor to treat those new converts with less severity, and to abstain from shedding of Christian blood. At the same time he nominated one *Mark*, who professed great friendship for the Capuchin friar, to be his Abuna there. The good old father, highly flushed with his success, sent a letter by him to the patriarch *Mendez*, who was then a prisoner at *Suakem*, full of commendations of the new prelate, and of the great expectation he had conceived from his interposition and good offices. But the *Portuguese* patriarch, more clear-sighted, or perhaps more suspicious, than father *Agathangelus*, soon discovered him, upon their conferring together, to be a strenuous Jacobite; and that, instead of favouring the *Romanists*, he would prove one of their bitterest enemies, as he actually did not long after. In some of these interviews it was, that the young *Lutheran*, *Heyling*, who had agreed with the Abuna to pass with him into *Abissinia*, had the conferences with *Mendez*, which we mentioned in a former note. b

THESE frequent visits were at length broken off by the rapaciousness of the bashaw; who, in order to extort a greater sum from the patriarch for his ransom, caused him to be more narrowly confined; upon which the Abuna and the *Lutheran* made the best of their way into *Abissinia*, where this last was to practise physic, and by that means introduce himself to the emperor. In the mean while, father *Agathangelus*, and five more of his fraternity, depending upon the friendship of the Abuna *Mark*, had found means to ingratiate themselves with the new bashaw whom the Grand Signior had sent to *Mazwa*, and had actually landed with him in that island under his protection. But here *Agathangelus*, burning with desire to try now his success in *Abissinia*, and venturing to cross thither, with another of his brotherhood, in the disguise of *Armenian* merchants, they were both apprehended, and, at their desire, it is most likely, were conducted to the Abuna, expecting no doubt to be cleared and set at liberty by him: instead of which, he publicly declared that he knew them to be *Roman* priests, sworn enemies to the *Abissinian* church, and come thither to oppose and subvert it; upon which they were both stoned to death without farther trial. After which, he and *Heyling* proceeded on their journey to the court, where they both met with a gracious reception: and it is from this last that we are informed of the death of the two Capuchins above-mentioned. He continued several years in this empire, being highly favoured by the court and clergy, both on account of his skill and success in the physical province, and his knowledge of the oriental languages, and in polemic divinity; which last Mr. *Ludolph* attributes, perhaps too fondly, to the great affinity of the *Abissinian* and *Lutheran* principles; adding, that he had been brought up under masters of such great and sincere piety, that they were thought to be infected with enthusiasm. Others, particularly *Mendez*, represent him as infected with quietism; and adds, that *Mira obscuritate omnia ad spiritum referebat*. However that be, he could not conceal his religion so closely, continues that author, but he was at length found out and banished. *Ludolph*, on the contrary, says, that he was greatly esteemed, and raised to high preferments; and that it was with regret that the emperor suffered him to return into *Europe*; which, if he had lived to do, he would have obliged the public with some very curious memoirs of that country; but he fell unfortunately into the hands of the *Arabs*, as some say; others, of the bashaw of *Suakem*, who ordered him to be put to death; but whether by the order of the emperor, or not, is still in dispute between the two parties above-mentioned. All that we can say farther about it is, that if he had had any favourable credentials, or pass, from that monarch, the bashaw was too much his creature to have used him otherwise than well: but he might, peradventure, have been stripped of them by the *Arabs* before he reached *Suakem*, or might not have been able to obtain any, as he left the country so much against that monarch's will. c

THIS may suffice to shew how little dependence there is on any intelligence we have from thence; and that not only on account of the contrast we find between writers of different persuasions and interests, but likewise prejudice and resentment against those of whom they write; of which, perhaps, none have been more misrepresented than the emperor above-mentioned, merely for the disgust he had justly taken against their principles, d

a and the severe measures he was forced to take to prevent his church and empire from being overturned by their politics, and becoming a prey to *Rome* and *Spain*.

We have already observed what pains the late patriarch *Mendez* had taken to corrupt the bashaw of *Suakem* into his interest, and how far the Capuchins had gained that of *Mazwa* to introduce them into *Ethiopia*: and though neither of those attempts succeeded, yet they could not but greatly alarm *Basilides*, especially as a report was spread through all the coasts of the *Red Sea*, and had reached to the heart of his empire, that the *Portuguese*, assisted by all the princes of *Europe*, were equipping a great naval force to invade his dominions; which had obliged him to keep constantly two ambassadors at *Mazwa* and *Suakem*, a third at *Moca*, and a fourth at *Yemen*; and to ply the governors of them with rich presents from time to time, to keep them steadfast in his interest, and oblige them to

b seize on all suspicious persons that attempted to enter into his dominions: yet could not all these precautions prevent some of them running the imminent risk of it.

Among them, one father *Botelko*, who had been some time rector of the jesuits college at *Diu*, took it into his head to try whether he could not prove more successful than his brethren; and ventured to land at *Suakem* in a *Turkish* disguise: of which the *Abissinian* ambassador was no sooner apprised, than he set out with all possible speed to acquaint his master with it, not doubting but there were more of the same fraternity ready to follow him. This intelligence occasioned new instructions and presents to be dispatched to those bashaws and governors, to seize and put to death all the *Portuguese* and *Franks* that came into their hands, and not to suffer any of them to harbour within the neighbourhood of his dominions. The misfortune was, that *Basilides* suffered himself to be drawn into a suspicion that

c his brother *Claudius* was a party concerned in all the machinations that were former against him; that he held a clandestine correspondence with the jesuits, and was entered into a secret alliance with the *Portuguese*.

On this suspicion, which, even from the jesuits own account, was not without a sufficient foundation (Y), at such a critical time, he caused him to be apprehended, and brought before

His severities to his brother, &c. justified.

^a *Ibid. TELLEZ, LOBO, LE GRAND, & al.*

(Y) If this young prince's accusation be not artfully contrived by the jesuitical writers, rather to raise the reputation of the banished patriarch *Mendez*, and his fraternity, and thereby tarnish that of the emperor and the *Abissinian* clergy, at the expence of his character; which, after his execution, none dared to vindicate; it plainly appears from it, that he justly drew that severe punishment upon himself. But that the reader may be the better judge of it, we shall give it in the words of a late *French* writer, who extracted it from the works of the fathers *Nogucyra*, *Torquato*, *Pisani*, and the patriarch *Mendez*. It is to this effect:

“ The young prince's whole crime was, his being
“ suspected of an attachment to the church of *Rome*;
“ for, being little edified by the corrupt morals of the
“ *Abissinians*, and the scandalous lives of the clergy
“ and the Abuna, who led a most licentious life, he
“ frequently compared their conduct with that of the
“ patriarch (*Mendez*) and the jesuits, whose merits and
“ virtues he took delight to extol; and used to say,
“ that in banishing them, they had preserved the tares
“ instead of the good wheat, and had foolishly ex-
“ changed the gold for mere copper.

“ He was for-ever commending the patriarch for his
“ modesty, constancy, piety, and learning; and would
“ often ask whether such another pastor was to be
“ found in all his brother's dominions? All which
“ discourses were reported to the emperor by a domestic
“ of that young prince. It was moreover found out,
“ that he had turned two or three of his officers out of
“ his service for having abjured the *Romish* church: all
“ which, concludes our author, were sufficient to prove
“ him guilty, at a time when being a Roman-catholic
“ was looked upon in the same view as being a traitor
“ to the emperor and the state, and being guilty of every
“ kind of crime (1).” Thus far our author; and we
leave it to the reader to judge, whether a young prince,
that could so publicly vilify the *Abissinian* church and
clergy, and so highly extol that of *Rome*, and her
haughty prelate and missionaries, at a time when the
empire had so strong a party of these within its bowels,

and was threatened with an invasion of all the Roman-catholic princes in *Europe* from without, supposing him to have proceeded to no other overt act, which is scarcely credible, can properly be said to have been unjustly put to death; especially in a country where the emperor is acknowledged to have an unlimited power over the lives and fortunes of all his subjects (2)? Is he to be branded with the names of tyrant and persecutor, for preventing the imminent subversion of church and state, by timely cutting off those who dare even speak and act like professed well-wishers, if not like open promoters, of it? Had the Roman-catholics made no attempt to subject both to a foreign power, but been only prosecuted for their different principles in religion, this might have been justly termed a down-right persecution; and yet not a worse than is practised, and professedly allowed, by their own. He would in this, as head of the *Abissinian* church, have only followed the example of the head of theirs: and the same apology which the learned *Gonzales* makes for the one, would have justified the lesser severities of the other, for departing so far from that Christian and charitable behaviour, which the gospel requires of us towards those that differ from us in points of faith.

His words, to give them no harsher sense than they will bear, are to this effect (3). “ If, in the primitive times, obstinate heretics were not persecuted to death, it was owing to their being then too powerful, and to the pope's not being sufficiently supported by the secular arm of Christian princes. But now, when the Christian faith is so firmly established, and those pontiffs invested with such a sovereign power, it is but just that they should proceed against them with the utmost rigour and severest punishments.” Will not, therefore, this doctrine and practice make it appear still more just in an *Abissinian* monarch, to exercise the same punishments on such delinquents as add the blackest treason to their heresy, and whose faith and principles so plainly tend to overturn their constitution in church and state, and to enslave their country to the declared enemies to both?

(1) *Lobo suite de la relat. de l'Abissin. ap. Le Grand, p. 146. 4to edit. Paris, an. 1728. vide sup. p. 207, & seq.*

(3) *Gonzal. histor. pontifical. & cathol. p. 117, & seq.*

(2) *De hec,*

fore him bound hand and foot, and accused him, before a numerous concourse, of having ^a renounced the religion of his forefathers, and to have conspired with the *Portuguese* against his crown and life, in order to overturn both church and state, and subject both to the pope and king of *Spain*. The prince was easily condemned by the whole assembly to be deserving of a speedy death; and was accordingly conducted to prison, where his head was cut off on that very night. This execution was followed by several others, with confiscations of estates, imprisonments, and other severities, from which persons of the highest rank, even among the fair sex, were not exempted; some of whom were banished, and others confined to some barren rocks, for no other crime than their intimacy with the deceased prince, or shewing, like him, any particular regard for the *Romish* religion. These severe examples the jesuitical writers have not scrupled to brand with the name of cruel and tyrannic persecutions; though the reader may see, by what we have said in the last note, there was but too just occasion for them at that time. But one may perceive clearly enough, by all this outcry, that that monarch was, at all adventures, to be branded with the most odious names, and charged with the most atrocious deeds, for having dared to save his church and empire from falling under the tyranny of *Rome* and *Spain*; and the punishing one of the chief promoters of that treasonable project, must be represented as an unjust and inhuman fratricide. But lest all this should not be sufficient to render him hateful to all *European* powers, they have devised another accusation against him, which, if once credited, would not fail of doing it. It is as follows:

A new crime laid to his charge.

Accused of introducing Mohammedism into his dominions.

ALL these severe punishments not being capable of quieting the emperor's mind, who rather imagined that they only increased the number of malecontents, both within and without his dominions, he had recourse to the *Mohammedan Yemen*, with whom he entered into ^c an alliance: and, the more effectually to bind him to his interest, not only offered his subjects the free exercise of their religion, but desired of him to send some able doctors to come and preach it among his people. This negotiation was occasionally discovered by the fall-out of the two persons he had intrusted with it, one of whom was a *Turk*, and the other a *Christian*; the former of whom was highly careffed and honoured at the *Yemen's* court, and at their return was distinguished with considerable presents, whilst the latter was scarcely taken any notice of: in revenge of which, this last, taking an opportunity of going before him, spread the alarm where-ever he passed, that the emperor had sent for *Mohammedan* doctors to propagate their religion, and that one of that class was actually on the road thither with the other ambassador (meaning the *Turk* above-mentioned) and would soon be at court with him. ^d

A general revolt raised by the monks.

THIS news failed not to raise a general revolt, which was chiefly headed by the monks, and followed by an universal outcry that the emperor ought to be dethroned, and another prince raised to the crown, fit to maintain the ancient religion. The emperor tried in vain to disculpate himself, and throw all the fault on the empress-mother, who was the granddaughter of a *Mohammedan*, and still retained a strong bias for that religion. No credit was given to any thing he said, because they knew he had held several private conferences with the *Turkish* doctor: so that, seeing himself on the point of losing at once his life and crown, he was forced to dismiss him with as little noise as possible, though not without considerable presents ^b. This is the sum of the charge alleged against him; which, as well as that other of fratricide, Mr. *Ludolph* justly questions, as at least very improbable ^c, and such as in their nature, especially the last, might justly require the testimony of a much more ^e impartial sett of witnesses, than that of an exasperated patriarch, and a surviving jesuit or two, reduced to the lowest plight and misery, before it can gain credit with persons of common candour and judgment, at least in that hateful light in which they have represented it.

The account much to be suspected:

probably invented to stir up the European princes.

Basilides was threatened with a powerful invasion from all the catholic princes in *Europe*, and wisely endeavours to secure all his frontiers; retains by his largesses, or suppose it had been by an alliance with, all the *Mohammedan* princes on that side which lay most exposed, and at which the *Romish* missionaries used to slide into the empire; and might not this be sufficient to give birth to that calumny, that he was going to introduce their religion into his dominions? which, if carefully spread by their indefatigable agents, would not fail to raise new commotions within, and awaken all the *European* princes out of that despondency into which the miscarriage and disasters that attended their former mission had visibly thrown ^f them, of succeeding in it by such violent and imprudent means as had hitherto been pursued. Nothing could be more likely to alarm them than such a report; for should that rich and potent empire become *Mohammedan*, what hopes could there be of ever reducing it to the obedience of the pope, or king of *Spain*? But the sequel itself shews, that neither of them gave any credit to that report; neither was it indeed credible that *Basilides* would have

^b TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, LE GRAND, ubi sup. vide & comment. pr. i. 57.

^c Hist. Ethiop. l. ii. c. 7. n. 67. iii. 14. 64.

^d TELLEZ, ubi sup. l. vi. c. 37, & seq. LOBO, et LE GRAND, p. 149.

a taken a step of this nature, which would more effectually have ruined him, than any difficulties he laboured under, or any danger that seemed to threaten him could possibly have done. However, *Tellez* hath affirmed it^d upon the authority of father *Nogueyra*, who was still alive in *Abissinia*, tho', by his own account, in a most miserable condition (Z); upon that of father *Torquato Pisani*, another jesuit, who came thither, as is supposed, either about or soon after that time; and more particularly on that of the patriarch *Mendez*, who, though at that distance, yet might hear of it by some *Abissinians*, who were come into *India*; and these the reader may believe, if he pleases, seeing the absolute stoppage that hath been put

The sad condition of the jesuits.

^d TELLEZ, ubi sup. l. vi. c. 37, & seq. LOBO, & LE GRAND, p. 149.

(Z) Nothing indeed is more melancholy and dismal than the account which he gives of the distress he and all his friends and converts were in at that time; and our readers will not think it foreign to our subject, if we subjoin a letter, which he sent from *Mazwa* into *Europe*, upon that affair, written in the name of *Ras Sella Christos*, and his own; and runs as follows:

"Most illustrious lords, the bishops and governors of the *Indies*; *Ras Sella Christos* to all catholic Christians, and true sons of the church of God, peace and mercy in our Lord.

"I know not in what tongue or words I can sufficiently express the perils and dangers of this church, which are the more afflicting to me, as I am an eyewitness of them. I heartily beseech our Lord Jesus Christ, who was nailed to a cross, and is plentiful in mercy, to make them known to all our brethren, to all prelates, archbishops, bishops, rectors, kings, viceroys, princes, and governors, who enjoy any authority on the other side of the water. I always believed, and often flattered myself, that they would have assisted us ere now, and not have so long delayed to redeem us from the hands of barbarians, and of that perverse nation, if the multitude of my sins had not obstructed it. In former days, when there was no church here, and the names of Christian and Catholic were unknown to us, some of them have come to our assistance, and have rescued us from the power of the *Mohammedans*; but now when we have here such a great number of faithful, we are forgot, and not one thinks of assisting us. What! doth the sovereign pontif of *Rome*, our father, and so dearly beloved shepherd, no longer sit on *St. Peter's* immovable chair? or doth he no longer think of comforting us? We are his sheep; and shall we not, before we quit this miserable life, have the satisfaction to hear that he thinks of us, and designs to prevent our being devoured by those heretics, who wage so bloody a war against us? Hath *Portugal* no longer any prince that burns with the same zeal as the great *Christopher de Gama*? Is there no prelate left there, to lift up his hands to heaven to obtain for us the assistance we stand in so great need of? I faint at the thoughts of it! my speech fails, and my tongue is dried up; whilst my eyes flow with a constant stream. Covered with dust and ashes, I beg and conjure all the faithful to send us a speedy succour, before we are utterly destroyed.

"My chains grow heavier and heavier every day; whilst I am told, that if I will come over to their side, and return to our old communion, we shall be recalled from our exile. These promises are made to me with no other view than to ruin me, and to involve all the catholics that are left, and the very church itself, in the same ruin. If, therefore, there be still any Christians left on the other side of the ocean, let them shew themselves such, by acknowledging us as their brethren in Jesus Christ; and since we maintain the same faith which they do, let them come and deliver us from this *Egyptian* heresy and bondage."

"Here," says *Nogueyra*, "end the words of our friend *Ras Sella Christos*, which he uttered to me with bitter sighs and tears, when I last visited him, in *August*, anno 1648. It is now my turn to weep, and a flood of tears obliges me to drop my pen. I

"am unable to write, and leave you to judge of my excessive distress. I landed at this place (*Mazwa*) on the 26th of this month, at the greatest peril of my life. I have spared no labour, nor shunned any danger to come hither, in hopes that our faithful friends, either from *Portugal* or *India*, would, before this time, have sent us some seasonable help; but not the least have I found. I have rather been ill used by the *Baneans*, particularly by *Xabandur* and *Xarcast*, who are known to engross all the coin. None of them have deigned to shew me their letters, or so much as to let me know what news they had received. I have written several letters from *Dembea*, and have not received any answer to them; which makes me think that they all miscarried, and that God would not suffer any of them, through my sins, to come to your hands. I am now about to return to *Ras Sella Christos*, and shall leave here *James Xaxem*, a man well known by the *Baneans*, and who, if any answer comes, will convey the same to me.

"My fellow-labourers, *Abba Melcha Christos*, *Abba Feuzza Christos*, *John Gabriel*, *Gregory Anthony d'Almanza*, and *Christopher*, are now become mere skeletons, having been dragged into prison, whipped, &c. and their skins are fallen off, through excess of misery; and, if they are not dead, they have undergone the most extreme hardships, being forced to beg their bread from door to door.

"On the 21st of *October*, 1647, *Abba Zara Christos*, the disciple of *Abba Keril*, and brother of *Abba Gregory*, was put to death; as was also the senator *Ando*, a man eminent for his learning and piety. On the 30th of *September*, 1648, *Dom Ithum Laca Mariam*, *Dom John Melcha Christos*, and *Dom Theodore*, were imprisoned; and Captain *Gabriel Donaceos* hath been banished for not delivering me up into the hands of the heretics. All the *Portuguese* of *Fremona* have apostatized, and have shewn the most excessive hatred against me, and accused me before *Abba Emana Christos*, our most bitter enemy, and one who hath already put several catholics to death.

"To conclude; I go hence without the least glimpse of hope or comfort, having neither food nor raiment, nor daring to stay here longer, for fear of being surprised by the *Turkish* vessels, whom the season will quickly bring hither. I shall return again by the next year, if God permit; and I beseech God that this letter may be perused by all our prelates and churchmen, and particularly by the patriarch *Mendez*, and the father *Emanuel d'Almeida*, if they be still alive; and, with my face prostrate to the ground, do recommend myself to their blessing and prayers.

"Dated from *Mazwa*, *January* 30th, 1649.

"Signed, *Bernard Nogueyra* (4)."

The reader may see to what distress the missionaries and their converts were reduced; and that the emperor was fully resolved to extirpate them and theirs out of his dominions, and to prevent, by all possible means, their ever getting footing into them again. It is therefore no wonder that their resentment and despair should drive them to invent this calumny against him, of having a design to introduce *Mohammedism*; which could not fail, if credited in *Europe*, of exasperating all the Roman-catholic powers against him, and stir them up to use their utmost efforts to prevent the loss of all their hopes on that rich country.

(4) *Tellez*, ubi sup. *Lobo*, *Le Grand*, *hist. de la relat. d'Abissin.* p. 150, & seq.

to all future commerce with that country hath deprived us of all means of disproving it, a but such only as reason suggests against the probability of it.

They represent
Basilides as
unfortunate in
his wars.

NEITHER are the remaining particulars of that monarch's reign reported in a more favourable manner, with respect to him : and as it plainly appears, from the contents of the letter mentioned in the last note, and some others we have taken notice of a little higher, that their main design was to animate the pope and *Spain* to make a fresh attempt on this empire, it could not but be their interest to represent it as reduced to the lowest degree of weakness, by revolts, invasions, and other calamities ; and these as so many just judgments inflicted by the Divine Providence, to punish that unfortunate prince both for his apostasy from the church of *Rome*, and for the cruel persecutions he had exercised against her most zealous votaries. Accordingly, no sooner had he, with great difficulty, suppressed the general revolt which his clergy had raised against him, on the suspicion of his going to introduce the *Mohammedan* religion, but he was obliged to go and quell a fresh one among the *Agaus*, several of whose provinces had taken up arms against him. In which expedition, however, instead of the laurels and spoils he promised to himself, he met, we are told, with a most shameful overthrow. In the same year, his general *Bella Christos*, who was then at the head of a powerful army, was likewise totally defeated by the mountaineers of *Lasta* ^c. This misfortune was soon followed by a terrible irruption of the *Gallas*, who entered the kingdom of *Gojam* at three different places, whilst *Basilides* was refreshing his battered troops in that of *Begameder*, and in the territories of the *Agaus* ; so that he was forced to let them commit the greatest ravages, and go off with their immense plunder, as he was not in a condition to oppose them. In short, say our authors, he was successful in nothing, but in his discovering and apprehending some of his catholic subjects, and condemning them to death, or cruel banishments ; of both which they give us a large number of instances, which we shall not trouble our readers with ^f. Amongst them, father *Nogueira*'s trip to the island of *Mazowa* having been discovered to the emperor, and represented to him as a fresh attempt to call in a new supply of *Portuguese*, an order was published to have him apprehended alive or dead ; so that neither the college of *Fremona*, nor any of his intimate friends, dared to give him admittance ; and some of them, who had gone over to the *Abissine* church, proved his most inveterate enemies ; yet could none of these lay hold on him. ^d

Defeated by
the *Agaus*.

Invaded by the
Gallas.

His severity to
the catholics ;

and to father
Nogueira.

THE imperial army had hardly refreshed itself about two months in the province of *Cottella*, before it revolted, and lost a good number of officers, and a much greater one of soldiers. This was followed by a revolt in some of the provinces on the west of *Enarea*, who refused to send the yearly tribute of horses, which they had engaged to pay, on condition that *Basilides* should protect them against the *Portuguese* ^e.

Bella Christos
defeated.

Invaded by the
king of *Adel*.

This account
contradicted by
Abbot *Gregory* ;

and is plainly
improbable.

THE following year was no less unfortunate to him, in which *Bella Christos* was sent against the mountaineers of *Denghis* ; who, upon the first notice of his approach, seized on all the passes, and so well fortified themselves in them, that they not only stopped his further progress, but fell so suddenly on him on all sides, that they made a most dreadful slaughter among his forces. This was soon after followed with the news that a certain strange nation had penetrated through some of the *Abissine* frontiers, and were ravaging the maritime provinces without opposition ; upon which it was immediately concluded that these could be no other than the *Portuguese*, who would quickly become masters of the whole empire. However, it was not long before they found their mistake ; these new invaders being the subjects of the king of *Adel*, who had taken the advantage of the great losses the emperor had sustained, and made himself master of ten or twelve strong high rocks, from which he sent them to plunder and ravage the low-lands, and sometimes penetrated a good way into the neighbouring provinces.

THUS far the account of those jesuits, if they may be credited, represents that monarch's reign as very unfortunate in every respect. This, we have already observed, it may have been their interest to set forth in that light, in order to stir up their friends and favourers to send them some fresh assistance. But if we believe Mr. *Ludolph* and Abbot *Gregory*, no reign could be more quiet and happy than his proved, from the time of his expelling the patriarch and missionaries, except some few severe examples he was forced to make on a few of their zealous and daring partisans. This indeed plainly appears the most reasonable account of the two, seeing all the revolts and disasters that had happened in former reigns were wholly owing to the preference which his predecessors had shewn for the *Romish* church, and the violent means which they used to force their clergy and laity to submit to it, as we have already seen. What cause could there be for any fresh discontents, after he had so effectually removed the occasion of all their fears, and had, in every step he took, approved himself a sincere and strenuous defender of the *Abissinian* church against all the ^g

^c LE GRAND, ubi sup. p. 154.

^f Id. p. 155.

^e Id. ibid.

- a open and secret attempts of the pope and *Portuguese*? And as to the charge laid to him of favouring *Mohammedism*, it is not only inconsistent with the zeal he shewed for the restoring of the ancient church, but absurd on several other accounts. And we accordingly find in the preamble and some other parts of a letter, which he, or, which is perhaps more probable, his son and successor *Af Segued*, sent to the governor of *Batavia*, circa ann. 1672, (for he there styles himself *Af Segued*, the son of *Alam Segued*, which name *Basilides* had taken towards the latter end of his reign), that he gives himself and father the character of *Christian princes*, and *defenders of the Christian faith*; a plain indication that it was still the established religion of the empire. This letter, a *Latin* version of which the reader may see in Mr. *Ludolph's* Commentary^h, doth not indeed begin with the usual words, *In the name of the Father, Son, &c.* like those of his predecessors; but, *In the name of God, merciful and gracious*. Neither is it dated according to the *Christian*, but the *Mohammedan* æra; viz. in the moon *Moharam* (*April*), and in the year of the *Hejra* 1083. The reason of which appears to be, that the letter being written in the *Arabic*, and not in the *Ethiopic* tongue, the *Arabian* secretary made use of the *Mohammedan* instead of the *Christian* inscription and æra; but, in other respects, it runs, as all others do, in a truly *Christian* style.
- b But what still more confirms the steadiness of *Basilides*, and his two immediate successors, to the ancient *Abissinian* faith, is the condition which the *French* physician *Charles Poncet* found the empire in at his arrival there, and the remarks he made upon it during his short abode there, annis 1699 & 1700; of which we shall now give a short account, it being the last particular we have to relate concerning it. We shall only observe here, with respect to the state of religion, that he found the emperor to be a zealous professor of the *Abissinian* faith; the *Abuna*, clergy, and monks, though not very well versed in polemical divinity, yet strenuous asserters and rigid observers of the rites, tenets, and discipline of their church; the laity most devoutly submissive to them, and all of them intirely averse to every religion but their own; but more particularly against the church of *Rome*, and *Mohammedism*. With regard to the latter, though he found it tolerated amongst them, as they are indeed pretty numerous, and have engrossed the commerce, as hath been formerly hintedⁱ, yet they live in separate quarters, and are styled no better than *Gebertes*, or slaves. The *Ethiopians* never eat with them, nor of any thing that is killed by them. They do not even drink out of a cup that hath been used by one of them, until the prayers of some good man have been said over it, and he, by his breathing thrice into it, drives away the evil spirit. He adds, that they never salute them but with the left-hand; which is a mark of contempt^k.
- c 1699. In Poncet's time, the Mohammedans hated in Abissinia.
- d

ONE action, however, he relates of the emperor *Basilides*, whom he calls *Ati Basili*, and the grandfather of the young emperor then upon the throne; which seems, in some measure, to confirm what the jesuits laid to his charge about his favouring the *Mohammedans*; viz. that he caused 7000 priests and monks, who had revolted from him, to be thrown headlong from the top of the mountain *Balban*^l: for it is hardly to be supposed that those priests raised that revolt upon any other account; and the alliances which the emperor had made with the *Mohammedan* princes, joined to the pensions and presents he had sent to them, in order to prevent the *Portuguese* entering into his dominions, might at once give birth and countenance to the false report, that he was going to introduce *Mohammedism*, and to stir up the whole body of the clergy against him: but whether of the two were more likely to be inventors and first spreaders of this calumny, the missionaries, who had been so severely treated by him, and whose interest it was to render him as odious to his subjects as they possibly could, or the *Abissine* clergy, whom he had so highly obliged by those severities, and by his strenuous zeal against the church of *Rome*, and all its partisans, we leave it to the reader to judge.

e 7000 monks precipitated from a rock.

- f WE come now to speak of the voyage of *Charles Poncet* to the *Abissinian* court, and of the occasion of it, though without entering into any farther detail of it than concerns the sequel and conclusion of this history. The *French* court had by this time been induced by some of the missionaries of their nation to try their fortune, and to hope for better success in this empire, by their artful and insinuating address, than the *Portuguese* had done by their ambition and untimely zeal; and the late king, *Lewis XIV.* had been prevailed upon to write a most obliging letter to *Adian Segued*, the father of the young emperor then upon the throne; which, though we are not told by what means, found its way to that young monarch; seeing *Poncet* tells us, that he was pleased to shew it to him, when he was at his court^m. At the same time, Monsieur *Maillet*, the *French* consul at *Kairo*, had orders to make what inquiries he could into the state of the empire, and to try all possible means and stratagems to open a way into it to some of his nation; and fortune at length offered
- g The French try their success there.

^h De hoc, vide Hist. Ethiop. lib. ii. c. 7. n. 67, & seq. lib. iii. c. 14. ad fin. & Comm. p. 244. ⁱ See before, p. 198. ^k PONCET, Voyage Engl. p. 68. ^l Id ibid. p. 57. ^m Idem sub. init. LE GRAND, ubi sup. p. 157.

Poncet sent
thither by the
French con-
sul.

Embarks on
the Nile.

Reception at
court.

Public au-
dience.

The emperor's
dress, &c.

Desire of an
alliance with
Lewis XIV.

His character.

Devotion.

The empress
consults Pon-
cet.

one to him, which he readily laid hold of, and carried on with success. *Agi Hali*, the emperor's factor in that city, complained to him of a stubborn disease, with which not only he, but his master, and the prince his son, had been afflicted for some time: upon which the consul told him, that he had a most expert physician in his service, who, he was sure, could cure him of it, if any of that profession could. *Hali* was easily prevailed upon to make use of him, and was effectually cured; and this was inducement enough to him to venture the sending *Poncet* to his master's court; to which the consul not only readily consented, but likewise sent a letter of recommendation by him to the sick monarch. The jesuits, at the same time, who were highly displeased at their being set aside from that mission, to make room for the Capuchins and other friars, made use of all their interest to be re-admitted into it, and to have some of their society permitted to accompany the said physician into *Abissinia*; alleging, that the catholic converts which were in that empire were their own flock: and accordingly father *Fr. Xavier de Brevedent*, a man of great piety, zeal, and learning, especially in astronomy, was allowed to go with him as one of his retinue. They embarked upon the *Nile*, along with the emperor's factor *Agi Hali*, on the 10th of *June*; and, after a long and tedious journey both by land and water, which we shall pass by as foreign to our subject, they arrived at *Barko*, a small town about half a day's journey from the city of *Gundar*, on the 3d of *July* of the following year; and there the good old father died of a dysentery, occasioned by his taking the seeds of the *Indian* pineapple, which he had brought from *Tripoly* in *Syria*, and which, it seems, are a very dangerous remedyⁿ.

PONCET, having staid there to refresh himself till the 21st of the same month, pursued his journey, and arrived safe at *Gundar* on the evening, and met with a most gracious reception from the emperor, and received several private visits from him, till he was recovered of his fatigue, which was not till the 10th of *August* following, when he was honoured with a public audience of him, with as great ceremony as if he had been an ambassador. The apartment which had been assigned to him in the imperial palace being near that of the emperor's children, he was conducted from it about ten of the clock in the morning, through above twenty others, to the great hall, where his majesty was seated on a throne or couch, covered with a carpet of red damask, flowered with gold; round about which were several large cushions, embroidered likewise with gold. This couch, of which the four feet were of massy silver, was placed in an alcove at the bottom of the hall, and covered with a dome all shining with gold and azure.

THE emperor appeared covered with a rich silk vest with long sleeves, and also embroidered with gold; and the scarf with which he was girt was wrought in the same costly manner. His head was bare, and his hair braided with great neatness, and a large emerald glittered with singular majesty on his forehead. He was alone in the alcove, and sat cross-legged on his throne after the eastern manner; his great lords standing on each side in their ranks, with their hands across one upon the other, and observing a profound silence. Upon his approaching the foot of the throne, and paying him the usual prostration, he had the singular honour to kiss his hand, and presented him with Monsieur *Maillet's* letter; which being interpreted to him, he expressed himself highly in favour of the *French* monarch his master, inquired much after the royal family, the extent of his dominions, power, grandeur, &c. and seemed highly pleased with the account he gave him; the result of which was, that he expressed a desire of entering into an alliance with him, and to obtain one of his daughters to give in marriage to the prince his son.

THIS is the substance of this public audience, and some other private ones, he had with that prince, which we need not enter into a detail of here. The character our author gives us of him is, that he appeared to be about forty-one years of age, tall and handsome beyond any of his court, courteous and generous, wise, prudent, and warlike, and so religious, that though he had not yet finished the course of physic which the doctor had ordered him, yet he would not absent himself from church on the festival of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin; which is there celebrated with great pomp and ceremony, the Abuna officiating in his pontificalibus, and the emperor assisting at it with all his numerous court in their most pompous dress, while the army is drawn up in the best order, and accompany him to and from the church, and heighten the grandeur of the festivity by their shouts, firings, and warlike music. The emperor dining on that day in public, and *Poncet* being allowed a table near his own, the empress, who had likewise some ailment to consult him about, appeared in the afternoon in great pomp; upon which the whole court withdrew, except he, who was ordered to stay. She appeared magnificently cloathed, and covered all over with jewels. She had a fair complexion, and majestic porte; and, after she had consulted

ⁿ PONCET, p. 40.

him

- a him about her health, her curiosity induced her to ask many questions about the *French* ladies, their dress, &c.

It is plain, however, that in what he says of both their majesties, and other persons of quality, wearing of variety of jewels, and the description he gives of several of the emperor's, and some of the princes and princesses stately palaces, as well as of *Gundar*, which he styles the capital city of *Ethiopia*, and of some other towns and places of note, he contradicts the unanimous account which all the *Portuguese* writers have given us of that empire^a, except the Dominican frier *Uretta*, who is universally cried down as a fabulous author. The city of *Gundar*, or, as Mr. *Ludolph* writes it, *Guender*^r, is, according to him, an imperial camp, and not a city, much less the metropolis of the empire (A); that title belonging only to the decayed town of *Axuma*, as we have elsewhere shewn^s. Hence it is, that his and Mr. *Maillet* the *French* consul's enemies have not scrupled to expose his account of *Abissinia*, and all that he hath said of it, as a piece of forgery, contrived by them to impose upon the *French* court, and even to affirm that the former was never in *Abissinia*^t. This is indeed looked upon by the more candid part of mankind as an unjust and invidious reflection on them both; yet as some other difficulties have been raised against them, which are not quite removed, we shall suspend our judgment till time furnishes us with some new account or discovery, which may enable us to fix it with more certainty than we can at present.

- To come, therefore, to the conclusion of this relation, *Poncet* having succeeded in the cure of the emperor and his family, but enjoying only a crazy state of health in that hot country, resolved, if possible, to get out of it as soon as he could. The difficulty was, how to obtain that monarch's permission, who was by that time become very fond of him, and his medicines, and his method of treating his patients. He was therefore obliged to tell him, that, if he staid much longer in his dominions, death would soon put it out of his power to be any longer serviceable to him; but that if he could be permitted to breathe his own native air, the only expedient that could recover him, he might then be enabled, as soon as he found his health sufficiently confirmed, to return, and renew his services to him. The good emperor, softened by such powerful motives, and his most solemn oaths and promises, consented to his departure, though much against his will, and not without obliging him to swear on the holy Gospel that he would not fail of performing his promise, and returning to him as soon as he was recovered. At the same time, the vast esteem which he had inspired that monarch with for the king his master, having determined him to send an ambassador to negotiate an alliance with him, and to send him some considerable presents, he at first pitched upon one *Abba Gregorios*, and recommended him to *Poncet* to teach him the *Latin* tongue; but, upon second thoughts, being reminded by one *Morat*, that it was the custom of the *Abissine* monarchs to make use of strangers, rather than of their own subjects, for such commissions, he was easily persuaded by that designing minister to appoint his young nephew to that employment (B). Accordingly young *Morat* was

^a See before, p. 172.

sup. 406, & seq. 408, & seq.

^r Lib. ii. c. 13.

^s See before, *ibid*.

^t See LE GRAND, ubi

(A) And yet it is plain, that both *Bernier* and *Thevenot* had made the same mistake; the former of whom calls it *Gundra*, and the latter *Guntar*; and both style it the metropolis of *Ethiopia* (5), as the *Arabian* geographer had done before them (6). Neither need we much wonder at it, the ancient metropolis *Axuma* being reduced into a poor village, in which are no footsteps left of its pristine dignity, but the old church, in which the emperors are still crowned. It was natural for those foreigners to call the place in which those monarchs resided by that title. It is not so easy to account for *Poncet*, who resided some time in it, styling it a city, if it was no other than an imperial camp; or to mention its 100 churches, and several palaces, if they were no other than pavilions; unless we suppose that they were called so by the *Ethiopians*; and that he still followed the style of his interpreter.

(B) This old *Morat*, *Mourat*, or *Marat*, had been settled, it seems, in *Abissinia* ever since the reign of the emperor *Basilides*, whence he had made several trading voyages to *India*, and was at length sent to *Batavia* by that monarch, or his successor, with a letter to the governor, anno 1678; and there it was that he had those conferences with *Paul de Roo*, which

Mr. *Ludolph* caused afterwards to be published, giving an account of the then state of *Abissinia*. He was there received as an ambassador, and easily persuaded the *Dutch* that a very advantageous commerce might be settled between them and the *Abissinians*, by the way of the *Red Sea*; upon which they sent some vessels thither, which were obliged to fall back with all the lading they had brought.

In a second voyage he made thither soon after, he brought with him an envoy from the *Dutch East India* company; and upon his arrival at *Moca*, told him that he must go and fetch the emperor's pass, without which he could not get admission into his dominions, and was very pressing to have taken with him the presents that were designed for that monarch; but the suspicious *Hollanders* excused themselves from intrusting them in his hands; so that he was obliged to sail away without them. They waited a whole year for his return, to no purpose; and at length returned home as they came.

This transaction we should hardly have heard any thing of, had it not been for Mr. *Poncet*, who sent an account of it to the *French* consul at *Kairo*, in order to warn him against the cheats and impositions of the

(5) *Voyage du Levant*, p. ii. c. 68.
MOD. HIST. VOL. VI.

(6) *Vide* Gol. not. in *Alfar*. c. 9. p. 90. *Ludolph. Comm. Procem.* i. 102.

Presents sent. was publicly declared, and ordered to get all things ready, particularly the presents, a which consisted in a number of elephants, horses, and young *Ethiopian* children^u, civet, and some other products of that country. His chief errand at the *French* court, besides the negotiating the alliance above-mentioned, was, as he informed the *French* consul at *Kairo*^w, to obtain from that monarch an able engineer, a cannon-founder, an armourer, a clock-maker, some architects, masons, carpenters, locksmiths, gardeners, glaziers, and a good physician, or surgeon.

Poncet sets out before him. *PONCET*, being very pressing for his departure, obtained his audience of leave, which was equally pompous with the first, and much more tender on both sides. The ambassador *Morat* was detained some time longer by the emperor, whilst he was to wait for him at *Devarowa*, the capital of the kingdom of *Tigre*; to which he was to be conducted by a considerable escort by the emperor's orders; who had likewise dispatched his commands to all the governors of the provinces through which he passed, to receive him with all possible honours, and to furnish him with every thing he wanted, which was punctually performed by them. He set out accordingly from *Gundar* on the 2d of *May*, 1700, and, at the end of two months and a half, during which he found his health to mend gradually, he arrived safely at the capital above-mentioned, and met with an honourable reception from the *Bahr-nagash* of that province^x.

Arrives at Devarowa.

Prince Basilides his character.

Soon after his arrival there, news came from court of the death of prince *Basil*, the emperor's eldest son, who was suddenly carried off by a malignant fever, in the 19th year of his age, and within eight days after his return from a campaign in which he had accompanied his father, and wherein he had highly signalized himself against the *Gallas*, and had killed eight of them with his own hand. His loss was so much the more regretted, as he was endowed with all the good qualities of an accomplished prince, and with such singular bravery, that one day seeing his father fall into an ambuscade of the enemy, he ran with all possible speed to his assistance, pierced through the thickest crowds, and charged them with such surprising valour, that he rescued him, and saved his life at the utmost peril of his own. But that which most endeared him to the people, was his love to them, and the concern he shewed for their poverty and misery, occasioned by the avarice and tyranny of his nobles and officers; insomuch that the messenger who brought the news of his death said, that the young prince made it his dying request to his father, on the last visit he paid him a little before he expired, that he would ease them of that grievous burden; and, to his great satisfaction, obtained a previous promise from his afflicted father, accompanied with a flood of tears^y.

Funeral obsequies.

UPON the receiving the news of that prince's untimely death, the *Bahr-nagashes*, or governors, caused it to be published by the sound of the trumpet, both at *Devarowa* and through all the provinces of the *Tigran* kingdom; after which every one appeared in the deepest mourning. On the day following, his funeral obsequies were performed at the great church of that city with more than usual solemnity^z, and lasted three whole days, according to custom. In the mean while, the emperor being obliged, upon that occasion, to abstain from all public business, prevented *Morat*'s being dispatched so soon as was first expected; and *Poncet* becoming more and more uneasy at his delay, and afraid of losing the monsoon, sent word that he would wait for him at *Gedda*, a small sea-port on the *Red Sea*. From thence, among other letters which he sent to the consul at *Kairo*, one of them was to acquaint him with the impossibility of procuring admission to any of the missionaries into *Abissinia*, and informing him that, upon his first coming thither, above 100,000 priests and monks had raised a revolt against the emperor; and that they had done the same upon hearing that an *English* vessel had appeared upon that coast, and that the emperor was sending an ambassador, with horses, elephants, and *Ethiopian* children, into *Europe*^a; which letter is dated *December* 6, 1700. After having waited there some time, he received a letter from *Morat*, that he could not come to him so soon as he designed; upon which he set out for mount *Sinai*, which he was desirous to visit, and where *Morat* agreed to join him. He came to him accordingly a month after, but in a miserable plight, having been first deprived of the *Abissine* children he was to carry into *France* by the king of *Mecca*; and, to complete his misfortune, the vessel in which the presents were, had been

^u Idem ibid. p. 88, & seq.

& seq.

p. 161, & seq.

^y Ibid. p. 103, & seq.

^w See his Memoirs, apud LE GRAND, p. 408.

^z De his, vide sup. p. 240, & seq.

^x Ibid. p. 91,

^a LE GRAND, ibid.

like nature, which are frequently committed by *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and others; of which he gives him some further instances in the same letter (8). But one may safely infer from that of old *Morat*, that his view was

not much better, when he recommended his nephew *Morat Ibn Magdeloon* as a proper person to be sent ambassador to the *French* court.

a cast away. They set out from *Sinai*, and soon after arrived at *Suez*; whence *Poncet* sent word to the consul of his coming with the *Abissinian* ambassador by the caravan, consisting of 8000 camels. *Poncet* got to *Kairo* two days before the ambassador, to get all things ready for his reception^b; but, upon his arrival, so many objections were raised by the consul's enemies against his credentials, the loss of his presents, and the account he gave of himself and commission, as rendered his embassy abortive, and prevented his being sent to the *French* court. Soon after which, new objections were raised, discoveries made, or pretended to be made, and the whole affair of *Poncet's* voyage, and *Morat's* embassy, cried down as a mere imposition^c.

SINCE that time we read of nothing relating to this empire, but of fruitless and disastrous attempts made by the missionaries to get into it again, but of nothing that has been transacted in it; so careful have the *Abissine* monarchs been, by the help of their *Mohammedan* neighbours, to deprive us of all further intelligence from thence. We shall therefore, according to a former engagement, close up this history with a short abstract of the surprising account given of this celebrated empire by that romantic writer *Ludovigo de Uretta*, a Dominican frier, often mentioned in this chapter, and printed at *Valentia*, anno 1610; not doubting but such a sketch will be acceptable to our *English* readers, especially as his whole fraternity, notwithstanding the many and considerable approbations which his romantic performance carries in its front, as so many vouchers of its truth (C), have been since made so much ashamed of it, that they have spared neither pains nor cost to get and destroy all the copies they could get into their hands (D), in order to suppress so authentic a monument of their zeal and fertile invention to serve their cause, or the interest of their order, whenever it chanced to want some fresh support, as it seemed to do very much at that time, when the rising reputation of the jesuitical society began so effectually to eclipse their own; and if some copies have happily escaped their diligent search, and have been preserved in the hands of Protestants, we may probably suppose it to be owing to the universal outcry which the whole tribe of the missionaries, especially the jesuits, raised against it, from the moment of its appearing in print, and excited the curiosity of strangers, particularly Protestants, after so interesting and extraordinary a piece, so plainly designed to blast the credit of all that had been said or written by other hands concerning the *Ethiopic* church and empire; but so unhappily and injudiciously executed, and stuffed with palpable forgeries, that, but for the number of champions on the other side, and the pains they took to expose it, it might probably never have reached foreign parts, but been confined to its native soil, for whose benefit and instruction it was professedly compiled, as being more naturally disposed to swallow all such kinds of pious prodigies; though even there he hath not been negligent of such artifices as were most likely to make them pass for current; nor scrupled to introduce his romantic legend with the most solemn protestations of sincerity; and boldly appeals to heaven, and all its saints, for the truth of its contents; though we are told, by better and more impartial hands, that there is not one syllable true throughout the whole book (E). Nor hath he been less sparing of his invective

An abstract of Uretta's Ethiopic history.

The author's monstrous pretences to sincerity exploded.

^b PONCET, *ibid.* p. 119. ad fin.

^c See LE GRAND, *ubi sup.* & seq. 373, & seq. 393, & seq. 406, 414, 428, 441, & alibi pass. See also before, p. 161.

(C) His book came out licensed, approved, and vouched, by no less men than Don *Balazar de Boria*, doctor of laws, archdeacon of *Xativa*, canon of the church of *Valentia*, and vicar-general and official of the archbishop of that city; *Juan Pasqual*, rector of the church of *St. Martin*, and licensor of the patriarch of *Antioch*, and archbishop of *Valentia*; Father *Raphael Riphez*, prior provincial of the Dominicans in the kingdom of *Arragon*; Father *Lupero de Huette*, and Father *Jeronymo Mos*, licensors of the holy office of the inquisition; all of whom give the highest commendations in their several licences, both to the history and its author: to all which we may add, that it is dedicated to, and patronized by, the master of the sacred palace (1).

(D) This we have from the learned and reverend compiler of the church-history of *Ethiopia*, who finding that book become scarce by the destruction which the Dominicans have made of it, have favoured the world with the following short abstract of it out of the original, then in his hands, and which, he tells us, he carefully preserved, as worthy to be bequeathed, after

his death, to a library; which, to use his own words, next to that of *Ethiopia*, is the greatest in the world (2). We may add, that his excellent history of the *Ethiopic* church being also become no less difficult to be met with, except in the great libraries, or in those of the curious, was the main motive that induced us to transplant the said abstract into this part of ours.

(E) These are our author's own words; to which he adds, that he doth not remember to have ever seen a history in any language that had more of the magisterial air of truth in it: the author seeming everywhere to value himself extremely on his fidelity, and his care of setting down nothing without being first well assured of its truth; appealing constantly to authentic records, though a great way off, for such falsehoods as had the least colour of truth in them.

What is still more shocking in that fabulous author, is the apostrophe, or address, with which he concludes the legend of the lives of many Dominican saints and martyrs, some of which, we have reason to believe, were never in nature, or, if they were, did never belong either to his church or order. It is as follows:

(1) See *Geddes's Hist. of Ethiopia*, p. 480.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 481.

invective censures on the jesuits *Maffei* and *Mariana*, for having, as he charges them, a laid aside that strict regard to truth which becomes a Christian historian. And as for those who shall dare to question his veracity, he makes no scruple to rank them amongst the herd of sceptics, who doubt the truth of every thing. He still falls more severely foul on Protestants, as conscious that they, of all his other Christian readers, will be the most ready to disbelieve and ridicule his pious narrative; thanking his God, that he doth not write it for the perusal of a *Luther*, a *Calvin*, or other excommunicated heretics, who ignorantly, rashly, brutishly, and blasphemously deny the profitable intercession of the most glorious saints with God; but for the comfort and benefit of his most catholic countrymen, who justly boast a faith ever untainted by all such heresy and erroneous doctrines, as his neighbours the *French*, *English*, &c. have suffered theirs to be corrupted with; and therefore hopes will more readily credit his whole narrative, especially as it comes recommended to them by so many eminent licensors, as a work of wonderful edification and comfort to all pious souls; most of whom likewise vouch for the truth of it. Who those licensors and vouchers were, we have shewn in a former note; and what character and thanks they deserve for their commendatory sanction to such a romantic heap of pious forgeries, the reader will be best able to judge from the following extract out of it.

Ethiopia
when and by
whom con-
verted.

The fable of
his eight Do-
minican monks,

and their re-
ception at
court.

AFTER a long and pompous account of the setting out of eight of his Dominican fraternity from *Rome* to the *Holy Land*, accompanied with a holy sister of the same order, anno 1316, and their visiting the holy city, sepulchre, and other places in and about *Jerusalem*, these nine pious pilgrims went thence down into *Egypt*, and passed quickly afterwards into *Abissinia*, where they applied themselves to the learning of the language of the country, and made such surprising progress in it, that in a few days they were able to preach to the inhabitants, to the great astonishment of all that heard them, and soon after of the whole empire. Their sermons seldom failed of being accompanied by some extraordinary miracle, which gave an irrefragable sanction and evidence to all they said; inso-much that their proselytes became nearly as numerous as their hearers. Their fame soon reached the imperial court, and *Prestor John*, the then reigning monarch, amazed at the arrival of nine such unexpected strangers, and much more at their doctrine and miracles, thought himself obliged to send them a kind welcome into his dominions, as well as an invitation to his capital; and, as a further encouragement and mark of his esteem, he was pleased to grant them a full power not only to preach their new gospel through his whole empire, but likewise to build as many convents in it as they should think proper, to promote and accelerate the conversion of his subjects to their church. He, moreover, impowered them to exercise their inquisitorial power and authority over them all, and engaged his royal word to allow them all the privileges and immunities which their order enjoyed in the *Latin* church. A less encouragement from so great and absolute a monarch would have been more than sufficient to invite such zealous preachers into the heart of his empire; and they received his gracious messages with such grateful joy, as made them overlook all the fatigues and dangers of so long a journey; so that they quickly advanced

“ Most glorious, illustrious, and holy saints; who
“ being now in the celestial palaces, cloathed with
“ robes of immortality, do enjoy the clear vision of
“ the most holy Trinity, and being divested of the
“ bodily weapons wherewith you fought so manfully
“ in the world, are now seated under the shade of the
“ victorious palm and triumphant laurel, in the pa-
“ vilions of glory; pardon me all my faults, pardon
“ all my errors, pardon my incapacity, and the in-
“ jury I have done the height of your triumph, wor-
“ thy of all immortal trophy, by my rude pen; and
“ pray for me, O most glorious saints, who, in com-
“ pany of the angelic spirits, and in the ecclesiastical
“ choir of God, sing the *SANCTUS* of the mass to
“ the most holy Trinity, and are perpetually employed
“ in the praises of God, pardon the unpolishedness,
“ shortness, and grossness, of my tongue; your prowess
“ being so great, your works so heroic, and victories
“ so glorious, that nothing less than the tongues of an-
“ gels are fit to celebrate them. Pray for us, O exalted
“ princes, who live as grandees of the celestial pa-
“ lace, and are as *knights of the GOLDEN KEY* in the
“ council-chamber of God, being always in his pre-
“ sence. Pardon that little I have wrote of your ex-
“ ploits; your glory being so great, that no pen, ex-
“ cept it be taken from an archangel’s wing, is fit to
“ celebrate them. Pray for us, most glorious stars of

“ heaven, most resplendent meteors of the earth,
“ golden artisans of the church, and the bright light
“ of the *PREDICANT ORDER*, who, from your thun-
“ dering pulpits, awakened the world, confounding
“ heretics and pagans, and converting souls to God.
“ Pardon, if the brightness of your virtues is eclipsed
“ by the small part I have celebrated of them. And
“ pray for us, ye apostolic preachers, who are now in
“ shining glory before the Father of lights. Pardon
“ me, if your travels, peregrinations, labours, ser-
“ mons, virtues, and prodigies, or if the glory of
“ your glory is not magnified as it deserves; and
“ pray for us, valiant martyrs, who, with your blood,
“ confirmed the truth of the gospel, conquered tyrants,
“ triumphed over wild beasts, and, with your hands
“ full of palms, and your heads crowned with laurels,
“ are entered into the heavenly palaces. Pardon my
“ ignorance, and pray for us.

“ Sacred virgins, shining now in your religious ap-
“ parel, the glory of the world, the honour of hea-
“ ven, the brightness of human nature, and special
“ ornament of the Dominican order, pardon all the
“ defects of this book, with regard to your praises;
“ and pray for us *. *Amen.*”

Thus much may suffice to shew the lying as well as the romantic spirit of the author, and what credit is to be given to his heap of pious forgeries.

* *Ibid.* p. 477, & seq.

a above 600 leagues into his dominions, and came at last to the lake *Caffates*, on the other side of the equinoctial, where the *Nile* hath its spring-head, near the mountains of the moon.

HERE, with no less surprising expedition and success, they erected their first and most ^{Their vast} stately monastery. This spacious building was soon afterwards followed by others, not ^{convents and} only in the kingdom of *Gojam*, but in other parts of the empire, and among the *Caffres*, ^{converts:} quite to the *Cape of Good Hope*. The number of their neophytes multiplied in such a surprising proportion, that their monasteries were quickly filled and overstocked with such of them as stood candidates for the Dominican order; among whom there was no small strife to get admittance; and most of those, who obtained it, became afterwards almost as famous for learning, piety, and miracles, and many of them for their martyrdoms for the faith, as their teachers.

BUT the most remarkable for his zeal and piety, but chiefly for his extraordinary ^{Tekla's con-} miracles, above the rest of their profelytes, and afterwards of their professors, was the prince *Tekla Haymonot*, the emperor *Sakazab* and empress *Sarah*'s only son, who, after ^{version and} having wrought sundry miracles during his infancy, preferred the Dominican habit to the *Abissinian* crown, as soon as he was come of age, and became in time the chief and glory of his order, being daily honoured with the visits of angels, who brought him down from heaven the bread and wine which he consecrated at mass. Neither did the angels alone express their ambition to attend upon this extraordinary person; for the very brutes, and ^{Revered by} even those of the wildest and most dangerous kind, as lions, tygers, wolves, crocodiles, ^{brutes.} serpents, and other noxious creatures, gathered after him in shoals, as often as he went out to preach, and ceased not to follow him till he had dismissed them with his blessing, which they all received with the greatest marks of respect and thankfulness they were capable of expressing. But the most surprising and extraordinary of all his miraculous feats ^{Found a stu-} was the vast monastery which he founded, and was afterwards called by his name, which ^{pendous mo-} was capacious enough to contain nine thousand friers; in rearing of which he obliged the ^{astery.} devil to serve him seven years, and to do all the most servile and hard work. Whether he ^{Forces the de-} employed any of his inferior demons in that drudgery, we are not told; but only this our ^{vil to serve it} author assures us, that the monastery hath never been so well served since; inasmuch that ^{seven years.} when the emperor was told of it, he could not forbear blaming his son for not having tied the devil to the same service of the convent as long as it stood.

NEITHER did the holy sister, who had been the constant companion of their travels from *Rome* to *Abissinia*, prove less diligent and successful with respect to those of her own sex; but looking upon herself as equally intitled to the emperor's promise with other fellow-labourers, erected likewise a stately nunnery, wherein she fixed five hundred Dominican *Beatas* of the third rule. This vast nunnery was at first called, in their language, *Bado Nago*, but hath been since better known by that of *Santa Clara*. This may suffice as a specimen of the author's fertile brain on the subject of his nine Dominican apostles, and their miraculous success; all that needs be added to it is, that their history, like ^{Their history} *Raphael's* cartoons, is curiously painted in the cloisters of *Plurimanos*; whither any one, ^{finely painted} who questions its veracity, may repair for a full conviction. ^{in it.}

THIS monastery of *Plurimanos* is that very individual one which was built by *Tekla Haymonot*, with the devil's assistance, and big enough to contain nine thousand monks, all of ^{One big enough} his order; being full four leagues in compass, and having eighty dormitories, which have ^{for 9000} all the great church at one end, and the refectory, or dining-hall, at the other. The dormitories have likewise a great number and variety of cells; that is, some 120, others 150, and some 200; and each dormitory hath a particular chapel and library belonging to it. ^{Its great} The great church is 600 paces long, and wide in proportion: and so it had need, to hold ^{church.} nine thousand friers, who all repair to it on *Sundays* and holidays.

THE next grand monastery in this empire is that called *Attelegab*, and was built by *Bartholomew de Tivoli*, a Dominican frier, who was afterwards consecrated bishop of *Dangola* at *Rome*. This convent hath no more than seven thousand monks; who likewise repair to their great church, and afterwards dine all together, in their common refectory, on all high days.

THESE two monasteries are the two grand nurseries for missionaries, who are dispersed in ^{The two grand} vast numbers, not only over *Africa*, but likewise once a year into *Arabia*, *Bengal*, *Siam*, ^{seminaries for} *Pegu*, and as far as the vast empires of *China* and *Tartary*. It was by some of those mis- ^{missionaries.} sionaries that the kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola* were converted to Christianity, anno 1580; and others spread their missions, though not with equal success, as far as those of *Monomotapa*, *Mozambica*, and all the vast continent called *Cafraria*, quite to the *Cape of Good Hope*. All these missionaries were obliged to return to their respective convents on *Whitsunday* every year. But here our author, being conscious that such annual returns, from such remote regions, must be supposed above the power of flesh and blood, hath taken care to

ward off the objection, by seriously telling us, that they came back with nothing but skin and bones.

Vast numbers
of them mar-
tyred.

Protected by
the empress.

Their abbots
made grand in-
quisitors.

The imperial
library and
treasury.

Hierarchy.

Prelates and
priests how ad-
vanced.

Visitations and
church cen-
sures.

Fine churches.

THESE two famed monasteries, if we may believe our historian, were no less fruitful in their martyrs, than in their preachers and miracle-workers. Three hundred thousand of those Dominican apostles had suffered martyrdom in various parts of *India* and *Africa*; which is more by far than any other (he might have said than all the orders of his church put together) can boast. Even within, and in the neighbouring states, of the *Abissinian* empire, and in the reign of the empress *Helenä*, who was held a Dominican *Beata* (F), eight hundred of the monks of the *Allehyab* convent alone had been put to various kinds of death for preaching the gospel; at which that pious princess was so much troubled, that she sent to all the *Mohammedan* and heathen princes about her dominions, that she would no longer suffer any of their subjects to come and trade within her empire, if they did not abstain from molesting her friars, and suffer them to preach the gospel peaceably among them, each in their respective missions.

THE Abunas, or priors, of those two convents, are, by the pope's letters, constituted grand inquisitors of *Abissinia*, where they execute that power with greater rigour than in *Spain*; and every heretic and apostate is turned over by their tribunal to the secular arm for the very first fault, though ever so penitent, and immediately, without mercy, thrown to the lions.

WE shall not repeat here what we took occasion to mention in a former note, his pompous description of the imperial library and treasury; the former founded by the celebrated queen of *Sheba*, and built upon the mount *Amara*, which that pious queen had filled with *Solomon's* own works, and others written before him by the patriarchs *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Job*, &c. which that magnificent *Jewish* monarch presented her with; and which both she and her successors have been since enriching with every thing that was valuable in that kind, in all languages, and out of all parts of the world, at an immense expence. The latter was founded by the same princess, and on the same mount; into which, as into a bottomless gulph, both she and her successors have been throwing the richest of treasures, without every drawing any thing out of it.

HIS account of the *Abissinian* hierarchy is no less pompous and solemn than it is notoriously false; as the reader may judge, by comparing it with that which we have given of it in a former section †. According to him, there are no less than twelve archbishops and seventy-two bishops; the former answering to the twelve apostles, and the latter to the seventy-two disciples appointed by our Divine Redeemer. In imitation of which, every cathedral likewise hath twelve canons, who all live in community with their respective dioceses, each of which latter enjoys the whole tithes of his bishoprick. When a canon dies, he is succeeded by the eldest priest in his diocese: and when the bishop dies, he is succeeded by the eldest canon of his cathedral. In like manner, an archbishop is succeeded by the eldest bishop of his province; and the eldest primate is always honoured with the dignity of the pope's legate; this privilege having been annexed to that dignity by Pope *Clement VII.* Over and above these there are a great number of titular bishops and archbishops, all of whom are nominated by the emperor, and confirmed by the pope. Every primate is obliged to visit his whole province at least once in six years; which is not done without great pomp and retinue, besides the crowds of laity, which flock to them for their blessing. These metropolitans are no less free of their curses and excommunications, when any thing is done amiss by the laity; and these stand in no less dread of them; especially as they are not permitted to eat or drink, till they have, by proper means, obtained a reversion of the sentence; so that none of them can despise them longer than they can live without meat and drink.

THE richness and splendor of the *Abissinian* churches are no less extolled by our author, but especially those of *Allehyab* and the Blessed Virgin; the former built by the queen of *Sheba*, which is in the form of *Solomon's* temple; and the latter by the empress *Candace*, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*, built in the form of a cross. All of them, according to him, are built of the choicest materials, as marble, porphyry, and granite, and adorned with the richest carvings, paintings, and other embellishments: some of them have three, and others five ailes. The reader may, if he pleases, compare this pompous description

* See before, p. 247, & note (O).

† See before, p. 219, & seq.

(F) By which must be understood not a professed nun of that order, but a kind of secular devota, who hath dedicated herself to the service of the Virgin *Mary*, under the ensign of St. *Dominic*, and obliged herself to wear her scapulary, to repeat the long rosary, and observe some other acts of devotion in honour of her. Of

which kind there are millions of both sexes in the church of *Rome*, who being admitted into this service by the Dominican friars, and paying a certain small sum at their entrance, and another at the particular feasts observed by that order, bring a constant income to the convent,

with

a. with what we have formerly said of those structures, and their ornaments †; though this may be owned to be the only point in which the author there cited hath least deviated from the truth.

But he hath made himself ample amends for it in the account he gives of the *Abissinian* Doctrine and faith and doctrine. According to him, the *Abissines* are not such arrant heretics of the *Alexandrian* leaven, as they have been affirmed to be by the jesuitical tribe; but that they have ever been (or at least ever since the preaching of his eight Dominican apostles) very zealous sticklers for the *Romish* faith and discipline, stigmatize the *Alexandrian* patriarch and his adherents with the worst of epithets, and are in all points the very same with those of the church of *Rome*. discipline affirmed to be the same with that of the church of Rome.

b. WHAT, he tells us, gave occasion to this base and unjust slander on the *Abissinian* church, may be justly deemed a master-piece of the most fertile and bare-faced invention, and is as follows: By whom, and why, misrepresented.

The far greater part of 400 *Portuguese*, who were sent into *Ethiopia* under the command of Don *Christopher de Gama*, being *Jews* in their hearts, they had not been long in that country, before they began to imagine themselves far enough out of the reach of the inquisition, and to make open profession of *Judaism*, to the no small surprise and scandal of the other *Portuguese*; little dreaming that there had been a much more severe one established in that empire by the holy see, and at the request of the eight Dominicans, near a century before. They were soon made sensible of their mistake; and the Dominican inquisitors, being informed of their apostasy, quickly took proper measures to get them all apprehended by their familiars (G), with the greatest secrecy. But the *Jews*, it seems, had likewise their familiars, though of another species; our author affirming, upon this occasion, that the whole race of them were magicians, and in confederacy with the devil, who failed not to apprise them of their danger, and assist them to make their escape; so that, before the inquisitors officers could lay hands on them, they had already dispersed themselves, and got far enough out of their reach. Some of them, he tells us, got as far as the kingdom of *Berno*; whither, tho' they taught the natives how to make gunpowder, he wishes they had all gone; for then, says he, there would have been none left to run to *Goa*, and raise such scandalous lies against the *Abissine* church, as those who went thither did: who, merely to justify themselves, and be revenged on the Dominican inquisitors, represented the *Abissines* as mortal enemies to the pope and *Romish* church, and as holding sundry heretical tenets; which was the reason they did not care to stay any longer among them. Their character, and escape to Goa.

HERE our historian naturally enough falls into a most violent fit of railing, not only against those *Portuguese Jews*, but, for their sake, on their whole race; calling them an *impious, cruel, malicious, pestilent, contagious, vile, infamous, nasty, and loathsome generation*; and, to crown all, calls on all the devils in hell to fetch away the whole race of them, for having dared to report such impudent lies against an empire that was much more catholic and orthodox than that of the most christian king, in having received the holy inquisition and council of Trent, which the Gallican church could never be prevailed upon to do. He no less censures the old christians among the *Portuguese*, for giving credit to such malicious and groundless reports. The author spits his venom against them.

As to what the popes and kings of *Portugal* have since done, upon the supposition that the *Abissinians* were really heretics, and enemies to the *Roman* church, he endeavours to excuse their having been so miserably imposed upon by those villainous *Jews*, as they were also in the case of the good old patriarch *Oviedo*; who, at the same time that he was recalled by the pope, on the small prospect there was of his doing the church any service in *Ethiopia* (by reason of the emperor's and people's adherence to the *Alexandrian* faith) was in the highest esteem among them, revered as a saint, beloved as a father, listened to as a second *Solomon*, and looked upon as an apostle sent by God unto them; and was so far from being in disgrace with the *Abissinian* monarch, that he had raised him to the dignity of president of his *Latin* council. It is true, he owns that the *Portuguese* patriarchs and fathers had, by several indiscrete steps, so far exasperated the minds of the *Abissinian* clergy, and were looked upon by them with such an envious eye, that they quickly grew sick of the country, and were glad to return to the *Indies*; the *Portuguese* (adds he) being a people who cannot live long out of their country, or at least from among their own countrymen: whereas the good bishop *Oviedo*, being a *Spaniard*, and less precipitate in his resolves, would never leave his flock, nor quarrel with them about trifles; and so lived and died in *Ethiopia*, in great honour and esteem; and his memory is precious among them to this day. Of the truth of all which his holiness was quickly after fully satisfied; for the *Abissinians* of St. *Stephen's* college at *Rome*, understanding how their church had been misrepresented, dispatched with all speed one of their members The popes and kings of Portugal excused.

† See before, p. 206, & seq.

(G) So that unchristian tribunal call their officers; that of hell-hounds is by far more suitable to their which, in *Latin*, signifies no more than domestics; tho' office.

to the emperor *Menna* (*Menas*), the successor of *Claudius*, to acquaint him with it: at which news, that prince so highly resented his being misrepresented as an enemy to the church of *Rome*, and was so exasperated against the *Portuguese*, that he forthwith published a law, expressly forbidding all of that nation, upon pain of death, to come into his dominions, without a certificate of their being *Old Christians*, from the inquisitions of *Lisbon* and *Goa*.

The emperor
Menas's let-
ters to them.

Submission to
the see of
Rome.

Grand am-
bassy thither.

HE next dispatched letters to *Goa*, *Lisbon*, and *Rome*, to assure those courts of the falshood of all those reports, which, he said, none but a pack of such vile and execrable *Jews* would have had the malice to invent, or the impudence to publish. One of his letters was addressed to the college of cardinals, and particularly to the protector of the *Abissinian* empire; full of the strongest professions of his inviolable zeal for the *Romish* faith; and this he caused to be backed by another from his council of state, to the same tenor, and in the same loyal terms: both which were sent to *Rome* by an ambassador. Our author adds, that *Alexander III.* who succeeded *Menas*, not reckoning all this enough, sent a fresh embassy thither, which consisted of twenty-four priests, and two noblemen, to renew and ratify his obedience to the holy see.

All a heap of
forgeries

THUS far the abstract of the Dominican history of *Ethiopia*; which, in its original, contains no less than 1130 pages, in octavo, printed in a small type, and all filled with the same romantic fustian, though with the greatest pretences to sincerity, and the strictest regard to truth*. Well might his whole brotherhood be ashamed of such a heap of monstrous barefaced forgeries, and much more to see it ushered into the world with the licence and approbation of some of the eminentest dignitaries of their order. Could the most diligent endeavours have succeeded of utterly suppressing the memory of the work, as well as of its author and vouchers, we may boldly suppose scarce one copy of it would have been left undestroyed. But there were too many of their rivals concerned in preventing it, and who have effectually done it: yet hath this their victory gone but very little way towards clearing themselves of that glaring blemish, which will, in all likelihood, stick to them to the end of the world, of having, by their partial and indiscrete zeal, rendered the name not only of *Romish* and *Portuguese*, but even of *European*, odious through this whole empire, as they have done that of *Christian* in the greatest part of *India*. Neither is this misfortune confined to *Higher*, but has spread itself through *Lower Ethiopia*, where we shall meet with still more flagrant instances of this unchristian spirit, especially in those countries where their well-meaning proselytes were, by their means, unwarily brought under the no less insupportable tyranny of the *Portuguese* monarchs.

S E C T. XI.

The history of the kingdoms adjacent to Abissinia; of Dancali and Adel, on the coast of Babel Mandel, and of Magadoxo, &c. on the coast of Ajan.

Some of the
kingdoms on
this coast un-
known, or
miscaled;

as that of
Barnagasso.

BEFORE we enter upon the description and history of these kingdoms, it will not be improper to apprise our readers, that all our maps of *Africa*, those of *D'Anville*, the most modern and exact, not excepted, place several kingdoms on the confines of *Abissinia*, along the coasts of the *Red Sea*, concerning which we meet with little or nothing in our geographical books but their names and precarious situation, and of which we hope we shall be readily dispensed taking any further notice in the course of this chapter; especially if they remember that we are not writing an universal body of *GEOGRAPHY*, but of *HISTORY*, into which it would therefore be impertinent to intermix some few, and perhaps uncertain, particulars of the former, where we have nothing material to add to it relating to the latter. Of this nature are the kingdoms of *Balu*, or *Bali*, *Deking*, or *Degbin*, *Barnagasso*, or *Midrehbar*, and others which crowd this coast in the maps, whilst their names are unknown even to the most voluminous compilers of geographical dictionaries. At the head of them stands the supposed one called *Barnagasso*, or *Barnagash*, on the confines of that of *Tigre*, belonging to the empire of *Abissinia*, and styled a kingdom in those maps, through mistake, or inadvertence; that compound name of *Babr* and *Naghash*, signifying no more, in the *Ethiopic* language, than a prefecture, or government of a maritime province, or territory^a, of which there are still several which bear that title, some subject to the *Abissinian* emperors; and others which have withdrawn their allegiance from them, and put themselves under the protection of the *Turks*, as we have seen in the preceding chapter. However, both of them are in too poor and mean a condition to deserve that pompous name, each being equally under the yoke; and that of the latter being

* See GEDDES, ub. sup. p. 477, & seq.

^a Vid. int. al. LUDOLPH. *Ethiopia*, l. i. c. 3. n. 7.

scarcely

a scarcely to be supposed higher than that of the former; and what a kind of one this was, may be guessed at from the wretched reception which the *Portuguese* ambassy to the *Negus*, under the famed *Alvarez*, met with from one of them, in his way to that court, and the miserable plight he found that maritime government in, which could hardly afford him and his retinue any better fare, through his territory, than barley bread, or barley meal, and some wine made of honey^c.

THE petty kingdom of *Balu*, or *Bali*, was once subject to the same empire, but has since revolted from it; and is erroneously taken, by some geographers, for a part of that *Kingdom of Balu*; of *Dancali*, though this last be an ever-faithful ally, and the other a declared enemy, to the *Ethiopian* monarchs. However that be, his dominions, let him assume what title he will, deserve no farther mention, seeing he hath neither cities nor towns in them, but only some villages scattered through a large, and, for the most part, uncultivated territory, inhabited by the wild plundering *Gallas*, of whom we have elsewhere spoken^d; who at first settled themselves in these maritime parts, and from thence made the most dreadful inroads into the adjacent provinces of *Abissinia*, and have since settled themselves, not only in several of its frontier, but likewise in some of the inland, kingdoms, as we have already observed in the history of that empire. Those who inhabit that territory are fierce, warlike, and cruel, like all the rest; only they that live near the sea have embraced *Mohammedism*, and live more on trade than plunder. Their prince is rich, and so powerful, that he obliges the bashaw of *Suakem*, which lieth over-against his dominions, to yield him one half of the customs of that island. Our author adds, that he hath plenty of gold and silver, and abundance of fine large horses^e. According to Mr. *Ludolph's* map, the river *Habesh*, or *Hawash*, which comes down from the confines of *Sberwah*, crosses his territories, and, continuing in its course eastward, loses itself in the sandy deserts of the kingdom of *Adel*. *inhabited by the Gallas; their dreadful plunders;* *king rich and powerful.* *Hawash river.*

THE kingdom of *Dekim*, or *Deghim*, which lies between that of *Balu*, on the west, and *Dancali*, on the east, is still more unknown to us; for which reason we shall pass to the next^f.

DANCALI, or *Dancali* and *Dangales*, is likewise situate on the *Red Sea*, between those of *Dekim* on the west, and *Adel* on the east. Its extent along the coast is but small; whatever it may be towards the inland, and is neither well cultivated nor inhabited. The king of it is a *Mohammedan*, as are most of his subjects; but in strict alliance and friendship with, or, as father *Lobo* adds, tributary to, the *Abissinian* emperor^g: if so, he must, in all likelihood, be so likewise to the grand signior, who is master of all this coast. His kingdom chiefly abounds in mines of salt, of which vast quantities are made, and a great traffick carried on, both into the inland parts, and on the *Red Sea*. Its chief sea-port, and that no extraordinary one, is that of *Baliur*, or *Balyur*, which stands at about fourteen hours distance west of *Babel Mandel*. And it was in this port that the *Abissinian* patriarch, with his jesuits and *Portuguese*, first landed, and were received by the *Cheyk* with great civility, the emperor having chosen that port for their landing, and given proper orders for their reception (A); though that did not hinder the *Cheyk*, and his inferior officers, from insisting upon some considerable presents, in proportion to their rank, when they came to bring their baggage on shore, as is customary among all the *Turks*. *Kingdom of Dancali.* *Port of Baliur.* *Portuguese land at it.*

THE king, who had likewise received letters from that monarch to the same purport, sent to invite the patriarch and his retinue to his court, which was about three or four days journey from *Baliur*, and dispatched his own son to meet them in the way, and conduct them to the royal palace, or rather camp, which they found to consist only of half a dozen tents, about a score huts, fenced about with a thorn hedge, and shaded by some wild kinds of trees. Near the palace is a river, which, in winter, is very full and rapid; but it being then summer, was quite dried, and had no water but what was digged for at the bottom of its channel, or bed. *Their reception by the king;* *his court.*

^c De hoc vid. sup. ibid. & ALVAREZ in Ramusio, vol. i. p. 196. edit. 3.

^e LOBO's relat. de Abissin. p. 38.

^d See before, p. 93, & seq.

^f See his map, history of Ethiopia, l. i. c. 8. n. 48, 106.

^g Relat. de l'Abissin. p. 48.

(A) The persons who composed this ambassy, besides *Alphonfus Mendez*, newly created patriarch of *Abissinia* by the pope, were those that follow; viz. 1. *Johannes Valesco Castellano*. 2. *Hieronymo Lupo*, or *Lobo*. 3. *Bruno de Santa Cruce*. And, 4. *Francesco Marchesio*, all four jesuits, who had two lay brethren to attend them; viz. *Emanuel Lewis* and *Joannes Martini*. The rest of their retinue consisted of one servant, five musicians, three *Abissinians*, who conducted the ambassadors, two

maçons, and two apprentices, who were to be employed in the building of churches, and other religious houses, as had been agreed between the emperor and the king of *Portugal*. All these, except *Valesco* and the three *Abissinians*, were *Portuguese*, and all landed at the port of *Balyur*, on the 3d of *April*; having been timely forewarned, by letters from the *Abissinian*, from landing either at *Suakem* or *Mazwa*, which were then in the hands of the *Turks* (*).

(*) De hoc vid. Gregor. in Ludolph, hist. Ethiop. l. iii. p. 11. n. 5, & seq. Jarric, Coding, Lobo, & al. plur.

audience to
them ;

THE hall of audience, where they were received by the king, was a large tent, or hut, a about a musket-shot from the rest. Two of them are for his own use ; the other four are for his mother, brothers, and chief officers. The presence-hall had, at the upper end, a kind of throne, reared only of stones and clay, and covered with a carpet, and two velvet cushions. At the other end, facing the throne, was his majesty's horse, with the saddle and other accoutrements suspended on one side ; it being the custom of this country for the master and horse to lie together, whether king or subject. Around the hall were about half a hundred young men, sitting cross-legged on the ground ; and when the *Portuguese* ambassadors were admitted, they were made to sit down in the same posture.

attendance ;

dress ;

greediness and
arrogance ;

meanness and
resentment ;

refuses to dis-
miss them.

Audience of
leave obtained
by dint of
bribery.
Greediness of
his court.

Other towns.

THE king came soon after, preceded by some of his domestics, one of whom carried an earthen pitcher, full of hydromel, or wine made of honey ; another a drinking-cup, b made of porcelane ; and a third carried a cocoa-nut shell, filled with tobacco ; a fourth a silver tobacco-pipe, and some fire. Next to them came the king, dressed in a light silk stuff, with a turban on his head, from the rims of which hung a parcel of rings, nicely wrought, which dangled before his forehead : he held in his hand a short kind of javelin, instead of a sceptre, and was followed by all the chief officers of his court and household, and among them his lord high steward, the superintendent of his finances, and the captain of his guard. The respect paid to him, at his coming in, was by standing on their feet, and squatting down again twice ; after which they went towards the throne to kiss his hand. The audience was short, but full of the most bombastic professions of love and esteem on his side, and of respect and gratitude on theirs ; but this behaviour soon altered, c when, on the next morning, they came to make their presents to him, and, instead of acceptance, our author, who brought them to him, met with a severe repulse and reprimand, for daring to affront a monarch like him with such trifling presents, and was bid to take them away out of his sight. Our jesuit readily obeyed, without betraying either fear or any other emotion than that of disdain, after having given him to understand, that they were of more value than he ought to have expected from religious persons, who had renounced the world, and forsaken their native country, for the sake of carrying their religion into the *Abissinian* empire ; and told him at parting, that, since he did not think them worth his acceptance, the next he sent for from them should be less so.

THE king, though surprised at his rough compliment, let him go away with them ; d but, being unwilling to lose them, sent one of his officers to fetch him back, with orders to insist upon some addition being made to them, but was glad to take them as they were ; the good father, on his side, insisting upon retrenching some part from them : so that when they were brought again, the greedy monarch received them with visible marks of dissatisfaction and resentment ; and it was not long before he made them feel the effects of it, not only by detaining them, upon some pretence or other, longer at his court than was necessary for getting things ready for their departure, but by privately forbidding his subjects to sell them any kind of provisions, at any price ; so that they must have been obliged either to satiate his greediness with larger gifts, or been in danger of starving, had not the good father resumed his high tone with him, and, partly by the keenest expostulations e against his behaviour, and partly by threatening him with the emperor's resentment, brought him, against his will, to comply with the patriarch's demands, and use them with more humanity. This did not hinder the black monarch from putting off their departure out of his dominions from day to day, and suffering them to be chagrined and insulted by his subjects, in hopes of finding some pretence for extorting some further presents for their dismissal ; to avoid which, they found no better expedient than to bribe one of his favourite ministers with a valuable gift, who, quickly after, obtained their audience of f leave, and such other supplies of carriages, provisions, &c. to proceed on their embassy to the *Abissinian* court. Neither was it possible to get rid of that of *Dancali*, till they had extended their largesses to all that belonged to it, from the highest officers down to the most menial servants and camel-drivers¹.

THIS small kingdom hath some considerable towns besides the port of *Balyur*, the most considerable of which are *Vella*, or more probably, as *Davity* conjectures, *Leila*, another port on the *Red Sea*, and mentioned in the *Portuguese* letters of the year 1617, as one of those which belong to the allies of the *Abissinian* emperor ; for though *Sanutius* and others speak of this king of *Dancali* as at enmity with him, it is plain from *Jarrick Codigo*, and especially *Lobo*, who was one of the embassy, that he was, at that time, tributary to him ; though, from his being a *Mohammedan*, and his ill usage of his ambassadors, one may judge he could be no friend to him in his heart. The other two towns are *Korkora* and *Manadeli*², where they have some manufactures of the linen and cotton kind, with which g they traffick with the *Negroes*. The river *Hawash*, or, as others call it, *Hanazo*, hath its

¹ LOBO, ubi sup. p. 50, & seq.

² LA CROIX Africa, l. iii. DE LISLE Atlas, DAPPER.

- a rise at some of the mountains on the south, and, running north-eastward, waters the kingdoms of *Dawaro* and *Adel*, and there is swallowed up in the quick-sands; but the country is barren, dry, and sandy, producing no kind of food for cattle but only leaves; labours under great scarcity of water, and that which their wells afford is brackish and unwholesome¹. The inhabitants are *Moors*, and consequently lazy and indigent, fearful and diffident of all the *Europeans*, and especially the *Portuguese*. *Country poor and barren.*
Inhabitants black and poor.

C H A P. V.

The history of the country of Ajan, al. Axan; and of the kingdoms and states belonging it.

- b **T**HIS large tract of land, which extends itself on the north-side, along the southern coast of the gulph of *Babel mandel*, quite to the utmost verge of *Afric* on that side, or to the cape called *Guardafuy*; and on the eastern side, from the said cape, on the 12th deg. north latitude, quite to the equinoctial line, which divides the last coast from that of *Zanguebar*, was once contiguous to, if not wholly a part of, the *Abissinian* empire; though long since not only dismembered from it, and divided into several inferior kingdoms, but even parted from it by the *Gallas*, *Gaffates*, and other barbarous nations, which are settled between them: and this may be the reason why the *Arabs* still give to these coasts the name of *Abex*, or *Habex*, or *Abissinia*: though others give them that of *Ajan*, or, as the *Portuguese* write it, *Axan*. So that, upon the whole, the last name doth not so much imply the name of a particular kingdom, as most geographers would intimate, as a general one of a maritime tract, containing several petty kingdoms and states; the principal of which are, the kingdoms of *Adel*, al. *Zeila*, *Magadoxo*, or *Madagoxo*, on the coasts, and some others in the inland, little known to us but by their names: and lastly, and what we mention for its singularity in those parts, the republic of *Brava*^a. *The coasts of Ajan described:*
kingdoms belonging to it;
- c

- d THE generality of geographers have added another kingdom; viz. that of *Adea*, within this country of *Ajan*, and place it near that of *Magadoxo*; but we shall in the sequel shew that it is a mere imaginary one, as well as its pretended opulent capital of the same name, and seated on the same coast. All the eastern coast of *Ajan* is affirmed to be a mere sandy and barren tract, producing neither corn, grain, fruit, nor any animal, but of the wild kind; for which reason it is most commonly called the desert coast. But as you advance farther northward, and along the northern coast, you meet with a very fertile country, which produces great plenty of all sorts of provision, in which it drives a great commerce, and more particularly in an excellent breed of horses, in great request, and which foreign merchants fetch in great quantities, in exchange for silks, cottons, and other cloaths. *soil;*
produce;
commerce;

- c THE inhabitants along this last coast are mostly white, with long lank hair; but grow more tawny, or even quite black, as you proceed towards the south. Here are plenty of negroes, who live and intermarry with the *Bedowin Arabs*, and carry on a great commerce with them, which consists in gold, slaves, horses, ivory, &c. which they commonly bring from *Abissinia*, with which they are almost constantly at war, and of which they plunder and ravage whole provinces. As they are all either zealous *Mohammedans*, or *Bedowins*, an idolatrous and superstitious sect among the *Arabs*, so they are alike enemies to the *Abissinians*, who are all Christians; and the frequent inroads they make upon them, render them warlike and stout; but all of them, especially the *Bedowins*, who are rude and brutish, are arrant thieves; but more particularly those who live nearest to the trading coasts^b. Let us now take a view of those kingdoms which are included within this tract, beginning with that of *Adel*, as the most considerable, and best known to us. *inhabitants:*
religion:
manners.

S E C T. I.

The history of the kingdom of Adel, al. Zeila.

FROM the full and copious account we have given of the vast and noble empire of *Habash*, or *Abissinia*, in the foregoing chapter, our readers must not expect the like complete history of this and other kingdoms there mentioned as contiguous, and at frequent wars with its monarchs; our *Europeans* being still to this day as little acquainted *Kingdom of Adel, al. Zeila.*

¹ Idem ibid. LUDOLPH, Ethiop. l. i. c. 2. n. 11.
DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

^a MARMOL, Afric. l. x. c. 10. SANUT. l. xii.
^b Idem ibid. SOMMAR. regn. Axan. tr. 3. ap. DAVITY, MAGIN. geogr.

Why so little
known to the
Europeans.

with the one, as they were formerly with the other: that is, till the *Portuguese* and their missionaries were invited thither by the *Abissinian* court, and met with such encouragement from them, as enabled them to give the world so uncommon a history of it, and which might have been much more extensive still, had those fathers been as intent upon that as they were upon reducing the *Ethiopian* church to the see of *Rome*; which if they could once have compassed, according to their sanguine hopes, would have afforded them more time and opportunities of enlarging their description of it.

How these be-
came suspected
by the Adelite
kings.

BUT it was this extraordinary welcome, and the unusual careffes of the *Ethiopic* court, which rendered them suspected and odious, and with them all other *Europeans*, to all the adjacent kingdoms above-mentioned; and to a higher degree, as they were mostly either zealous *Mohammedans*, or barbarous idolaters, given to all kinds of superstitions and cruelties, and irreconcilable enemies to the Christian religion, or, to speak more properly, to the *Romish* church; for that was all the Christianity they knew. So that it is no wonder both *Moslems* and *Heathens* did so unanimously join in guarding all the avenues into their own dominions against all those so odious and dreaded interlopers, and in exercising the most cruel severities against as many of them as found means to elude their vigilance, and ventured to penetrate, under various disguises and pretences, into any part of their territories (A). We have seen, at the close of the last chapter, how few, if any, of those infatuated zealots, who have attempted it, have escaped a discovery, and how dreadfully those have been treated, who have fallen into their hands^a. Our readers, therefore, need not be surpris'd, all these things duly weigh'd, if we hitherto are able to say so little of those kingdoms; though their nearness to, and their commerce, or more properly wars and irruptions into the *Abissinian* empire, of which we have had frequent occasion to speak in the course of that history, will hardly permit us to pass over so many potent princes and states as were there mentioned, without giving the best account we can meet with concerning them.

OF all the neighbouring enemies which the *Abissinian* monarchs have had for some centuries past, the king of *Adel* hath been the most powerful and inveterate, and that especially on account of religion. Both he and his subjects, being zealous *Mohammedans*, not only cultivated, but carefully intail'd the bitter rancour on his successors against the *Abissinians* and their faith; and this hostile animosity increased still more, from the time that these emperors applied to the *Portuguese* for help, and were enabled, by their superior skill and valour, to give their *Mohammedan* enemies several considerable overthrows, of which we have given an account in the preceding chapter^b.

Their resent-
ment against
the *Abissinian*
emperors,

BUT nothing did so effectually alarm and confirm the *Adelite* princes, and their allies, in their jealousy and resentment against the *Ethiopic* court, as that mean and unworthy offer of the emperor above-mentioned to submit the *Abissinian* church to the authority of the *Roman* see, which they doubted not would infallibly engage all the Christian, that is, as they imagined, all the *European* powers to their assistance, to destroy at once *Mohammedism* and *Heathenish* superstition, and reduce all their dominions under the *Ethiopic* yoke.

and hatred to
the *Portu-
guese*.
Dread of their
arms.

They had by that time had many smarting proofs of the superiority of the *Portuguese*, in point both of valour and martial discipline; and it was become an usual saying, among their dastardly troops, and those of their allies, that those *new-comers* were not men, but devils incarnate, and that it was impossible to make head against them. And if such a small army of them, scarcely amounting to 300, could perform such unheard-of wonders in favour of the *Abissinian* monarchs, what could they expect less from the united forces of all the *European* princes, but unavoidable destruction? What method, therefore, was more likely to ward off so fatal a blow, than to engage all his allies, and other powers far and near, who were equally threatened with the same ruin, to join with him not only all their home forces, but likewise in the same caution and vigilance, to stop every avenue to their respective dominions against all strangers, under whatsoever disguise or pretence.

Care of guard-
ing their coasts
against them.

^a See before, p. 302, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 261, & seq. 266, & seq.

(A) To this we may add another no less stinging and cogent motive for this jealousy and hatred; viz. the many and swift conquests which the *Portuguese* have made, both on the eastern and western coasts of *Africa* (to say nothing of those they made also in *India*); the inhuman treatment they shewed to those princes and states who refused to submit to their superior force, by reducing their stately cities into ashes with their artillery, putting all to fire and sword that oppos'd them,

carrying off all they found of value amongst them, as lawful plunder; and what was as bad, if not still worse, the cruel tyranny and oppression they exercised on all those who submitted to that yoke (1), and for which they quickly became, and, on their account, all the *Europeans* in general, and the very name of Christian, odious through all those parts, as we have already shewn in several parts of this work*, and shall have still farther occasion to shew in the sequel.

(1) De his vid. *Offorio hist. Portug. per tot. likewise hereafter our history of Congo, Angola, &c.*

* Vid. int. al. vol. iii. p. 235. 571. 665. & alib. pass. See

a All which was so punctually and effectually done, that if the so much wished-for alliance between the *Abissinian* monarch and the *European* powers had taken place, which it did not, and these had thought fit to send him a new reinforcement of men and arms, they would have found the landing them upon any of their coasts, and much more their penetrating through their dominions, altogether impracticable. Neither did its unexpected miscarriage permit these princes to abate of their care and vigilance; but they have followed the same precautions method ever since, and with all possible success.

THE kingdom of *Adel*, so called from its metropolis (B), and *Zeila*, from another eminent sea-port of that kingdom, is situate along the southern coast of the *Red Sea*, which bounds it on the north; from the straits of *Mean*, or *Babel Mandel*, on the west; ^{Situation, boundaries,} to the cape of *Guardafuy*, on the east; which is the utmost verge of this coast, on this side, from which it begins to wind itself south-west, along the *Indian* sea, by which it is bounded on the east. Its limits on the south extend to the kingdom of *Magadoxo*, from which it is divided by the river of that name, and on the west hath the *Gallas*, or *Callas*, the kingdoms of *Bali*, *Dovaro*, and *Dancali*. Its full extent, on the other side, is not certainly known; the longest is along the coast, from east to west, and is supposed to be 160 leagues; and the least, from north to south, about 72^d. Ancient geographers, however, give it a much larger extent; and it had, according to them, many more considerable provinces, which the *Turkish* conquests have since dismembered from it, as we shall see in the sequel. We meet with but an imperfect account of the inland part of the kingdom, except that *Marmol*, or rather his *French* translator^c, mentions six cities in it, besides that of *Zeila*, and the two capitals of *Adel* and *Aran* above-mentioned; viz. *Bali*, *Doara*, *Comizara*, *Novorata*, and *Socel*; to which a modern geographer adds three more; viz. *Aussagurella*, situate on a high hill in the center of that kingdom; *Barbora*, situate on the bottom of a bay, into which the river *Howacha* formerly discharged itself; and *Meta*, on the eastern banks of the river *Soal*, on the northern coast^f. The most considerable places on the eastern coast are *Asum*, or *Ason* (C). It is a small town, ^{metropolis and other towns.} but abounds with provisions and other refreshments for mariners; but, having no haven, is not much resorted to. The next to it is the cape of *Guardafuy*, supposed to be the *Aromata* of *Ptolemy*; it lies north of *Asum* about 12 degrees and half of latitude, over-
d against the island of *Sucotra*, or *Zocotora*, in *Arabia Felix*. Turning south-westward from the said cape, one meets with the towns of *Salin*, the ancient *Mosilon* of *Ptolemy*; then *Barbora*, *Metba*, and last of all, *Zeila*, said to be the finest and richest in that kingdom^e, and the only one we meet with any account of worth inserting.

ZEILA is seated on a spacious bay, just upon coming out of the straits of *Babel Man-* ^{Zeila de-} *del*, and, from its situation, seems to be the *Avarita* of *Ptolemy*. It retains still some noble ^{scribed.} relicks of its ancient splendor. The houses are built of stone and mortar, the streets wide and regular, its haven very commodious, and well frequented, and is both populous, and carries on a considerable commerce, it being the place through which the greatest part of the ^{Its commerce.} merchandizes, which are carried into the *Abissinian* empire, commonly pass, as well as those which are consumed in the kingdom of *Adel*; the revenue of which is so considerable, that the kings of it are often at war with those of *Aden* about it; upon which account the former keeps constantly a strong garrison in it; but more particularly on account of being the chief place by which the *European* missionaries endeavour to get into *Abissinia*; and here it was that two of them, viz. *Franc. Muchado* and *Bernard Ferreira*, having attempted to land with that design, were apprehended and put to death, an. 1624, by order of the king of *Adel*, as we have hinted in the preceding chapter †.

THIS sea-port had indeed, at that time, all the advantages of commerce over that of *Aden*, till the arrival of the *Portuguese* fleet, in the year 1517, which utterly destroyed it:

^d SANUT, MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, Afric. & al. sub *Adel*. MARMOL, l. x. c. 7. De la CROIX, vol. iv. c. 11.
† See before, p. 261, & alib. pass.

^e Afric. l. x. c. 7.

^f LA MARTINIÈRE

^g SANUT, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

(B) *Marmol* calls the metropolis of this kingdom *Aran* (6), but neither describes it, nor takes any other notice of that of *Adel*, than giving it the title of a royal city, which we are told is the name of the kingdom and its capital. As for that of *Zeyla*, or *Zeila*, by which he says the kingdom is called, it is very likely, as the judicious Mr. *Ludolph* conjectures, that it was given to it by some *Europeans*, from an eminent sea-port which it hath on the northern coast, and was, perhaps, the only place of note they knew in it (7).

(C) This city Mr. *Corneille*, by mistake, places near the kingdom of *Melinda*, beyond the river *Chimanchi*, on the coast of *Aden* (8); being probably led into the error by a *French* collection of travels, intituled, *Le Voyageur curieux*, or curious traveller, chap. 8. This shews how little dependence is to be had on such collectors, *Ason* being the same with *Asum*, or *Asuma*, and far enough from the kingdom of *Melinda*, or the coast of *Aden* (9).

(6) *Afric. lib. x. c. 7.*

(7) See his map of *Abissinia*.

(8) *Diction. sub voc.*

(9) *Vid. Dapper*

Africa, sub Adel. Sanjon, La Martiniere, &c. sub Asum & Ason.

Commodities
in, and ex-
ports.

since which time *Aden* hath gained that advantage. There was, however, some considerable traffick carried on in it by the *Arabs*, who brought thither negro slaves, elephants teeth, gold dust, meyron, and other gums, which they bought in *Abissinia*, and sold to the merchants that came from other parts thither to purchase them.

Want of wa-
ter.

THE territory about *Zeila* is rich and fertile, if we may believe *Marmol*; but others represent it as dry, sandy, and barren, and so destitute of water, that the inhabitants are obliged to go two days journey for it^h. Much of the same nature is the whole canton it belongs to; in which, however, we are told there are two other cities, named *Dalaca* and *Malaca*, but nothing further relating to them.

THE next city of note is *Barbora*, situate at the bottom of a convenient bay, on an island of its name, but called by *De Lisle Alondi*. It hath been all along a kind of rival in commerce with that of *Zeila*, and is no less resorted to by foreign merchants, who carry on much the same traffick. It is situate over-against the city of *Aden*, and made once a considerable figure, but was plundered and burnt by the *Portuguese* fleet, an. 1518, who expected to have found a considerable spoil in it, but were happily disappointed, the inhabitants having had time enough before-hand to convey themselves and their most valuable effects away. The island, which is almost contiguous to the *Terra Firma*, is very fertile, and produces plenty of corn, fruits, and cattle; great part of which is exported, by the same merchants, into other countriesⁱ. The other parts of the kingdom of *Adel* being mostly flat, and with very few high hills; they have seldom any rains; but that defect is abundantly supplied by the rivers which run through it in great plenty^k.

Rivers.

THERE is one among the rest, named the *Hawash*, which comes down from the *Abissinian* mountains, on the confines of the provinces of *Xaoa* and *Ogge*, which receives some other rivers into it, and takes a considerable circuit before it comes into the kingdom of *Adel*.

That of Kil-
manci de-
scribed.

It is called *Kilmanci*, and is very broad and deep, and hardly inferior to the *Nile*, excepting in the length of its course; for it hath scarcely run six miles through it, before the inhabitants divide it into such a great number of canals, that it is in some measure exhausted before it reaches the sea.

Soil and pro-
duce.

This renders the country so rich in grain, fruits, and other provisions, as are more than sufficient for the people, and part of it is conveyed into other neighbouring kingdoms, especially those of *Aden* and *Zeiden*. They have plenty of wheat, barley, and millet; they have variety of sheep, cows, and other beasts. Some of their sheep, like those of *Syria*, *Arabia*, and other parts, have large tails, which commonly weigh between 20 and 30 pounds^l.

Inroads into
Abissinia.

BUT their main traffick consists in gold-dust, elephants teeth, frankincense, and negro slaves; all which they fetch chiefly from *Abissinia*, with whom they are continually at war, and miss no opportunities of making inroads into some of their provinces, and whence they seldom return without great quantities of that kind of plunder. This is afterwards conveyed, as was lately observed, to the port of *Zeila*, where they never fail of meeting with merchants from *Arabia*, *Camboya*, and other parts, ready to exchange them for cloths of cotton, silk, and linen, of various sorts; collars, bracelets, and other ornaments, of amber, chrystal, and other materials; dates, raisins, fire-arms, *Arabian* horses, and other such commodities^m.

Inhabitants
described.

THE *Adelites* are stout and warlike, and fight with surprising intrepidity against the *Abissinians*, as well out of zeal for religion, as in hopes of plunder; the former being all staunch *Mohammedans*, and the latter a pusillanimous sort of Christians, in no-wise equal to them;

Weapons and
discipline.

either in valour, discipline, or warlike weapons; those of the *Abissinians*, especially in the remote parts, consisting chiefly of bows and arrows, lances and javelins, all wretchedly fabricated; and the ordinary sort among them having hardly any thing better than long staves, sharp-pointed at one or both ends, and hardened in the fire, to fence against their enemies; whereas the *Adelites* are furnished by the *Turks* and *Arabs* with variety of fire-arms,

Fire-arms.

and other offensive weapons, which they exchange, as we hinted above, for slaves, gold-dust, and other *Abissinian* plunder; and, by their frequent incursions into that empire, are much better trained up to the martial, or rather plundering trade. Their complexion, along the northern coast, is of a tawny brown; but the farther one proceeds towards the southern parts, the more one finds them approach to a downright black. Their dress chiefly consists of a piece of cotton cloth, which covers them only from the girdle to a little below the knee; all the rest of the body being naked; except the king, and nobles of both sexes, who wear a kind of loose garment, which covers their whole body, and a cap over their head: all the rest go bare-headed and bare-footed. They are, however, very fond, the women especially, of adorning their necks, arms, wrists, and ankles, with bracelets of glass, amber, and other such trinkets.

Complexion,
and dress.

^h DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ubi supra.

ⁱ MARMOL, c. 8. DAPPER, & al.

^k MARMOL,

ubi supra.

^l MARMOL, DAVITY, & al. ubi sup.

^m BERMUD. MARMOL. & al.

- a We have already hinted that their religion is *Mohammedism*, and their government *Religion.*
monarchical and despotic, though under the protection of the grand signor, to whom
the kings of it pay a kind of homage and tribute for it. It was at first founded, as we are *Government*
toldⁿ, by one of the princes of the blood of the imperial family of *Abissinia*, named *Salatru*; *despotic.*
who having found means to escape out of the rocky prison, in which those unhappy *By whom first*
princes were heretofore wont to be confined^o, into this kingdom, or then perhaps
only province, of *Adel*, put himself under the protection of the then king of *Zeila*, who
soon after gave him his only daughter in marriage, upon his turning *Mohammedan*; and it
was by his assistance that he made himself master of the first, and after his death succeeded
him in the other, and made of both one kingdom. This prince, like most renegadoes,
b became a most inveterate enemy to all Christians, and was continually at war with some of
them, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the *Portuguese*, upon their landing at
his old capital of *Zeila*, and plundering and setting it on fire: concerning which transaction
we have the following account from some of their writers^p.

- THEIR fleet had suffered greatly through want of provisions; and amongst them that
lost their lives by it, was Don *Duarte de Galvan*, who was sent ambassador to *Abissinia* by
king *Emanuel*. *Suarez*, who commanded the fleet, having dispatched some of his ships in
quest of a fresh supply without success, resolved to sail to *Zeila*, then very rich and popu-
lous; but, to his great surprize, found it deserted by its inhabitants, who carried off all
their valuable effects, and left only a good garrison to defend it. The *Portuguese*, finding
c it impossible to get any provisions, either for love or money, unanimously agreed to storm
it; which they might the more easily do, as it had neither walls, towers, or any other for-
tifications. They landed accordingly some of their forces, who stood drawn up in arms
along the shore, expecting with impatience the rest, which *Suarez* was to send after them:
but, finding that he did not dispatch them so soon as he might have done, whilst them-
selves were exposed to all the insults of the garrison, they at length resolved to enter it with
sword in hand; and having with difficulty mastered one part, and repulsed the other, they
fell a plundering the houses, and carried off a considerable quantity of provisions; the best
part of which they sent on board the fleet, and destroyed the rest, together with the city,
which they set on fire, and reduced to ashes. This is the plausible account these authors *Salatru de-*
d give of their countrymens destroying this and many other fair and opulent cities and their *feared by the*
inhabitants, on that and other coasts: and who can wonder, after this, at their very name *Portuguese*;
having become execrable all over those parts, and, upon their account, that of *Frank*, *who plunder*
European, and Christian? We have hinted above, that the new king of *Adel* was defeated, *and burn*
and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by them about this time^q; but whether it was *Zeila.*
at the plundering of *Zeila*, or at some other encounter with them, we cannot be certain. *Hatred to the*
However, what we have here related is more than sufficient to justify his rancour and re- *Christians.*
sentment against them.

- HIS successor, whom some call *Gradabemett*^r, *Bermudez Goranbo*, or *Gorbanna*, but others *Succeeded by*
most commonly *Granba*, or *Grainbe*, was a prince who inherited all the irreconcilable hatred *Grainbe; an*
e against the Christians in general, but more particularly against the *Portuguese*; and we may *enemy to the*
add, who proved one of the most formidable enemies they had to encounter after their *Portuguese.*
landing in these parts, and put their valour and politics to the severest proof: for, being
timely apprised of their fleet's approach, he had taken all necessary precautions, and given
the proper orders to his officers, in what manner to act against such of them as should ven-
ture within their reach. Accordingly the first who fell a sacrifice to his revenge, were a
company of about sixty of their deserters; who having left their fleet, and gained the shore
in a boat, had unhappily landed in some creek near the port of *Zeila*, and found them-
selves quickly after ready to perish with heat and drought in that sultry barren quarter.
One of the king's commanders, being informed of it, sent them word, that if they would *Cruel strata-*
f deliver up their arms, and surrender themselves to him, he would immediately supply *gem against*
them with water, victuals, and other necessaries. Their desperate condition not permitting *them.*
them to hesitate about his offer, they readily complied: which they had no sooner done,
than he ordered them all to be butchered upon the spot^s. We may justly question whe-
ther any *Mohammedan* commander would have been guilty of so horrid a piece of treachery,
especially against a parcel of poor perishing deserters from an invading enemy, against any
other nation, or on so important a crisis.

THE next engine they played off against the *Portuguese* would have proved of much *A fresh one*
worse consequence, could it have taken effect so soon after the former. We shall give it, *disappointed*
as nearly as we can, in the words of our author. *by the jealous*
patriarch.

ⁿ Lett. di AND. CONSALI.

^o De hoc, vide sup. p. 209, & seq. & (E).

^p CODINGO, de rebus

Abissin. l. ii. OSSORIO's Portuguese conquests, & al.

^q See DAVITY, and the authors cited by him.

^r BALTH. TELLEZ Hist. Ethiop. LUDOLPH, & al.

^s BERMUD. relat. apud PURCH. Pilgr. l. vii. c. 7.

p. 1149, & seq.

WHILST these things were transacting, the admiral of the *Portuguese* fleet sent a galley to a *Arkico*, to exchange a thousand ells of cotton cloth for a certain quantity of beeves, and other provisions they wanted. The bargain being made, the cattle was seized on at once by a *Bahr-nagash* named *Nero*, belonging to the king of *Adel*, as they were driving them by land from *Arkico* to the place where the *Portuguese* vessels were waiting to receive them. Immediately after which, the *Bahr-nagash* dispatched one of his captains to tell the *Portuguese* commander, that the king his master was now in possession of the whole *Abissinian* empire, which he had lately conquered from the *Negus*, or emperor, and to invite the *Portuguese* to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce with him; assuring them that they should be supplied from thence with plenty of gold, slaves, ivory, myrrh, and other valuable drugs, sufficient to carry on a very profitable traffick; whilst he on his part would take care to furnish them with what provisions they wanted, and at the same time restore to them the cattle he had seized from them, and make them full satisfaction for the sixty deserters he had caused to be put to death.

The Turkish
Bahr-nagash
out-witted by
the Portuguese.

HERE the good patriarch *Bermudez* failed not to caution the *Portuguese* captain against relying on the fair offers of the treacherous *Bahr-nagash*, and to advise him to use art against art, and to outwit him in his own way. The result of which was, that they sent him a present of a barrel of wine, and a fresh quantity of cotton cloth, in exchange for a new supply of cattle and provisions, instead of that which they had taken as a lawful prize from them: that as to the sixty deserters, they had but a due punishment from him for their treachery: and as to the proposed treaty of peace and commerce, it being then the holy week, they were not permitted to treat about it, but would apply themselves intirely to it, as soon as the holy days were ended; and bring their merchandizes on shore, for the more easy and speedy conclusion of it.

Camp surprised.

The Bahr-nagash slain by a marksman.

THE captain, pursuant to the same advice, forbade any long-boat to go to land, lest any of them should betray their design, or give the *Bahr-nagash* notice of it; and at the same time ordered all his soldiers to hold themselves ready to get on board all the light vessels belonging to the fleet, with all possible secrecy, and without any lights, to prevent their being discovered. Their measures being thus taken, captain *Martin Corea*, at the head of 600 armed men, went on shore about ten of the clock at night, and seized on all the avenues at which the enemy might escape. In this descent some of the *Turks* and *Fartaks* were slain, and part of their baggage seized, *Corea* not having had time to secure a sufficient quantity of carriages. At the same time the *Bahr-nagash*, observing that the king his master betook himself to flight, marched directly against the *Portuguese*; and was no sooner known, than he was shot to death by a *Portuguese* marksman; whilst a number of *Turks*, both on foot and horseback, coming to his rescue, were part cut in pieces, and the rest were put to flight. *Corea* and the patriarch sent the head of the *Bahr-nagash* to the empress of *Abissinia*, with an account of their successful descent, and first defeat of her enemy the king of *Adel*; who received both with no small joy, and dispatched soon after one of her chief noblemen to congratulate them upon it.

Don Christopher de Gama made general of the Portuguese.

THIS glorious beginning, which, by a well-concerted counter-plot, at once freed them from the hostile designs of the *Mohammedan* *Bahr-nagash*, opened a way to their troops thro' the territories of the *Adelite* monarch, and gave him and his subjects so early a proof of the *Portuguese* superior valour and policy, as excited a good number of young gentlemen in the viceroy's fleet to beg his leave to lift themselves in this *Abissinian* expedition. To this he not only readily agreed, but begged of the patriarch *Bermudez* to admit into that number his own brother, the brave *Don Christopher de Gama*, and recommended him as a proper person to command his little army under him; which was agreed to with no less readiness on that prelate's part. It consisted only of 400 men well armed, disciplined after the *European* manner, and some small artillery; but was considerably augmented by the number of these volunteers, and their servants and equipage, which proved of no small service in the process of this arduous enterprize, both against the opposing force of the *Adelites*, and in the assistance they lent in getting the artillery over a great number of rocky mountains and difficult passes; which either fell in their way, or which they were obliged to betake themselves to, to avoid the arms of the *Adelite* troops, which were every-where posted in the most advantageous passes in their way.

Arrival at Devarowa.

FOR the disconcerted king had no sooner recovered himself from his panic at his late surprize and defeat, than he collected all his forces, as well as those of his allies, resolving, at all hazards to obstruct the passage of the little *Portuguese* army through his dominions into those of *Abissinia*. But whilst these preparations were making to stop their progress, the enemy had not only gained the city of *Devarowa*, belonging to the *Abissinians*, where the *Bahr-nagash*, who commanded in the province, had furnished them with plenty

De his, vide sup. p. 261, 273, 276. & al. pass.

BERMUD. ubi sup.

De hac, vide sup. p. 314. of

- a of provisions, carriages, and other conveniencies for their march, by order of the empress, who was come thither to meet and accompany them; but had already proceeded about eight days journey through a very rough and rocky territory, which the king of *Adel* had lately conquered from the *Abissinians*, and were arrived at a fine spacious plain, full of Christian inhabitants, who then groaning under a *Mohammedan* yoke, readily submitted to Don *Christopher*. He had not marched above three days through their territories, and encamped on a pleasant spot near a spring of fresh water, before they received a haughty message from the king of *Adel* (D), to enquire of them who they were, whither, *Granhé's* and on what errand bound; and to inform them, that those kingdoms through which they *haughty mes-* had passed, by his and his soldiers valour, and the favour of his prophet *Mahomet*, were *sage to him*.
- b become his by right of conquest; but nevertheless to tell them, that seeing they had presumed to penetrate so far, if they would consent to lift into his service, they should not only be received as friends and allies, but be moreover enriched with lands, pensions, and preferments suitable to their respective stations; but if they refused his offers, he ordered them immediately to depart out of his dominions, otherwise they should be treated as invaders, and be all cut to pieces.

- THE answer which Don *Christopher*, to whom the message was delivered, and who was *Gama's* *an-* made commander of that expedition by the patriarch, sent back to the *Adelite* king, was *swer to it*; such as became his birth and station, and expressed a singular contempt of that prince, as well as of his offers and threats; the import of which was, that he was a general of
- c the king of *Portugal's* forces, and was sent thither with express orders from him to restore the *Abissinian* empire to its pristine state, and to recover those kingdoms and provinces which his invading arms had dismembered from it. This answer, joined to the con- *and mean pre-* temptible presents he sent with it, whether to him or to his general *Granhé* we cannot *sents to him*. be certain, added to the rich and sumptuous ones which he bestowed on the messenger*, soon determined the *Moorish* king to come to a fierce engagement, in which he appeared *A fierce en-* at the head of 1000 horse, 5000 foot, besides 50 *Turkish* musqueteers, and the same *agement be-* number of archers. We shall not repeat here what we have elsewhere related concerning *tween them,* the disposition, success, and other particulars of this action, in which both sides engaged *in which both* with such fury, that both generals, who fought foremost in it, were wounded, but the *are wounded.*
- d *Moorish* the more dangerously of the two, having had his horse killed under him, and received a shot in his leg from a carbine aimed directly at him by one of the *Portuguese* marksmen*. This proved a lucky hit for the *Portuguese*, whose commander was likewise wounded in the leg, though not dismounted; for the *Moorish* army had then surrounded them so closely on all sides, and being all stout soldiers, and so much superior in number, would in all probability have cut them in pieces, had not the fall of their general, and his being obliged to retire to a neighbouring hill to have his wound dressed, joined to the enemies erecting a pavilion and other signs of victory on the field of battle, as if already gained, so far disconcerted them, that they immediately faced about, and followed *The Portu-* their commander. This is at least the account which a cousin-german of the *Abissinian* *guese gain* *the victory.* *Bahr-nagash* (but who, upon the reduction of that province by the *Moors*, had apostatized to *Mohammedism*) gave to the patriarch and *Portuguese* general, upon his coming to congratulate them on the next day upon their signal victory, and unexpected success.

- e THIS person having first given them some evident tokens of his penitence and earnest *Reduced pre-* desire of being again received into the church, engaged for himself, and all that were *vinces.* under his government, that they should thenceforward renounce *Mohammedism*, and pay the same tribute to their lawful prince as they did to their *Moorish* conqueror; after which he went immediately to his own territory, whence he sent them a plentiful supply of cattle and other provisions: and indeed, as he had been made governor of all the great tract of ground by the conquering *Moor*, and had been base enough to renounce his Christianity,

* De his vid. sup. p. 261.

* Ibid. p. 261, & seq. vid. & BERMUD. TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

(D) It will not be amiss to observe here, that *Tellez*, and those who have followed him (6), whether out of contempt, or why, we need not concern ourselves, constantly style this brave warrior only general, or grand vazier of the king of *Adel*, without ever naming his royal master, or once bringing him upon the stage (7). But we think we have a much better authority in the patriarch *Bermudez*; who, being at the head of this *Abissinian* expedition, directing almost every step of it, and being present at every encounter which *Gama* and his *Portuguese* had with that *Moorish* commander, must

have been better acquainted with his quality, and on every occasion styles him king of *Adel*. And as a farther proof of his being really such, he tells us, that when he was killed, and his widow taken prisoner, the *Abissinian* emperor, willing to gratify the *Portuguese* general who then commanded with that beautiful princess, presented him with two of his tributary kingdoms, with the title and insignia of the regal dignity, to prevent her descending from her former dignity, as we have seen in the preceding chapter (8).

(6) *Tellez*, *hist. Ethiop. lib. ii. c. 8. p. 70, & 113, & seq. & al. pass.*(7) *Ludolph hist. Ethiop. lib. i.*

c. 16. n. 44. not. (A) & alib. pass.

(8) See before, p. 268.

it was the least he could do or engage, to prevent the fatal effects of military execution, and avoid the punishment which his apostasy and ill example to his subjects justly deserved. But the *Portuguese* were the more ready to agree to his own offers, as there was a kind of famine reigning through all the country, and their camp had already felt the effects of it so far, that, it being then the season of Lent, they had been obliged to obtain a dispensation from the patriarch for eating of flesh, and even to kill some of their beasts of burden to subsist; and must have been obliged to ravage the country for sustenance, had not that nobleman's relief come so seasonably into their hands^y.

LENT was scarcely over, and the two chief commanders cured of their wounds, before *Granbe* sent a fresh message to *Don Christopher*, advising him to get himself in readiness, for that he designed to pay him a visit sooner than he expected. He did so accordingly; but at the head of a superior force than he had before, and with the very flower of his horse and foot, which amounted to double their former number. At the first sight of it the frightened empress would have gladly left the *Portuguese* camp, and fled to some place of safety, and had prevailed upon the patriarch to accompany her; but *Don Christopher*, who foresaw that his flight would not fail of disheartening his small army, obliged him to return, and be at hand to give them his blessing before they engaged.

ON the next morning, by break of day, both armies began their march, and met on a plain, where the *Moors* gave the first attack, having first surrounded that of the *Portuguese* on every side. The onset was carried on with great fury on both sides; but the fire of the *Portuguese* artillery gave the enemy so warm a repulse, that, not being used to it, they quickly gave way, and were no less annoyed in their retreat; for the *Portuguese* had taken care, before the armies engaged, to strew the ground with a good quantity of gunpowder in the highways and lanes through which they retired, with a train to each, to set it on fire; so that a great number of these poor wretches had their legs and feet terribly scorched and burned, the slight cotton garments about their middle set on fire, their breath stifled by the smoke and stench, and being wholly ignorant of the cause, they imputed the dire effect to some infernal power, which helped to complete their disconcertment; especially if we add the joint and equally surprising annoyance of the enemy's hand-grenades and fire-pots, which still continued to make a most terrible havock amongst them. By all these means the field of battle was soon covered with dead and wounded, horses as well as men: whilst the continual discharge of the *Moorish* fire-arms, and all the volleys of their arrows, had done no other execution on the enemy, than the killing about 20 of their men, among whom was their head cannoneer. At length both horse and foot gave way; *Granbe* retreated to a neighbouring hill, followed by them, and once more left the enemy in possession of the field of battle, and saw himself obliged to abandon his noble camp, being forced to fly with such precipitation from their pursuers, that they had no time nor heart to secure any of their baggage, provisions, or rich furniture; in-somuch that finding it impossible, in spite of their utmost efforts, to overtake them, they returned, and fell a plundering of their richest tents, in which they found a very considerable spoil, in utensils, clothes, furniture, money, ammunition and provisions. And it is on occasion of this fresh defeat that he is reported to have palliated his disgrace and precipitate flight, by saying, that the *Portuguese* fought not like men, but like incarnate devils^z.

HE had indeed, in the last defeat, lost so great a number of men and horses (for besides those that were killed of the latter in the field of battle, a great number of them, scared by the fire and the noise of the enemy's artillery, had overthrown their riders, ran wild over the plain, and into the neighbouring woods, where they were lost), that he was obliged to apply to the grand signor, to whom he paid a kind of homage and small tribute, for a fresh supply of both; and, the more effectually to obtain it, he sent a very considerable quantity of gold to the Porte, and another to *Zebid* the *basha*, who then commanded in the neighbouring government. Whilst this was transacting he kept himself encamped on an advantageous hill with the broken remains of his army; whilst the *Portuguese*, to avoid being surprised by him, with much difficulty gained the top of a very rocky and almost inaccessible mountain, on which they found a spacious plain, and there fortified their small camp^a.

No sooner had the *Adelite* king received the desired reinforcement from *Zebid*, consisting of 600 *Turks*, and 200 *Moors* on horseback, some say 1000 arquebusiers, and 10 pieces of field cannon^b, than he resolved at all hazards to attack the enemy's intrenchments; whilst *Don Christopher*, who did not then think that situation safe enough, was gone at the head of a detachment to take possession of another and higher mountain, inhabited

^y Idem, *ibid.* ^z BERMUDEZ, *ubi sup.* TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, *vid. & sup.* p. 228, & seq. before, *ibid.* & seq. VINCENT LE BLANC, & al.

^a See DAVITY and his authors.

^b See by

a by *Jews*; and guarded by a *Moorish* garrison of 150 men, commanded by an officer of the *Adelite* king. Him Don *Christopher* attacked and defeated, killed 60 of his men, took 30 of his horses, and some prisoners, and put the rest to flight. He was, however, soon obliged to go back to the assistance of the rest of his army, who sent him word of the approach of that of the *Moors*, who were already encamped at the foot of that high mountain.

HERE *Granbe* sent one of his officers in the disguise of a pedlar, laden with beads and other trinkets, to tell that general, that his master would not fail to be with him in two or three days, with much more valuable wares. The man being seized by some of the *Portuguese* vanguard, was stripped of all his load, and delivered his master's message: b and this occasioned Don *Christopher's* being sent for with all speed. At his arrival, a proposal was made in council, and approved by much the greater majority, of surprising the *Moorish* camp in the dead of night, as the only expedient they had left to get out of their territories, and to save their handful of men against so superior a force. But that young warrior, scorning to take such a dishonourable advantage against an enemy who never yet had attacked him without sending some previous notice of his coming, peremptorily refused to fall on him till break of day, which, though greatly against their will, they were forced to comply with. The consequence of which was their total defeat, and the loss of their brave commander; who being desperately wounded, and soon after discovered and taken by the *Moors*, was brought to their camp; where *Granbe* having in vain tempted c him to apostatize, both by vast promises on the one hand, and cruel indignities on the other, of which we have given a full account in the *Abissinian* history, being at length enraged at his surprising constancy and singular valour, caused him to be conducted to the field of battle, and there to be beheaded in the manner we have before related. There the reader will also find a fuller account of that battle, and of the defeat of the *Portuguese*, as well as of the dreadful difficulties and perplexities they were obliged to undergo, before their small remainder got safe into the *Abissinian* dominions: *Granbe* and his *Moors* following and harrassing them all the way; *Bermudez* says, as far as the *Nile*, near the place where it falls into the lake *Dambea* d. It was not long after this that they were met by the young *Abissinian* emperor, who gave them a most gracious reception, and with d their assistance resolved to recover some of the provinces which *Granbe* had conquered from him; who, on his part, had taken all proper precautions to make a most vigorous opposition, and lay encamped on a spacious plain, having a very high and difficult mountain between him and the *Abissinian* army, whose passes he did not think worth guarding against them, but trusted to a stratagem, which he thought would do more execution among them than his *Moors*. Accordingly the *Portuguese* and *Abissinians* having with great difficulty gained the top of the mountain, were not a little surprised to find it altogether abandoned by its inhabitants, and that to all appearance with such precipitation, as to leave a great quantity of provisions, and particularly of wine. But, to their great surprise, they found them all poisoned; and it was happy for them that the effects of it e were so soon felt as to give timely warning to the rest; for as many of them as had ventured upon them died so quickly after, that the rest fell immediately on breaking all the wine-vessels in pieces, and destroying the other victuals.

HERE finding a proper place to encamp, they made a short halt after their laborious ascent, which had taken up a whole day; and on the next morning they were no sooner got to the opposite brow, than they were in full view of the *Moorish* army, which had by that time advanced to the foot of it, and were both within hearing of each other's clamorous threatenings and shouts; those in particular which came from the *Moorish* camp were, as is usual among them, of the most vapouring and deterring kind, importing no less than the utter extirpation of the imperial army, and its foreign auxiliaries, the impaling alive of the *Portuguese* patriarch, and the castration of the young emperor, in order to qualify him for one of the eunuchs in *Granbe's* court f.

THESE menaces so far intimidated that young prince and his pusillanimous soldiers, that they would gladly have avoided attacking the enemy; but were in some measure forced to follow them down the mountain, for fear of being abandoned by them. On the other hand, *Granbe* no sooner observed them approaching, than he appeared at the head of his army, accoutred cap-a-pie, and mounted on a stately white horse, with a *Turk* on each side, directing his march against them. The *Portuguese*, who led the van, suffered him to advance towards them, till he was near enough to be within musquet-shot; when one of their expertest marksmen fired at him, and brought him down dead off his horse, to the great surprise and terror of his *Moorish* troops. His two *Turks* were likewise killed by g

Sends them notice of it.

Don Christopher's fatal pride and defeat.

Put to death by Granbe.

Pursues the Portuguese,

forming a bloody stratagem against them.

Comes in full sight of them.

His threatening words against them and the emperor.

Marches against them.

Is slain by a marksman.

^c See before, p. 264, & seq. & auct. sup. citat.

^e BERMUDEZ, TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^d De hoc vid. sup. p. 174, & seq. 208, & seq.

some fresh shot; and the next discharge, which was a general one, made so terrible an execution among them, that the whole *Moorish* army was quickly thrown into the utmost confusion; so that between those who ran away from, and those who still pushed forwards towards the enemy, they only opposed each other; whilst the *Portuguese* following their advantage, made still a greater havock, and increased the disorder amongst them.

AND now it was that the *Abissine* troops, which had stood aloof off, ventured to fall upon the disconcerted *Moors*, and helped their brave auxiliaries to gain a complete victory over them. Both the field of battle and the camp were quickly abandoned by the *Turks* and *Moors*, and plundered of all its wealth and plenty of provisions by the victors; as was soon after the whole province of *Dembea*, from which they likewise brought away the richest spoils, and a great number of prisoners, both *Turks* and *Moors*, and, among the latter, the son of the king of *Adel*, as we have elsewhere shewn; his queen narrowly escaping being of that number, by retiring into the province of *Dagoa*^f. After this second action, the young emperor was easily induced to pursue his good fortune, and reduce several other rich kingdoms, which the king of *Adel* had conquered from him; all which, by the assistance of the *European* auxiliaries, and the great dread which their surprising victories had spread through the whole empire, was completed to his wish, with no less facility than speed; but for which we shall refer our readers to the account we have already given of it in the *Abissinian* history^g.

The king of
Aden's mes-
sage to the
emperor.

BUT whilst they were thus successfully employed, they received a message from the new king of *Adel*, or, as *Bermudez* styles him[†], king of *Aden*, a firm ally of the late *Granbe*, and as zealous a *Mohammedan*, which was likely to have put a stop to their progress. It was directed to the young emperor, and imported, that he should not be too much elated at his late defeat of the king of *Adel*, for that he would find in him a successor both able and willing to repair his losses, and revenge his death; assuring him, at the same time, that he would not fail paying him a warm and speedy visit. This obliged the young monarch to give him the meeting, and, if possible, to be beforehand with him; and accordingly he ordered his army, preceded by the *Portuguese* van-guard, to march against him with all diligence, in order to surprise and fall upon him when he least expected it. There being a large river between them, they spent the whole night in crossing it, the horse by swimming, and the rest by the help of pontons, which they quickly made of the hides of their oxen, which were flayed for that purpose, and drawn backwards and forwards by ropes; all which was performed with such expedition and secrecy, that they were able to attack the enemy by the next morning, long before day-break. The king of *Aden*, surprised beyond measure at their unexpected approach, was one of the foremost to head his *Turks* and *Moors* against them; but was shot to death on the very first onset, probably by the same way as the *Adelite* king, if not by the same hand. A bloody action ensued, in which there were many lives lost on both sides; and the young *Abissinian* emperor received a wound, and was in no small danger of losing his life, through the confusion and disorder that reigned in both armies, and the difficulty of distinguishing objects at that early hour. All that needs be added to what we have said heretofore on the subject of this action is, that the *Moorish* army were no sooner apprised of the king of *Aden*'s death, than they betook themselves to a hasty flight, in which fresh numbers were slain by the fire of the pursuing *Portuguese*, who, among other prisoners of note, brought away the lady *Diana Ambura*, widow to the late king of *Adel*, or *Aden*, who quickly after turned Christian, and was married to a *Portuguese* chief, as we have formerly shewn^h.

Is surprised by
him;
defeated and
killed.

The Moors
defeated and
routed.

AFTER this fresh victory, the *Portuguese*, whose name was become terrible all over those parts, and who had by this time so greatly improved the *Abissinian* soldiery in the art of war, had a fair opportunity to have established the emperor in all his dismembered dominions, and to have helped to suppress, if not extirpate, all his invading enemies round about, had that been the main end and design of their and the patriarch's commission: whereas their order was to oblige the young monarch to make an open submission of himself, church, and people to the see of *Rome*; a step which they now found him absolutely determined to ward off as long as he could by any means, and to amuse them, by fair promises and delays, till they had put him in a condition to give them an absolute denial. And hence arose that irreconcilable breach between them, which deprived him of all further assistance, and exposed him afresh to the attempts of the *Mohammedan* princes above-mentioned, as well as to the fresh inroads of the rebellious *Gallas*, *Gafates*, and other barbarous nations, within and about his dominionsⁱ. But what hostilities ensued after this epocha, between the two former kingdoms and the *Abissinian* empire, or what other wars

^f See before, p. 267, 268, & auct. sup. citat.
(D), p. 329.

^h See before, p. 268, & seq. & auct. sup. citat.

^g Ibid. p. 242, & seq.

[†] See the foregoing note
ⁱ De his vid. sup. p. 175, & seq.

they

- a they waged against any other state, is as much beyond our power to guess, as it is to give any other particulars of their history. Could we indeed rely on the report which some *Abissinians*, who were at *Rome anno 1620*, made to the pope and college, their master had by that time, reconquered the greatest part of the *Adelite* kingdom, and reduced the prince to so low a condition, that they were no longer in danger of him*. But it is too plain that they represented matters rather as suited with their interest, than as they really were. Their business was to encourage his holiness, and other *European* powers, to send thither a strong supply of men and other assistance, in order to dispossess the *Mohammedans* of their conquests on that coast, that they might open a free commerce to the Christians into their empire, by representing that enterprise as easy and half completed; and to avoid saying any thing that might justify their delay and apparent reluctance to it.
- b HOWEVER that be, as the fatal breach between their emperor and the patriarch and his *Portuguese*, ended in the total expulsion of the *Portuguese*, from whom alone we have all this intelligence, out of the empire, and the shutting up all avenues into it against all the *Europeans*, with the utmost care and precaution; all further correspondence with those parts hath been so effectually stopped, that we have been ever since wholly in the dark about what is transacted in them. Only thus much we may add, with respect to the kings of *Adel* and *Aden*, and the *Turkish* basha, who commands along the coasts of the *Red Sea*, that the *Abissinian* monarchs have been obliged to pay them a kind of pension, in order to keep them more vigilant and severe against all strangers, who shall attempt to penetrate into any part of that empire, in any disguise, or under any pretence.
- c In all which they have shewn themselves the more strict and careful, as they receive the same express commands from the grand signor, whose tributaries they are, and under his protection. Those of *Adel* in particular have been for a long time in high favour at the Porte, and dignified with the title of saints, on account of, and as an encouragement to, their singular zeal, and frequent wars against the Christians. But that specious title hath not been able to save them from being stripped, by these sultans, of their most considerable ports and maritime towns on the *Red Sea*, and being confined by degrees, and closely shut up in the inland. So that they have now no part left in that kingdom, except that of *Zeila*, the rest being all in the hands of the *Turks*¹: by which means they not only keep the kings of *Adel* closely shut up on that side, but lock up all possible intelligence from
- d coming from thence into *Europe*, and likewise all avenues through all those coasts into *Abissinia*, against the attempts of the *Roman* missionaries to re-enter into that empire. Here, therefore, we must be obliged to conclude our *Adelite* history, and shall only add a remark or two from what has been said hitherto; viz. That the kings of *Adel* appear to have been the most powerful and formidable of all that belong to the territory of *Ajan*; seeing they could engage not only all the other princes of it into their wars against the *Abissinian* empire, but even draw into their alliance the king of *Aden*, though situate at a greater distance, and on the opposite shore of the streights or gulph of *Babel Mandel* (E). But the main tie that unites all these inferior kingdoms so closely into one interest, is their religion, which, as we observed a little higher, being either *Mohammedism* or *Bedowism*, both
- e equally averse to every branch of Christianity, must equally inspire each with a hostile zeal against so potent and extensive an empire as that of *Abissinia*, whose monarchs have been so long famed for their strict and firm adherence to their church, as well as for their equal zeal against idolatry and *Mohammedism*.

f ADD to this, that the *Ottoman* court, under whose protection they live, is no less concerned, as well from motives of policy as religion, to suppress as much as they can the power and grandeur of the *Abissinian* monarchs; and having, for that end, seized on all the sea-ports on that coast, and thereby shut up all these *Moorish* princes, their vassals, within their inland territories; they not only encourage but oblige them to be continually at war with that empire, by furnishing them with all the necessary supplies of men, artillery, fire and other arms, and ammunition, without which it would be next to impossible to stand out long against them, there being no way left for them to procure them by any other means.

* Lettres de COREAL, DAVITY Afric. & al. sup. citat,

¹ RAMUSES, PIGAFET, MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER,

(E) Having had occasion to mention that king as a zealous ally to that of *Adel* against the *Abissinians*, tho' situate in *Arabia Felix*, and separated from this by the gulph above-mentioned, it might not be deemed amiss to give our readers some farther account of that kingdom as we go along, though out of the limits of the *Ajanic* tract we are upon: especially as all the account we find concerning it in our *Arabic* and other authors,

is too inconsiderable to be made into a separate article, it chiefly relating to its famed ancient metropolis and mart, as well as its present state. But these and other curious particulars have been so amply described in our *Ancient History of Arabia Felix* (9), from the celebrated voyages of Mr. *La Roque*, into *Arabia Felix*, that we cannot add any thing more to it.

C H A P. VI.

S E C T. I.

The history of the kingdom of Magadoxa, and the republic of Brava; with an account of the fabulous kingdom of Adea.

The kingdom of Magadoxa. Its situation, length, &c.

THE next considerable kingdom along these coasts of *Ajan*, is that of *Magadoxa*, or, ^a as it is indifferently spelt by other geographers, *Madagoxa*, and *Madagocho*, is contiguous to that of *Adel*, extending itself, according to our latest maps, from 5 degr. 40 min. of north latitude quite to the equinox, where the river or gulph of *Jubo* divides the *Ajan* coast from that of *Zanguebar*, as that of *Magadoxa* doth from those of *Adel* ^a. But how far it extends itself inwards, or west, is but mere conjecture; though the generality of geographers scruple not to adjust its limits in their maps, on that side, rather as their fancy leads them, than upon any probable foundation. It hath its name from its capital, situate on a large bay, formed by the mouth of the river of the same name, which, we are told, is called by the *Arabs* the *Nile of Magadoxow*, by reason of its annual overflowing, like that of *Egypt*.

Soil and produce.

SOME authors tell us it has its spring-head as far as the mountains of the kingdom of *Machidas*; others bring it down as high as from the *Mountains of the Moon* ^b. The truth is, we are so little acquainted with those inland countries, that its head is as much unknown to us as that of the *Nile* formerly was ^{*}. However that be, we cannot but suppose its course to be a very long one, though not perhaps so winding as the other, not only by its considerable chanel, which forms a large convenient bay a little below the capital, but likewise from its regular and extensive inundations, which fertilize that whole country to such a degree, by the numberless canals which are cut from it, that it produces a great quantity of wheat and barley, variety of fruits, and breeds great numbers of horses, oxen, sheep, and other animals, wild and tame.

Religion and government.

THE city of *Magadoxa* is a place of great commerce, and vast resort from the kingdoms of *Aden*, *Camboya*, and other parts; whence their merchants bring cotton, silk, and other cloaths, spices, and variety of drugs, which they exchange with the inhabitants for gold, ivory, wax, and other commodities ^c. It is chiefly inhabited by *Mohammedans*, who came and settled there in the time of the *khalifs* ^d. The rest of the inhabitants for the most part are become of the same religion; though there are yet a great number of *Bedowin Arabs*, who still follow their old heathenish superstitions; and further in the inland a still greater, who are *Abissine* Christians, subject or tributary to that empire.

THE king and his court are *Mohammedans*; and yet are affirmed by some to be likewise tributary to it, and by others to be continually at war with it. However that be, his subjects, of what extract soever (for some of them are white, others tawny and olive, and others quite black) all speak the *Arabic* tongue: they are stout and warlike, and, among other weapons, use poisoned arrows and lances ^e.

Cugna the Portuguese admiral's attempt against Magadoxa.

THE only remarkable piece of history we meet with concerning this kingdom, is the hostile attempt which the *Portuguese* fleet made upon its metropolis, under the command of admiral *Tristan de Cugna*, as he sailed along these coasts in his way to the *Indies*. He had already reduced several maritime places, some to tribute, and others to ashes, particularly the city of *Brava*, of which we shall speak in the next section, which he caused to be plundered and burnt, and had proceeded as far as this city of *Magadoxa*, which he caused to be summoned, as usual, to accept of peace and friendship; that is, in plainer terms, of subjection and tribute to *Portugal*. But here he found the inhabitants ready prepared to give him a suitable reception; great numbers of foot and cuirassiers were patrolling along the shore; the walls were covered with armed men, and a considerable body of troops were drawn up before the town, which made *Contingo*, the officer sent with the summons, afraid of going on shore; instead of which, he dispatched one of the *Bravan* captives to assure the *Magadoxans* that the *Portuguese* came not to denounce war, but to offer peace to them. But they, knowing what dreadful execution had been made at the city of *Brava*, fell furiously upon the messenger, and tore him in pieces; and threatened to serve *Contingo* in the same way, if he offered to land; which obliged him to return to his admiral, and acquaint him with his ill success, and the insolent menaces of the enemy. *Cugna*, upon this, was resolv- ^f

Is bravely repulsed.

^a SANUT. *Afric. lib. ii. c. 12.* DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

^{*} See *Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 177.*

sup.

^c RAMUS, DAVITY, & al. *ubi sup.*

^e SANUT, DAVITY, OSSOR. *Portug. conq. vol. i. & al. ubi sup.*

^b D'HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient.*

^d D'HERBELOT, *ubi*

- a ing, in a great rage, to bombard and storm the place, but was happily diverted from his bloody design, by the persuasion of his officers and pilots; the former of whom represented to him the natural strength of the place, numerousness of the garrison, plenty of ammunition, and the valour and resolution of the inhabitants; and the others, the extreme danger of the ships, both from the fire of the town, and boisterousness of the sea, especially as winter was then coming on, and the season for sailing nearly expired; so that, if his troops should miscarry in their attempt against the place, their fleet and army must inevitably perish: upon which he gave immediate orders for sailing to the island of *Socotora*, where he arrived soon after with all his ships, leaving the brave *Magadoxans* to rejoice at their deliverance. This is the account which their countryman *Ossorio*, bishop of *Sylves*, gives of
 b this transaction^f; from which we may conclude, that this kingdom cannot be tributary to *Abissinia*, as some pretend; seeing, if it had been so, neither would the *Portuguese* have attempted its metropolis in that hostile manner, nor the inhabitants have repulsed them with such noble resentment.

S E C T. II.

The republic of Brava.

- W**ITHIN the kingdom of *Magadoxa*, and on the southern verge of it, was formerly *Republic of*
 founded this republican state, the only one we know of that kind in all *Africa*, by *Brava*.
 seven *Arabian* brethren, who fled thither from the tyranny of their king *Lacab*, one of the
 c petty monarchs of *Arabia Felix*. Here they found a most convenient and delightful situation on the same coast, being bounded on each side by a river; upon which account *Sanut* affirms it to be an island^{*}; and properly enough might he have styled it such, if the two rivers, which bound it on each side, were really no other than two branches of the *Kilmanzi*, *Not an island.* as some affirm, though at random^g, as we think; that river running a quite contrary way out, far enough from this coast, as we have lately shewn. However that be, whether they be two distinct rivers, or only branches of one, it is likely that this republic doth not extend itself far into the inland; its chief dependance being on the great commerce of its capital of the same name, which is conveniently situated on a bay, formed by the mouth of the *Situation,* northern branch of that river, about the distance of one degree, according to our newest
 d maps, from the equator.

- THIS city, the only one we know belonging to this republic, is large and well peopled, *Capital.* chiefly by rich merchants, the descendants of the seven *Arabs* lately mentioned, whose main *Traffick.* traffick consists in gold, silver, silk, cotton, and other cloths, elephants teeth, gums, and other drugs, particularly ambergrise, with which this coast abounds; and if we may credit *Vast pieces of*
 our authors^h, some pieces have been found here of such an extraordinary bigness, that if *ambergrise.* a man stood on one side, he could not see a camel that stood on the other. The houses here are large and well built, after the *Moresco* style, and the town strong and well fortified, and accounted one of the most celebrated and frequented marts in the whole *Habessan* coast. *Great com-*
 Both the city and republic are governed by twelve cheyks or magistrates, chosen (but *merce.* whether annually, or how, we are not told) out of the principal families of their seven *Government.*
 e founders above-mentioned, and to whom the administration of justice and the management of all public affairs is committed. The people are mostly *Mohammedans*, but under the *Religion.* protection of the kings of *Portugal*, to whom they annually pay a small tribute of 500 mitti- *Tributary to*
 gates, amounting to about 400 *French* livresⁱ. This, however, they did not submit to, till *Portugal.* after they had undergone a severe execution from the *Portuguese* fleet, bound for *India*, of which the same bishop, *Ossorio*, gives us the following account^k:

- TRISTAN DE CUGNA, admiral of that fleet, having set on shore at *Melinda* three am- *Cugna's at-*
 bassadors, sent by king *Emanuel* to the emperor of *Abissinia*, and recommended them to the *tempt against*
 care and protection of the king of it, continued his course northward along the coast, till *Brava.* he came to the city of *Brava* (situate about 200 leagues from that of *Melinda*), and cast
 f anchor at the port. Here he dispatched, according to the *Portuguese* custom, one of his officers, named *Lionel Codingo*, to wait on the heads of the republic, and offer them peace, and the friendship and alliance of the king his master. To this the cheyks answered, that they had no objection against entering into such a treaty: but, says our author, this was only a piece of dissimulation, calculated to detain our people; the season being then almost at hand, when such boisterous winds usually blew in these parts, as would dash in pieces all their ships, even in the very harbour. *Cugna*, having discovered this artifice, resolved *Causes it to be*
 immediately to assault the city; and, before day-break, had drawn up his men on the shore, *assaulted, plun-*
 and formed them into two lines, the first whereof consisted of 600 men, the command of *dered, and*
 which. *burnt.*

^f OSSOR. conq. Port. vol. i. p. 286, Eng. edit. & seq. ^{*} Ubi sup. ^g RAMUS, vol. xiii. 3d. edit. LA CROIX Afric. part iii. § 10. ^h TEXEIRA, RAMUS, DAVITY, LA CROIX, & al. sup. cit. DAPPER Afric. ⁱ Id. ubi sup. ^k OSSOR. hist. Port. conq. Eng. edit. vol. i. p. 285, & seq.

which he gave to *Alphonso Albuquerque*, whilst he reserved to himself the command of the others, which consisted of about 600 soldiers.

Brava was then garrisoned by 4000 men, half of whom immediately sallied out against them. The conflict was severe on both sides; but the *Portuguese* charged them with such fury, that they found themselves obliged to give ground, yet made a very regular retreat into the city; after which the gates were shut up against the enemy. These immediately surrounded the place, examining, with the utmost diligence, where they could best force an entrance; but were all that time terribly annoyed from within with burning torches, and other missile weapons. In the mean time, *Albuquerque*, having discovered a weak part in the wall, began his attack there; but was quickly opposed by the besieged, who flocked thither with all speed, and defended it with surprising intrepidity. The contest was kept up with very great fury on both sides; when, luckily for *Albuquerque*, the admiral came up, at whose approach the *Moors* were struck with such a panic, that they fled with the greatest precipitation; whilst the *Portuguese* soldiers, eager for their prey, would have pursued them into the city, but were restrained by their commanders. The city was presently after entered, and plundered of a vast and valuable booty, which was conveyed on board their ships. Great numbers of the besieged were slain and wounded, and many of them taken prisoners, but most of these were released quickly after. The *Portuguese* had about 50 of their men killed, and many dangerously wounded, besides eighteen others, who perished in the long-boat, which, through their insatiable avarice, they had loaded so immoderately, that it overset with them. Nay, such and so enormous was the inhumanity of the *Portuguese* soldiers and sailors, and their eagerness after spoil, that they cut off the arms of seven women, to come at their rings and bracelets the more readily. But *Cugna*, having severely punished the authors of this cruelty, thereby deterred the rest from the like barbarity. The city being thus plundered, *Cugna* ordered it to be set on fire; and it was quickly reduced to ashes, in the sight of the inhabitants, who stood at a small distance, beholding the dismal spectacle.

Thus far *Ossorio's* account of the catastrophe of this capital; which, by what appears in the sequel, was forced to become tributary to its destroyers, before it could recover its pristine grandeur and liberties. But when, how, and by what means, those noble *Bravans* were brought to submit to those harsh terms, we can no-where find: for *Cugna*, having set it in flames, is said to have sailed immediately to *Magadoxa*, upon the same errand, as we have shewn in the last section.

S E C T. III.

A confutation of the pretended kingdom of Adea.

The kingdom of Adea imaginary;

THE generality of geographers unanimously add a third kingdom, which they call *Adea*, upon this coast of *Ajan*, or *Habash*, and commonly place it, with its pretended capital of the same name, between those of *Adel* and *Magadoxa*; whilst some make this last to be a part of it, and the name of its capital; though *Barraboa* be said to be the chief place of the king's residence^a: which word is of *Portuguese* extract, and signifies a good coast, situated between the two branches of the *Kilmanci*. They add, that, tho' a *Mohammedan*, he is tributary to the negus, or emperor, of *Abissinia*. One of them in particular not only affirms positively that there is such a kingdom, and situated and subject as above, but is more explicit in his description of it than the rest^b.

and mistaken for the tract of Ajan.

THE chief cities belonging to it, according to him, or according to *Sanfon's* maps, by which he steers, are *Zachet*, *Orgabra*, *Barraboa*, *Quilmunca*, seated at the mouth of the river of that name; the lake and isle of *Monks*, situate more towards the north; *Hugel* and *Bandel*, situate on the coast; *Magadoxa*, a large city, formerly taken and plundered by the *Portuguese*, the metropolis of the whole kingdom of *Adea*, and the residence of the kings of it; having a large haven, and a fortress at the mouth of the river of its name, &c. He then goes on, describing its great concourse of merchants, commerce, inhabitants, and religion, in the same manner which we have done in the second section of this chapter, and proceeds to the city and republic of *Brava*, which he places between *Magadoxa* and *Barraboa*, and describes as we have done in other respects. He quotes likewise abundance of authors for what he writes, more particularly *Sanfon* and *Robe*; but, upon the whole, he seems to have confounded the greatest part of this territory of *Ajan* into one kingdom, under the name of *Adea*.

ANOTHER author, already quoted^c, adds, from some of the authors quoted by *Luyts*, another city, a little above the port of *Kilmanci*, which, he says, is called *Oby*, and gives its name to that river from thence upwards. He mentions also the lordship of *Granza*, situate more towards the inland, and contiguous to the kingdoms of *Ogia*, *Xoa*,

^a De his vid. RAMUS, ubi sup. p. 249, 3d edit. LA MARTINIERE sub voc. Adea. LA CROIX Afric. part vi. cap. 9. § 10. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ^b LUYTS's introd. ad geogr. p. 608. ^c LA CROIX, ubi sup.

- a and *Goraga*; that is, as we more properly write it, *Ogge*, *Xaoa*, and *Guragna*, belonging to the *Abissinian* empire, but all of them at an immense distance from these coasts; and yet this author makes it reach to them, and to the sea-port of *Barraboa*, adds another, called in the same language, *Bara-maa*, or the *bad coast*. This he places at the mouth of another river, which he names *Sabala*, and whose coast is difficult of access. Lastly, he tells us that this *Adean* kingdom extends itself westward to that of *Agaboa*: which still more confirms us, that he, as well as those other authors we have mentioned before, confounded the large tract of *Ajan* with this imaginary one of *Adea*, who have bounded, divided, and described it, according to the best memoirs they had; and, where those failed, have supplied the rest according to their fancy.
- b If it be asked, why we insert such a long descant on a kingdom which exists only in geographical books, and maps inaccurately concerted? we answer, that, though it doth not exist under the name and title they have given to it, yet it doth really so, at least for the greatest part, under the description we have given of the territory of *Ajan*, at the beginning of this chapter. But besides all this, our readers will be the better able to judge of the origin of this mistake, from what a learned author, well acquainted with those parts, hath published about it^d, in these words: *The inhabitants of the kingdom of Cambat call themselves Seb-a-hadja, or Hadians: hence it is, that Adea, or Hadea, is inserted in maps for a kingdom. It is the last kingdom belonging to Abissinia on the south, and not far distant from that of Enarea. The king of it is a Christian, and his subjects partly the same, and partly Mohammedans and Pagans.* Accordingly, the said author hath observed the same thing in his map of *Ethiopia*, where, under the word *Cambat*, he adds, *Cujus incolæ vocantur Seb-a-Hedya, malè Adea*. And that not without good reason, seeing it is several hundreds of miles from *Magadoxa*, and the coast of *Ajan*. This may serve to shew the danger of following authors, though ever so unanimous, in subjects of this nature, too implicitly; seeing they only copy one another's errors, which it should have been their study and business to discover and correct. Thus we meet likewise with the name of the city of *Adea* on the coast of *Zanguebar*, which the author^e styles one of the most celebrated in all *Africa*; though, for aught we can find, it hath no better foundation than the imaginary kingdom we have been speaking of. Here, therefore, we shall conclude this chapter, without venturing to penetrate farther into the inland kingdoms; for if our knowledge of the coasts, the most obvious and frequented by *Europeans*, is so small and precarious, we doubt not being dispensed with by our readers from giving a worse description of this extensive nature, of wild countries and kingdoms, concerning which we cannot inform them of any thing with the least tolerable certainty. Those whose curiosity cannot be confined within the rules, may have recourse to a sufficient variety of maps and geographical books, to answer their purpose; whilst we closely pursue our own, of inserting nothing here without sufficient authority.

Remarks on
the inaccuracy
of some au-
thors.

Adea far from
this coast.

The inland
still more un-
known.

^d LUDOLPH. hist. Ethiop. l. i. c. 3. p. 13.

^e BAUDRAND, Dict. sub voc.

C H A P. VII.

The history of the principal kingdoms on the coast of Zanguebar.

- e THIS coast, supposed the *Agisimba* of *Ptolemy*, is, by the *Arabs*, called *Zanguebar*, and corruptly, by *M. Paulo* the *Venetian*, *Zengobar*, from the *Arabic* word *Zengue*, or *Zanguebar*; *Zengui*, or, as *Leo Africanus* writes it, page 5. *Zabangi*; which word signifies black or negro; so that the word *Zanguebar* properly imports the coast of the Blacks, or Negroes, all its inhabitants being of that colour, and having curled or woolly hair. Its northern boundary is variously fixed by authors; by some, at the mouth of the river *Kilmanci*, or *Quilmanci*^a, of which we shall speak in the sequel; and others^b as high as the cape of *Guardafui*, in the kingdom of *Adel*, mentioned in the foregoing chapter; by which he would seem to comprehend all the other long tract of *Ajan* under the same general name. Whereas we have there observed its inhabitants were a mixture of white, tawny, and olive,
- f till we come almost under the equator, where, therefore, we have fixed the boundaries between them with great reason, as well as from better authority; this coast being much better known than it was in the time of *Sanutus*, and other authors above quoted: and we find it now fixed between the river and kingdom of *Jubo*, about half a degree above the equinoctial line, to the kingdom of *Mauruca*, or river of *Fernao Velozo*, according to *D'Anville*, scarcely known in other maps, or that more considerable one of *Cuama*, the boundary of that kingdom, according to *Dapper* and others.

The coast of
Zanguebar;
whence so
called.

Its limits;
where they
properly begin.

^a SANUT. l. xii. RAMUS. ubi sup. p. 386.

^b MARMOL, Afric.

Principal
kingdoms, &c.
on the coast.

ACCORDING to this dimension the coast of *Zanguebar* will contain the following king-
doms, rivers, bays, and other remarkable places, as the reader will find them ranged in
D'Anville's map, agreeably to the latest discoveries. 1. The kingdom and river of *Jubo*.
2. The kingdom of *Abaquas*. 3. The bay of *Fermosa*. 4. The kingdom of *Sio*. 5. *Am-
pata*. 6. The river of *Lamo*. 7. The kingdom and city of *Melinda*. 8. The town or
fort of *Quilmanca*. 9. The river and kingdom of *Quilifo*. 10. *Amaxambas de Motuapa*, a
town. 11. The river of *Monbaca*. 12. *Ancinche*. 13. Of *Langon*. 14. The country of
Maraugalo. 15. Of *Atundo*. 16. The territory of *Rafade*. 17, 18, 19. The rivers called
Los tres Hermanos, or three Brethren. 20. *Cabo falso*, or the deceitful Cape. 21. The
river of *Enabo*, or *Cuavo*. 22. Of *Quizimajugo*. 23. The kingdom of *Quiloo*. 24. Coun-
try of *Mongedo*. 25. The river of *Mongalla*. 26. *Cabo Delgado*. 27. The town of *Changa*.
28. The country of *Macuas*. 29. The town of *Querimba*. 30. Of *Ato*. 31. The river of
Pembo. 32. The town and river of *Sirano Capa*. 33. The river *Sangaya*. 34. The coun-
try of the *Pices*. 35. River *Famovo*. 36. *Frayaseland*. 37. The river *Pinda*. 38. *Fer-
nao Velozo*.

Chief islands,
&c.

THE principal islands and kingdoms situate upon the *Zanguebar* coast, are as follow,
according to the same author. 1. The island of *Mandra*. 2. The isle and kingdom of
Pute. 3. The isle of *Ilheos*. 4. Isle and kingdom of *Lamo*. 5. Isle and city of *Monbaca*,
6. Isle and kingdom of *Pemba*. 7. Of *Zanzebar*. 8. Isle of *Cobra*. 9. The shallows of
St. Roch. 10. Isle of *Monfia*. 11. Isle and city of *Quiloo*. 12. Isles of *Cape Delgado*.
13. Of *Melinda*. 14. *Changa*. 15. Of *Macoloe*. 16. Of *Materno*. 17. Of *Obi*. 18. c
Island and town of *Querimba*. 19. Isles of *Fumbo*. 20. Of *Cabras*. 21. The flats of *Pindar*.
Thus much may suffice for a description of these coasts, for which we are chiefly indebted to
the discoveries, conquests, and ravages which the *Portuguese* have made on them. As for the
further account of the several places above-mentioned, we shall postpone it till we come
to speak of the several kingdoms to which they belong, and therein confine ourselves only to
the most remarkable and useful, and such of which we have the most authentic account^d.

Inland parts,
why so little
known.

As to those belonging to the inland parts, such as towns, rivers, mountains, lakes, &c.
we are still more unacquainted with them; this only we know in general, that this whole
tract is barren and unhealthy; the lands lying low, and intersected with rivers, lakes, thick
woods, forests, and marshy grounds; the fruits of it are very unwholesome; the rivers, d
for the most part, covered or choaked up with weeds, bushes, and thickets; all which so
stagnate the air, and corrupt the product of the earth, and render the inhabitants so sickly
and indolent, that they receive little or no benefit from its produce. The *Bedowin Arabs*
are the only ones that do; and that chiefly by breeding multitudes of cattle, and living mostly
upon their flesh and milk; whilst the negroes, or *Zanges*, content themselves with feeding
upon wild beasts and fowls, which swarm all over those parts.

The air un-
wholesome.

To supply the want of corn, pulse, roots, and other wholesome food, of which they are
destitute, the Divine Providence hath interspersed that whole country with mines of gold,
easily got, by the help of which they can purchase all the necessaries and conveniences of
life from other parts. But this is the very thing that makes them so extremely jealous of e
letting any strangers penetrate into the inland; and more especially since the *Portuguese* have
made themselves masters of such a number of places along this coast; insomuch, that they
make no scruple to murder all they catch attempting it^e. Hence it is that we have gained
so small an insight into the interior intelligence of those parts. Nor can we justly blame
those natives, if, apprized as they are, by long experience, what labours and hazards they
will expose themselves to, and what outrages and cruelties they will not scruple to commit,
to dispossess the natural proprietors of that precious and bewitching metal, they are so jea-
lous and watchful to shut up all avenues to their mines against all strangers.

The people jea-
lous of the
Portuguese.

Cassers why
so called.

THEY are, moreover, in their nature fierce and stout, ignorant and brutish, and without
any religion, especially the Negroes; upon which last account they have the name of *Cassers* f
given to them. As for the *Bedowins*, they have some kind of religion, or, rather, observe
a variety of superstitious rites, as has been already observed, but are no less ignorant and
uncivilized than the *Cassers*; yet they chiefly herd among themselves, and live at a greater
distance from the coasts, and by the sides of lakes and rivers, for the convenience of pasture
for their numerous herds. They go all naked both *Cassers* and *Arabs*; excepting that they
wrap a piece of cotton cloth round their middle, which descends a little below the knee;
but those who live along the coasts, and are somewhat more civilized, affect a little more
finery in their dress, and, instead of cotton cloth, cover themselves with the skins of wild
beasts, more or less rich, according to their rank, and with animals tails trailing behind
on the ground. They likewise adorn their necks, arms, and legs, with variety of beads, g
bugles, and other trinkets, of amber, jett, glass, and other materials, which they exchange

Dress of the
natives.

Skins of wild
beasts the
finest dress.

^d D'ANVILLE, MARTINIERE, SANUT. & al.

^e RAMUS. ubi sup. DAPPER, Afric. & al. sup. cit.

with

- a with the merchants for their gold, furs, ivory, and other commodities of their country. There are among these coasters a great number of *Mohammedans*, but a much greater number still among the islanders along this coast; they being, for the most part, descended from those *Arabs* who were banished out of their country, on account of their adherence to the sect of *Ali*^f, of which they still are zealous professors.

THIS is all we know, or can insert with any certainty, concerning this long tract of *Zanguebar*^g; to which we have only to add the description of the river *Kilmanci*, or, as the *Portuguese*, who have given it that name, from a fort and town built at the mouth of it, *The river Quilmanci described.* write it, *Quilmanca*, or *Quilmanci*: for though, in the list of remarkable places along this coast, which we have given a little higher, we have had occasion to mention several other

- b rivers; yet is this the only one concerning which we can mention any thing worth our reader's notice, and that chiefly consists in the few following particulars. It hath its source *Its source, course, &c.* near the mountain of *Gravo*, in the kingdom of *Narea*, subject to the *Abissinian* empire, and near a village called *Bochia*, or *Boxa*, and is one of the most considerable in all this part of *Africa*, especially on account of the length and vast winding of its course, it making a kind of circle toward the north and east, as it were to enclose into a kind of peninsula the kingdom of *Gingiro*, and divides the wild *Gallas* settlement from *Abissinia*; and thus far that river is called by the name of *Zebea*. It then winds its course through the country of the *Makorites*, and leaves it on the east side, crosses the equinoctial line, through those of the *Mossogay Caffers*, a barbarous nation, and thence continuing its course along the coasts of *Zanguebar*, discharges itself into the ocean in the kingdom of *Melinda*, on the south side of *Mouth and* the fort or town, which gives it its new name of *Quilman*, and is by most authors supposed *forts.* to be the *Rapte*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* in his description of this coast. Thus far the account which *De Lisle* gives us of the course of that river, from the *Portuguese* books and maps; yet so far are they from being agreed in it, that several of them affirm the mouth of it to be but about a mile southward of the city of *Melinda*^h. To this we shall only add what the last quoted author, and some others, say, that the *Abissinians* give that river the name of *Obeg* through some parts of its course along their territoriesⁱ, from a town of that name situate on its banks, as we have lately seen in a preceding chapter.

- It is time now to speak of the several kingdoms we have given in the list above, as be- *Kingdoms of* longing to this tract of *Zanguebar*; and therein shall confine ourselves within the limits of *Zanguebar,* our system; which being chiefly historical, will of course excuse us from entering into a particular detail, not only of such of which we know nothing more than the bare geography, without any other particular relating to their history, but much more of those concerning which we know little else than their names and situation, or perhaps some few other particulars; but neither essential enough, nor so certainly known, as to deserve a place in a *many of them* work like this: of which nature are a great part of those contained in the above-mentioned *unknown.* list, which the reader will find distinguished from the rest in *Italic* character; that he may, if he pleases, consult the many books of travels where they are more particularly described, but on such authorities as we can neither vouch for nor depend upon. Those therefore *e* which we intend to speak of in this chapter, are these that follow.

^f De hac, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 132, & seq.

SANUT. l. xi. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

¹ DAPPER, ubi sup. LA CROIX, ubi sup. part iii. c. 9. sect. 1.

^g JUAN DE BARROS, l. viii. c. 4. RAMUS. & al. pass.

^h De his, vid. RAMUS. ubi sup. DAPPER, ubi sup.

S E C T. I.

The history of the kingdom of Melinda.

- f **T**HIS kingdom, according to the generality of the geographers^a, lies under the equi- *The kingdom* noctial line, and extends itself from the northern boundaries of that of *Mombaso*, *of Melinda,* which they place about the 2d degree south of the river *Quilmanci*, lately described, whose course extends itself from the north side of it; though its mouth, according to the latest observations, is placed between the 3d and 4th deg. south; we have already taken notice of the difference of authors about that point. We are no less uncertain about its extent westward into the inland, and are only told, that it is bounded on that side by the country of the *Mossogays*, a barbarous race of *Caffers*; and on the east it has the western ocean for its boundary; about the extent of which we meet with no less disagreement between authors, *its boundaries* seeing some of them, who include the kingdom of *Mombaso* as part of that of *Melinda*, *different.* *g* extend the sea-coasts of it quite to the *Cape of Gada*, which they place in the 10th deg. of south lat^b. So little exactness is there in these accounts of the kingdom, even among the

^a ORTEL, RAMUS. ubi sup. PIGAFET, DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. MARTINIERE, sub VOC. MELINDA.

^b DE LISLE Atlas,

Portuguese, notwithstanding their having carried on so constant a commerce with it ever since their first discovery of it, that is since *an.* 1520, as we shall see in the sequel. We shall not therefore take upon us to assert any thing upon that subject, but leave it to time and opportunity for farther and more exact discoveries concerning it.

Dangerous
coasts.

Kingdom and
isle of Lamo.

The king be-
headed by the
Portuguese.

The soil and
produce of
Melinda.

City of Melin-
da described.

Dress of men
and women.

HOWEVER that be, it is agreed on all hands, that these coasts, especially near the capital of *Melinda*, are exceedingly dangerous and difficult of access; being full of rocks and shelves, and the sea thereabouts very often tempestuous at certain seasons^c. At a small distance from the mouth of the river above-mentioned, is the island, kingdom, and city of *Lamo*; whose king, a *Mohammedan*, was beheaded by the *Portuguese*, *an.* 1589. His name was *Panebaxita*, and his crime, whether real or pretended, his having basely betrayed *Rock Britto*, governor of the *Melindan* coast; for which he was seized, with four other of his *Mohammedan* subjects, in his capital, by their admiral *Souza Contingo*, and carried to the next island and kingdom of *Pate*, and there publicly executed, in presence of that and some other petty kings of the neighbouring islands; from which time, that of *Lamo* hath continued tributary to *Portugal*^d, as are also most of those on this coast.

THE kingdom of *Melinda* is for the most part rich and fertile, producing almost all the necessaries of life, except wheat and rice, both which are brought thither from *Cambaya* and other parts; and those who cannot purchase them, make use of potatoes in their stead, which are here fine, large, and in great plenty. They likewise abound with great variety of fruit-trees, roots, plants, and other esculents, and with melons of exquisite taste. The country is covered with citron-trees, with whose odoriferous smell the air is agreeably perfumed almost all the year. They have also great plenty of venison, game, oxen, sheep, geese, hens, and other poultry, &c. and one breed of sheep, whose tails are like some of those we have already spoken of, commonly weighing between 20 and 30 pounds^e.

THE city of *Melinda* is pleasantly situated on a beautiful plain, surrounded with a great variety of fine gardens and orchards, stored with all sorts of fruit-trees, especially citrons and oranges. The houses are built of square stone, and for the most part stately, and some even magnificent, and all of them richly furnished, being inhabited chiefly by rich merchants, and much resorted to by foreigners, who drive a great commerce with it in gold, copper, quicksilver, ivory, wax, drugs, &c. which are here exchanged for silks, cottons, and other cloths, corn and other commodities. The only inconvenience attending this metropolis is, that the anchorage stands at some distance from it, on account of the rocks and shelves which surround it towards the sea side, which render the access to it difficult and dangerous^f. This city is supposed by the learned to be the *Mondel* mentioned by *Avicenna*, as the place whence they had their aloes^g.

THE inhabitants of this city are a mixture of blacks, swarthy, tawny, and white. This last chiefly among the women, who are mostly of that, or of an olive complexion. Their dress is no less taking than their complexion; for they never stir out but in fine silks, girt about with a rich gold or silver girdle, a collar and bracelet of the same, or something still more valuable, and their heads covered with a veil. The men go not bare-headed, as in many other parts of *Africa*, but wear a kind of turban on their heads. In other respects, their dress is much the same; that is, a piece of cotton wrapped about their middle, and descending a little below their knees; their legs, feet, and the rest of the body, quite bare^h. As to the meaner sort, as well as those who live farther from the coasts, they wear little else than a piece of cloth about their middle; if we except their shield and weapons, which are the bow and arrows, the scymitar and the javelin, at all which they are very expert, being reckoned the best and stoutest soldiers in all that coast. They go to war with undaunted spirit, and maintain their ground with greater intrepidity than any of their neighbours; yet we are told, those of the adjoining kingdom of *Monbasa* would have proved too strong for them, had they not been assisted by the *Portuguese*, to bring them into subjectionⁱ. In other respects, the *Melindans*, at least the coasters (for we are not so well acquainted with the inlanders) are said to be very courteous and obliging, free from fraud or flattery, and live very friendly with the *Portuguese*, who commonly are buried amongst them, without any other mark of distinction than that of a cross over their tomb^k. Their language, as far as we can judge from the Lord's prayer in it, which *Grammay* hath given us in his curious collection, seems far enough from barbarous or disagreeable. The reader may see the specimen in the margin (A).

^c OSSORIO, & al. sup. citat. ^d ODVAR, BARBOS, RAMUS, DAVITY, & al. ^e SANUT. BARBOS. OSSORIO, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. ^f Ibid. ^g SCALIG. ad lib. iv. MANIL. DAVITY, & al. citat. ^h OSSOR. lib. i. OD. BARBOS. PIGAFET, DAVITY, DAPPER ⁱ Ibid. ^k TURS. in vit. Xavier.

(A) *Aban ladi fissan avari, et cades esmoelasti mala tajano nagfar ceman lena galiaca tuata tadchol nal lagatutoca tacuna mascitoca choma fissa, me childaleca, ghla-rabe, lache nagna min sei ratri* *.

* Vid. Chamberlan Orat. Dominic. in C. ling.

- ^a THEIR religion is variously described by authors; some representing the people as altogether *Mohammedans*, and others as idolaters. The truth is, as *Linschot* rightly observes, there are some of both religions. The *Bedowins*, as we have formerly hinted, are a superstitious and ignorant race of idolaters; the Negroes are for the most part *Mohammedans*, but of the *Emorawidic* sect, which reject some parts of the *Koran*¹, following the doctrine of *Zeyd* the son of *Hosheim*^m; a sect not unlike that of the *Sadducees* among the *Jews*, of which, notwithstanding, some of the *Khalifs* of *Babylon* have made open professionⁿ. As for the Roman-catholics, they have been settled almost ever since the *Portuguese* came thither. We do not however hear of any proselytes they have made to their faith among the natives, as they have at *Congo*, *Angola*, and other *African* parts; but content themselves with the free exercise of it, and are so numerous in the city of *Melinda*, that they have built no less than seventeen churches and chapels in it, and have erected a stately cross of gilt marble before one of them; and we hear moreover, that in the year 1602, three ladies, relations to the king, were publicly baptized^o.

Religion partly Mohammedism and partly Paganism.

Roman-catholics numerous. Their churches.

- THE government is monarchical; and in such veneration is the king held by his subjects, that whenever he stirs out of his palace, he is always carried in a sedan, on the shoulders of four or more of the greatest nobles of the kingdom; and incense and other perfumes are burned before him as he goes along the streets of any city, by a great number of ladies, who come to welcome him with songs in his praise, accompanied with several kinds of musical instruments; which though not of the most harmonious kind, they touch with much dexterity and cadence. If he sets out upon any expedition, whether civil or military, he then appears mounted on a stately horse, richly caparisoned, and with a numerous retinue, attended with great crouds of his subjects, who fill the air with their loud huzzas and loyal acclamations. His labis or priests meet him at his setting out with a deer, recently sacrificed, and still reeking; over which he and his horse take three leaps; which is no sooner done, than these pretended conjurers set about examining the entrails of the creature, and from them pretend to foretell whether his expedition will be prosperous or not^p.

The government. High regard to their kings.

Vast retinue. Superstitious ceremonies.

- THE same kind of superstitious ceremonies are also to be used when any prince, or ambassador from a prince, comes to his court, in order to know whether the visit or negotiation will be attended with good or bad success. Upon this occasion also the prince or ambassador is accompanied by a great number of ladies along the streets, some burning perfumes before him, others singing or playing on instruments. These monarchs are in some measure obliged to submit to the superstitious ceremonies above-mentioned, and to regulate their resolutions according to the report of those jugglers, whether it be for peace or war, or any other exigence, and whether they give any credit to them or not; for on this chiefly depends the allegiance and honour they pay to, and the affection and veneration they have for them; which would, upon their non-compliance, quickly degenerate into hatred and contempt, if not into downright disloyalty or open rebellion, through the uncontrollable influence which those juggling miscreants have over the people.

Reception of ambassadors.

- BUT besides this absurd and ill-placed confidence, for such it cannot but be deemed by men of sense, (unless we will suppose that their pretended predictions, calculated only to amuse the subjects, are privately directed by the prince, which is far from improbable; and the only way perhaps those cheats have of saving themselves from the dangers that would attend a contrary event) the *Melindan* kings have, we are told, a much surer way of securing their subjects loyalty and affection; namely, by their constant application to public affairs, their vigilance over their ministers, governors, and other magistrates; by their assiduity and attention in receiving and hearing the complaints of their subjects; and their strict and severe administration of justice on all delinquents, of what rank or degree of favour soever with them; but more particularly on such as attempt to impose upon or mislead them by fraud or artifice^q.

Singular justice.

how administered.

- THEIR method of proceeding in cases of this nature is as follows. When any complaint or appeal is presented to them, they cause the plaintiff to be detained, till the defendant, who is immediately summoned to appear before them and their council, hath heard his accusation, and made his defence. If it be made by an inferior against a governor or minister of state, or other grandees, he is no less obliged to appear; and with this difference, that on his approach to the court, he causes the horn or trumpet to be blown, to give notice of his coming; upon which some of the king's officers come to receive him into their custody; who having dismissed his retinue, conduct him to the hall of justice. In such cases the accuser must be provided with sufficient evidence, or else he is condemned to death, and executed out of hand: but if the accusation be fully proved, the defendant is condemned to make

Causes how tried.

Rules observed by them.

¹ OSSOR. ub. sup. LINSCHOT. lib. i. c. 16.

^m Vid. RAMUS. DAVITY, & auct. ab eo citat.

ⁿ De hac,

vid. sup. vol. i. p. 372.

^o CAMERAR, de reb. Turcic. TURSSELL, in vit. Xavier, DAVITY, Afric.

^p OSSOR.

RAMUS. DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. ub. sup.

^q Ibid. ibid.

restitution suitable to the wrong done, and moreover to be fined, and suffer corporal punishment; which, if the offender be a person of rank or merit, is commonly a bastonade, more or less severe, as well as a fine, according to the nature of the offence, or the dignity and merit of the offender; and this bastonade is then inflicted by the king himself.

*Punishment,
how inflicted.*

THE sentence is no sooner pronounced, than the offender is led out of the hall into another chamber, where he is obliged to acknowledge his fault, and the justice as well as lenity of his punishment, in the humblest terms and posture; after which, he is stripped of his clothes, and laid flat on his face on the ground. The king then takes his staff of justice in his hand, and gives him as many strokes as he thinks fit; and having received his best thanks for his kind correction, bids him get up and put on his clothes again; which having done, and kissed his majesty's feet, he accompanies him, with the rest of the attendants, into the hall, with a serene countenance, and without betraying the least grief or discontent: there the king graciously dismisses him before the whole court, with a fresh charge to be careful to administer justice to his subjects; then causes him to be accompanied with the usual honours and perfumes to the gates of the city; and the whole matter is hushed as if nothing had happened; the people without being wholly ignorant of what hath been transacting within. The fine and charges of the suit are levied out of the offender's estate; or, if a favourite, out of the king's coffers.

*Great respect for the
king of Portugal.*

THE *Portuguese* boast much of the good understanding there hath ever been between the kings of *Melinda* and those of *Portugal*, ever since the subjects of the latter were admitted into their dominions; and more particularly of the vast respect which the former of those monarchs pays to the latter; as a singular instance of which, we are told, that the head factor of the king of *Portugal* in this kingdom having some occasion to visit that of *Melinda*, the latter ordered all the nobles of his court to meet him; and that before he arrived at the royal palace with his retinue, a number of women met him also with their incensers, and perfumed him all the way thither. We should have been much better pleased to have met with something more worthy our reader's knowledge concerning those *African* princes, either relating to their extract or antiquity, whether hereditary or elective, their laws, power, riches, army, fleet, history, wars, and the like, concerning which they are altogether silent; and which, by the way, is no great mark of that good understanding and affection between those two crowns and their subjects, as is said above to reign between them.

*Portuguese
how admitted
into Melinda.*

HOWEVER, since this is all that we can find in them concerning this kingdom, we shall proceed to the only point of history relating to it, viz. the *Portuguese* obtaining their first entrance into it, under the conduct of their famed admiral *Vasco de Gama*, and what hath passed since their settlement in these parts; wherein we shall give the best account of both that we can from their writers, but more particularly from their celebrated bishop *Ossorio's* history of their conquests, which (whatever pains that good prelate's charity for his own countrymen, and the honour of his nation, may have induced him to take through the course of it to palliate their illicit invasions and dreadful ravages, both on this and the other *African* coasts, and elsewhere, some of which have already been taken notice of in the preceding chapters) is nevertheless justly esteemed the most exact, impartial, and authentic in all other respects. And here referring our readers to what hath been said in a former volume, concerning the original designs, as well as the success of the discovery of the *African* coasts, in order to find out a way into the *East Indies* by sea, and to what will be farther related in the history of *Portugal*, we shall beg leave to look back for the course of this expedition a little higher, in order to apprise our readers by what steps *Gama* and his fleet were brought to this coast and kingdom, after he had doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Began 1497.

*Vasco de Gama sent to find
a passage to
India.*

*Adventure at
Mozambico.
Reception from
the governor,*

*who comes on
board to visit
him.*

His reception.

THE first considerable coast that fell under his observation, was that of the island and kingdom of *Mozambico*, of which we shall speak more fully in a subsequent section. The bad condition his men and fleet were then in made him extremely desirous to cast anchor there, for some days at least, to give them some rest and refreshments. Having therefore informed himself about the island and its inhabitants, particularly about the governor, who commanded it under the king of *Kilda*, or *Kiloa*, as well as amply rewarded his informants, he sent them out of hand to him with his best compliments, accompanied with some valuable presents; with which he was so highly pleased, that he made him the most acceptable return he could wish, and came soon after in a sumptuous dress, attended by a grand retinue, to pay him a visit on board his ship.

ZACOCIA, that was the noble governor's name, was a zealous *Mohammedan*, and highly delighted at the gallant entertainment which *Gama* had prepared for him; and amongst other questions, asked him, whether he or his men were *Moors* or *Turks*? what arms they

^r OSSORIO, & al. sup. citat. ^s Od. BARBOSA, ub. sup. PEDRO ALVARES NAVIGATOR ap. RAMUS. DAVITY, & al. ^t See a proof of this, vol. i. p. 29. & seq. of his history, Eng. edit. ^u See vol. iv. p. 78, & seq. see also OSSORIO, l. i. MARMOL. Afric. lib. ix. c. 27, & seq. JARRIC, Od. BARBOSA, & al. sup. citat.

a used? and what books he had which treated of *Mohammedism*? not doubting, but he was of that religion. To these *Gama* answered in general, that he came from the west; that their arms were the same as he saw on his men; but that they had moreover some warlike machines, with which they could destroy whole armies, and batter the strongest fortresses to the ground. As for the books of their religion, he told him, he would shew them to him with the greatest pleasure, after he and his men had had a few days respite and refreshment. He added, that as he was now bound the *East-Indies*, he should be highly obliged to him if he could supply him with some expert navigators to conduct him thither; and he accordingly brought to him on the next day two pilots to steer him into *Calicut*.

b HITHERTO both sides were well satisfied with each other, and might have continued so much longer, had not *Gama* inadvertently given *Zacocia* to understand that he and his men were *Christians*, and by that untimely discovery, exasperated that zealous *Moslem* into quite a contrary behaviour; so that from that very moment he began to treat him and his men with the utmost spite and contempt, and to lay schemes to destroy him and his ships. One of the pilots, whom the governor had brought with him, perceiving the sudden change, got away, and was heard of no more; whilst some of the *Portuguese*, endeavouring to go on shore to get some wood and water, narrowly escaped being massacred by the people. *Gama*, not daring to stay longer there, set sail for *Quiloa*, but was driven by contrary winds to another island, where he fortunately took up an *Arabian* and his son going to *Mecca*; and finding him to be expert in navigation, resolved to get what instructions and assistance he could from him, for completing of his course.^w

c He then made a fresh attempt to reach *Quiloa*; but was, whether through the ignorance, or more probably, treachery, of the *Mozambic* pilot, steered for *Mombaso*, which he made him believe was inhabited with *Christians*, and would give him and his sick men all necessary assistance. We shall have occasion to speak more fully of that city and kingdom in the sequel; at present, we shall only say, that *Gama*, whether persuaded or necessitated to it, complied with his advice; but had hardly cast anchor, when he spied a galley, with about a hundred armed men, rowing towards his own ship, and expressing a strong desire to come on board of it, but which he absolutely forbid. Observing however four of them, who appeared to be above the common rank, he permitted them to come on board, on condition they left their arms behind. To this they not only consented, but highly commended that admiral for insisting on it; and withal told him, that their king, being agreeably informed of the arrival of the *Portuguese*, was desirous of entering into a friendly alliance with them; and accordingly sent deputies to treat about it in his name, on the following day. These, at their interview with him, forgot not one topic they thought would induce *Gama* to come to an anchorage at their harbour, that his majesty might the more conveniently, as was pretended, treat with them, about settling such a commerce with them, as would prove more advantageous to them than any they could hope for from *India*, without being attended with the like tediousness and hazard. Several other civilities passed between the king and admiral equally inviting; and such ample promises from the former to the latter, as began to excite the suspicions of our jealous *Portuguese*, that all was mere dissimulation, and a hellish plot against them. What confirmed his fear was, the danger which his ship ran, in approaching the harbour, of being driven a-ground by the violence of the waves; which obliged him to furl her sails, and to drop her anchor, and to order his other ships to do the same: at sight of which, his two *Mozambic* pilots jumped into the sea and swam away, being conscious of their treachery in steering them to this port. *Gama* called aloud to the men in the boats to bring them back, but in vain; for the king, having been apprised of what had passed at *Mozambico*, had laid his scheme to decoy them thither, in order to destroy them and their ships.^x Finding therefore his plot defeated, he sent some boats out in the night to cut their cables; but these were likewise prevented from their design by the vigilance of the admiral; so that he was enabled to get clear of that bay in about two days after, and to steer his course to the port of *Melinda*, where he met with a much kinder reception from the king, as we shall see presently; and at the same time a fair opportunity of being revenged on that of *Mombaso*, by the timely assistance he gave that of *Melinda* against him. And here we must observe, that those two kingdoms were often at war with each other; that of *Melinda* bred the best and stoutest soldiers; that of *Quiloa*, to which *Mombaso* was then subject, had the largest dominions, and probably a more numerous army, or had gained some advantages over the other. And hence we may probably account for the kind welcome which the old *Melindan* monarch gave at this juncture to the *Portuguese* admiral, which he might not at another; that nation being by this time become odious and dreadful

Discovers him to be a Christian; lays sundry schemes to destroy his fleet.

Gama's happy escape to Mombaso.

Runs a much greater risk.

Invited to land, refuses it.

Suspicious of their ill designs.

His pilots forsake him.

Discovers the treachery laid against him.

Sails to Melinda.

^w OSSORIO, RAMUS. Navig. vol. i. edit. 3. ^x OSSOR. ub. sup. RAMUS. MARMOL, lib. ix. ub. sup. JARRIC, BARBOSA, & al.

all over these coasts, not only on account of their religion, but much more of their superiority, conquests, and depredations. a

HOWEVER that be, *Gama* having so happily escaped the snares of the *Mombasan* governor, and gained the coast of *Melinda*, cast anchor at some distance from that capital, not only on account of the shelves and tempestuousness of that coast, but out of mistrust of meeting with the same treacherous treatment here. Having communicated his fear to the *Meccan Arab* whom he had taken on board, the man, in gratitude, offered to go on shore, and found the king's inclinations, and was accordingly landed on an island opposite to the city, from which he went thither in a boat, and was immediately after introduced to the king. The account he gave that monarch of the *Portuguese*, and of their motives for being so desirous of entering into a friendly alliance with him, were so advantageous, and so well b
relished by the good old monarch, who, it seems, was of an affable disposition, and, as we hinted above, might then stand in need of their help, that he dispatched a person to welcome them in his name, and to present them with sheep, fruit, and other refreshments. The admiral, on his side, having made him such returns as convinced him of his politeness and generosity, advanced nearer to the shore, whence he invited the *Indian Christians* to come on board; who seemed so transported with what they saw, and the reception he gave them, that they gratified him in their turn with several useful instructions, and made their report at their return greatly to their advantage; insomuch, that the old king was very desirous of paying the admiral a visit in person; but his age and infirmities not permitting it, he sent his son thither, on whom he had devolved the supreme authority, attended with a splendid c
retinue of the nobles of his court.

Visited by the
king's son.

Civilities pas-
sed between
them.

Much courted
to go on shore.
Declines it,
and continues
his course.

THIS prince came magnificently dressed, and the galley in which he was rowed resounded with the music of variety of warlike instruments, as drums, trumpets, &c. *Gama*, on the other hand, came to meet him in a long-boat; which the prince had no sooner reached, than he jumped into it, and embraced the welcome stranger, and afterwards conversed with him with as much freedom and familiarity as if they had been intimate friends. His behaviour was polite, and his conversation full of good sense. He greatly admired his new guest, and attentively observed every part of his ship, and expressed a singular regard for his nation. *Gama*, at the same time, made him a present of his *Saracen* prisoners, which were accepted d
by him as a mark of high regard. The prince then invited him to court, and to pay a visit to the king, offering to leave his two sons as pledges for his return. But *Gama*, whether out of mistrust of some hidden treachery, or fear of exceeding his orders, declined the invitation in the civilest manner, and only consented to let two of his men go on shore, at his earnest request. On the next day *Gama* came nearer the city in his long-boat, to take a fuller view of it, and its pleasant situation; and was again honoured with a visit from the prince, who brought to him an expert pilot, to assist him in the course of his voyage; and, not being able to prevail upon him to land, obtained a solemn promise from him, that, at his return, he would take *Melinda* in his way, and receive the ambassador on board, which his father was desirous to send to the king his master. He accordingly set sail the 22d of April, and proceeded on his voyage, leaving the *Melindan* court in great expectation of the proposed alliance with that of *Portugal*, from which they expected to reap no small advantage, as well from their assistance as commerce. e

How the *Portuguese* admiral performed his promise, we shall see in the following section. In the mean time it will not be foreign to our design, before we quit this country of *Melinda*, to say something of the chief islands which lie along the coast of it, and of the kingdoms belonging to it; which are as follow, according to *De Lisle*.

Isles and king-
doms on the
coast of Me-
linda.

1. The isle of *Pate*, with the kingdom of *Ambasa*.
2. The isle and kingdom of *Lamo*, mentioned a little higher.
3. The island and kingdom of *Mombaso*, then the residence of the king of *Melinda*, and of the *Portuguese* governor of that coast, which shall be described in the next section. f
4. The island and kingdom of *Pemba*.
5. The island and kingdom of *Zanzibar*.
6. The isle and kingdom of *Quiloa*.

Pate described.

1. THE isle and kingdom of *Pate* take their name from their capital, situate on a small island, at the mouth of a commodious bay, called by the *Portuguese* *Baya Formosa*, in about one degree of south latitude. It is a large town, well built and peopled, hath a good convenient port, and drives a great commerce with the neighbouring kingdoms and islands, particularly those of *Lamo*, *Ambasa*, *Sian*, and *Chelichia*, which surround it at a small distance, and have likewise their names from their respective capitals, none of them considerable enough to require a farther description². The king of *Pate* is a *Mohammedan*, and g

¹ OSSOR. RAMUS. MARMOL, & al. sup. cit.
DAVITY, DAPPER, &c.

² JARRIC, lib. iii. c. 13. SANUT. lib. xii. OD. BARBOS.

- a so are most of his subjects, tributary however to the *Portuguese*, who have a fort in it, under their governor of these coasts, who is little better than a tyrant over them, as we may judge by what we lately mentioned concerning the shameful execution of the king of *Lamo* in his capital. *Pate* has another town and port, named *Moudra*, but which was since taken and raised by *Thomas de Sousa*, the *Portuguese* admiral, for refusing, or, perhaps, only neglecting, to pay the usual tribute ^b. *Tributary to Portugal.*
- 2 THE isle and kingdom of *Lamo* hath been already spoken of in part; and all that needs be added is, that the capital of its name hath a good port, and is well walled and fortified. The king and government being *Mohammedans*, are often assaulted and at war with the rest of the inhabitants, who are idolaters, though the whole island, as has been already mentioned, is tributary to *Portugal*, like the rest of this small archipelago ^c. *Kingdom and capital of Lamo.*
3. THE kingdom of *Mombaso* will be the subject of the next section.
4. THE isle and kingdom of *Pemba* is situate over-against the bay of *St. Raphael*, in the kingdom of *Melinda*. *De Lisle* gives it 4 deg. 50 min. latitude, and places it just over-against the city of *Mombaso*. It is small and inconsiderable, tho' the princes of it assume the title of kings ^d, like those of *Mombaso* and *Melinda*, if the *Portuguese* governor, under whom they live, do not bestow it upon them either through favour, bribery, or for the grandeur of the king their master. We shall see, in the following section, a more pregnant instance of this presumption. *Kingdom of Pemba.*
- c 5. THE isle and kingdom of *Zanzibar* is likewise situate over-against the bay of *St. Raphael*, between those of *Pemba* and *Mombasa*, about 8 or 9 leagues from the land ^e. It hath been tributary to *Portugal* ever since their fleet appeared on this coast, the king of it submitting to pay them the annual weight of gold, which *Sanutus* says amounts to 100 mitigals of gold, and thirty sheep ^f. This island produces plenty of rice, millet, and sugar-cane; it hath whole forests of orange and citron trees, the latter of extraordinary height, and most odoriferous smell; it likewise abounds with rivers of excellent water, and drives a very considerable commerce with the adjacent kingdoms; insomuch that *R. Vasco*, during his short cruise of two months near its coasts, took no less than fourteen vessels from those islanders, richly laden with variety of merchandize, and mounting some pieces of cannon. There is between this island and the *Terra firma* a chanel, or rather streight, so narrow, that no ship can pass it without being seen by both sides ^g. *Kingdom of Zanzibar. Tributary to Portugal. Produce and commerce.*
6. THE other islands of *Quirimba*, *Amsa*, *Anisa*, &c. have little else worth notice except that they breed great quantities of large and small cattle, besides abounding with grain and fruits like those already mentioned; all which, except what is consumed among them, is conveyed to the inhabitants of *Terra firma*, within the *African* coast, and a great advantage is reaped from the commerce. That of *Quirimba* abounds with a coarser kind of manna, of greyish-red, and difficult to dissolve, though, in other respects, equally purgative with the best ^h. *Other islands. Vast herds of cattle. A coarse sort of manna.*
- e THE inhabitants are weakly, slender, and meagre, though great feeders; their dress is much the same with that of the *Melindans*, both males and females; and the latter are equally fond of adorning themselves with gold and silver chains, bracelets, and other gaudy trifles, which, with the cotton stuffs, wherewith they cover their bodies from the waist downwards, they have from *Mombaso*, *Melinda*, and other parts of that coast, in exchange for their rice, sugar, fruits, and cattle. The men in general give themselves up to agriculture and commerce, for which they are better formed than for war. Their trading vessels are slightly made, and the timber fastened together by ropes, made of flags, instead of nails, and their sails are made of mats. Those only of *Zanzibar* are more strongly and better built, and have some cannon, as they commonly carry the richest merchandizes of that coast; whereas the greatest part of the rest are only laden with rice, fruits, and cattle ⁱ. *Rice; fruits; trading vessels.*

S E C T. II.

The history of the kingdom and islands of Mombaso and Quiloa.

- f WE join here these two islands together, because they were under the government of one monarch, when the *Portuguese* first sailed to these coasts; and though they have been severed, yet the manner of their being so, and other circumstances relating to the catastrophe, are so linked and interwoven, as we shall see in their subsequent history, that they could not be easily divided, without continual repetitions; an inconvenience which *Islands and kingdom of Mombaso.*

^b DAPPER, & al. ub. sup.

^c JARRIC, BARBOS, & al. ub. sup.

^d Id. ibid.

^e DE LISLE.

^f SANUT. lib. xii.

^g Vid. RAMUS, ubi sup. OSSORIO, DAVITY, & al. ubi sup.

^h TEIXEIR.

Gen. Perf. lib. i. c. 7.

ⁱ De his, vid. MAFF. lib. viii. PICAFET, lib. vi. & al. SANUT. & al. ub. sup.

Extent of its coast.

Its situation.

Products.

Drink.

Fine houses.

Citadel.

Spacious bay and chanel.

ought by all means to be avoided in a work like this. We have already observed, in the last section, that that of *Mombaso* is contiguous to that of *Melinda*, and only severed from it by the *Zebbeon Quilmanci*, a river we have described in its proper place^a, on the north sides. Its extent towards the south is not so unanimously fixed by geographers, some stretching its coasts no farther than the mouth of the river of its name, where the island and city, which gave that name to the rest, are situate^b; whilst others have extended it as far as the *Cape del Gada*, in the 10th degree of south latitude, according to *De Lisle*; but in this latter sense he includes likewise that of *Quiloa* with it, as being once both subject to the same monarch, as lately hinted^c.

As to the island of *Mombaso*, it is situate under the 4th degr. 5 min. of south latitude^d, in a convenient bay, made by the river above-mentioned, and is reckoned about twelve miles^b in circuit. The soil is exceedingly fruitful, and produces rice, millet, and other grain, variety of fruit-trees, and other vegetables and esculents; here are also bred vast quantities of cattle, and variety of poultry; and the island abounds with excellent springs of fresh water. The climate is temperate, and the air healthy, whatever the *Portuguese* might pretend to the contrary, when obliged to abandon the city. The inhabitants live long, and at their ease, in the capital especially, where they enjoy great plenty, with taste and elegance. Their bread, which is either of rice or millet, is made into flat cakes, and mixed with sugar, herbs, and other ingredients, to give it a more agreeable taste. Their drink is a kind of beer, either made of rice, honey, or some sort of fruits, which are here excellent, particularly their oranges, some of which are very large, and of exquisite taste and flavour, even to the very rind, which might be eaten with pleasure. Those liquors they chiefly keep in vessels of different sorts and sizes, neatly made of bullocks horns, as being less apt to break or burst; and of the same materials are their drinking cups and other household utensils made; that commodity being there in great plenty, as are also the artists, who work it with great skill and neatness. Their cattle are also well fed and tamed, their pasture being in great plenty, and well watered; and some of their sheep have those large tails, frequently mentioned to weigh between twenty and thirty pounds; so that there is plenty of every necessary of life, as well as of people, whether natives or strangers, who resort thither for commerce, by all whom it is as profusely consumed[†].

THE city was once a peninsula, but hath been since turned into an island, by cutting a canal through the isthmus, in such a manner, that one nook of it covers the city, so that it is not seen till one enters the port^d. The houses are built after the *Italian* manner, of stone cemented with mortar, and embellished with curious paintings and other ornaments; the streets strait, though narrow; and the houses contiguous, and terraced on the tops, so that one may walk upon them from one end to the other, without interruption; of which we take notice, because it was from thence that the inhabitants mostly annoyed the *Portuguese*, when they made their hostile entry into the place, as we shall see in the sequel. The city is defended by a stout citadel, into which the *Portuguese* afterwards retired, when they could hold the town no longer: they were afterwards driven out of this last retreat, *an* 1631, by an *Arabian* ckeyk, who made it afterwards the place of his residence, and where the inhabitants of *Mombaso*, as well as other trading merchants, applied to him for the liberty of commerce^e.

BEFORE the town is formed by the sea a most commodious bay, which opens in the form of a cockle-shell, into which the trading vessels have all the depth and room to sail and tack about that they can wish, the chanel being wide enough for the largest of them to enter with all their sails displayed. Within this inclosure, on the farther side, is a dyke, or causeway, built of stone, which runs across the chanel, over which one may pass from one side to the other, at low water. Besides the chanel, which surrounds the town, there are several other navigable ones, which run into the land; that which the city chiefly makes use of hath scarcely the breadth of a bow-shot in some places, and the entrance into the bay is defended by a stout bulwark, which the inhabitants raised soon after the arrival of *Vasco de Gama* into the bay, *an* 1497, and was likely to have been destroyed with his fleet, through his over-confidence in venturing into it, at the invitation of the governor, as hath been already observed in the last section^f. So that, upon the whole, this port carries on as great a commerce with the islands and kingdoms adjacent, as any upon this coast.

HERE is a great variety of inhabitants, some black, some white, olive, swarthy, &c. but most of them dress after the *Arabian* manner, and the richer sort very sumptuously, chiefly with the richest stuffs and silk, whilst gold and silver tissue, and such costly cloaths, is that of the women. The furniture of their houses is no less elegant, consisting in rich

^a Page 339, & seq. ^b DE LISLE Atlas. ^c SANUT. MARMOL, OSSORIO, & al. RAMUS. & al. sup. citat. [†] RAMUS. MARM. SANUT. OSSOR. DAVIT. & al. ^d MARMOL, ubi sup. lib. x. c. 2: ^e MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, OSSOR. LA CROIX, & al. ub. sup. ^f MARM. lib. x. c. 2.

carpets,

- a carpets, paintings, hangings, and variety of utensils and ornaments, all which are imported from *Cambaya*, *Persia*, and other countries. The people are said to be all more affable and civil to strangers than any on this coast, though consisting of so many nations, complexions, and religions, as *Mohammedans*, *Idolaters*, and *Christians*. They were formerly all Pagans, addicted to the grossest superstitions of the *Bedowin* sect. The *Portuguese* made a small number of converts upon their settling in this kingdom. The far greater part afterwards either returned to their old paganism, or turned *Mohammedans*, after the example of one of their monarchs, who, in the year 1631, had espoused a Christian, as he had been brought up in that religion; but then falling out with the *Portuguese* governor, on account of some injustice or oppression, drove him out of the citadel, massacred all that fell into his hands, and turned *Mohammedan*, in order to be protected by the *Turks*.²

Various inhabitants.
Religions.

- b But of all the various nations which have settled themselves in the inland part of this kingdom, and made the most terrible figure in its wars, that of the *Imbis*, as they are called, is one of the most fierce, barbarous, and impious, of any upon these coasts, if not of any upon the whole globe. The reader will see in the margin (B) the best account we can find concerning their extract and spreading themselves into divers parts of *Africa*, in prodigious colonies. They have been so powerful formerly in this kingdom, that their monarchs could raise and lead an army of 80,000 men into the field. When these are upon the point of engaging the enemy, their custom is to cause whole herds of cattle to march at the head of their ranks. These are followed by a number of men who carry fire before them; a dreadful emblem this, signifying no less, than that all who are made prisoners must expect to be roasted and devoured by those canibals. After these fire-bearers come the king's life-guard, armed cap-à-piè, and he in the center; after whom follows the body of the army. Dreadful is the fate of those who fall into his merciless hands, and the country through which he passes, where every man, woman, and beast, are alike doomed to the most shocking and inhuman death and destruction, and every place to plunder, fire, and sword.

Imbis, a barbarous people, described.

Way of fighting.

Cruelty to their captives.

- c THESE hellish monarchs are, by their diabolical subjects, worshipped as gods, and assume the title of emperors of the whole terrestrial, as the *Portuguese* kings do over the aqueous globe; and that all the inhabitants of the earth ought to submit to their yoke, and obey their commands. They carry their impiety still farther, even against the Deity itself; and whenever annoyed either by rain or sunshine, arrogantly bend their bow against heaven, and, in revenge, let fly their impotent arrows and curses against the sun and skies^h. And such is the terror they spread where-ever they come, that the affrighted inhabitants chuse to abandon their native dwelling, and throw themselves under the protection of either the *Turks* or *Portuguese*, rather than run the risk of encountering such a host of incarnate furies. The former of these have indeed been ever zealous either to convert them to *Mohammedism*, or to exirpate such as refuse it; but as that vermin is naturally of an unsettled and wandering nature, all they could do was only to drive them farther into the inland country, where themselves have not yet been able to penetrate, and where they still occupy vast regions unmolested, and practise the most detestable and bloody customs, even amongst themselves, as well as cruel ravages and butcheries in their excursions; of both which we shall have occasion to give some dreadful instances in the sequel. And thus much shall

Impious monarchs.

The Turks their greatest enemies.

They are dispersed over Afric.

² JARRIC, lib. iii. c. 13. MARM. OSSOR. RAMUS. DAVITY, & al. ub. sup. ^h De his vid. JARRIC Thesaur. Ind. lib. iii. c. 13. PURCHAS Relat. lib. vii. c. 2. § 3. OSSORIO, lib. 1. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

(B) This monstrous generation is supposed to be the cursed spawn of some of those barbarous canibals that are settled in the neighbourhood of the *Cape of Good Hope*, being, like them, tall and well-set, fierce and warlike, living altogether upon rapine and plunder, and feeding on the flesh of their captives, and even of their own kindred, dispatching those that are sick, in order to fit them for the shambles. Their drink is chiefly human blood, and their drinking-vessels are made of mens skulls. Their weapons are poisoned arrows, and long poles burned at each end (4).

This kingdom is not the only one into which they have dispersed their infernal colonies; they have formerly over-run not only a great part of the eastern coast of *Africa*, but have penetrated even as far as *Arabia*, and committed the most horrid ravages, butcheries,

and devastations, in some parts of it. And tho' they were either happily destroyed or driven out, yet we shall find them swarming in many other parts of *Africa*, tho' under other names; as the *Gallas*, and *Agas*, which infect the empire of *Abissinia*, the *Jaggi*, or *Jaggos*, in the kingdom of *Metamba*, and other parts of *Afric*, under that compound one of *Jambagottas*. But under whatever names we chance to meet with them in the sequel, they retain their accursed customs, and are justly looked upon as a most dreadful scourge from heaven, and by none more than by the *Abissinians*, where they have settled themselves in several frontier provinces, and from thence make the most horrid incursions into others, as we shall show in the sequel of this history.

(4) Jarric, Thes. Ind. lib. iii. c. 13. Purchas Relat. lib. vii. c. 18. Davity, & al.

suffice

suffice at present for the description and history of this kingdom of *Mombaso*. We shall resume the latter after we have gone through our next article, with which it is too closely connected and interwoven, as was lately hinted, to be severed from it.

A R T I C L E II.

The description and history of the island and kingdom of Quiloa, al. Xiloa.

The isle and
kingdom of
Quiloa.

Its extent.

Inhabitants.
Language.

Elegant living
and dress.

Manner of
mourning.

THIS island is situate, according to most geographers, near or upon the mouth of the river *Cuava*, or *Cuabo*, and *Quisimajugo*, under 8 degr. 20 min. of south latitude¹ (C), and was first discovered by the *Portuguese*, an. 1498. It has its name from its capital, a large opulent city, of which we shall say more in the sequel. The kingdom, which likewise bears its name, lieth on the continent over-against it, and extends itself about 200 miles along the coast, from north to south (D); but how far towards the west, or inland, is not known. It is divided from the island by a narrow chanel, and the soil of both so near the same for goodness and fertility, that they are thought to have been formerly contiguous. The king and his subjects are *Mohammedans*, and the latter partly black and partly tawny. They all speak the *Arabic* and several other languages, which they learn from the nations they traffick with. Their dress is that of the *Arabian Turks*, and much the same with that of *Mombaso*, lately described; neither do they come behind-hand with them either in the finery and richness of it, or in the elegance of living, as they enjoy the same plenty of all necessaries here as well as there^k; the women especially affect to go fine and gay, and with variety of ornaments about their necks, arms, wrists, and ankles; one sort in particular, viz. bracelets, made of ivory, curiously wrought, which, upon the death of a parent, husband, or near relation, they break in pieces, in token of sorrow; whilst the men express theirs by shaving their hair, and abstinence from food^l.

WE cannot give any certain dimensions of this island, but have a much better account of its metropolis, which is large, rich, and well built. The houses are of stone and mortar, handsome, and after the *Spanish* manner. They are several stories high, and have each a pleasant garden behind, well watered and cultivated, here being plenty of springs of fresh water; though that which they are forced to draw in some parts of the island is not near so pleasant or wholesome, which is owing to the lowness of the land about it. The houses are finely furnished within, and terraced on the top with a hard kind of clay; and the streets so narrow, like those we spoke of in the last article, or, indeed, of most cities on this coast, that one may easily go from one side to the other on the top. On one side of the town is the citadel, where resides the *Mohammedan* prince. It is adorned with stately towers, and surrounded with a flat-bottom ditch, and other fortifications. It hath two gates, one towards the port, whence one may see the ships sailing in and out; and the other looking towards the wide sea.

¹ FITAU hist. conq. of the Portug. tom. i. p. 11. DAVITY, LA CROIX, & al. lib. i. RAMUS. & al.

^k Id. ib. OSSORIO, Vinc. LE BLANC Travels, pt. ii. c. 4.

(C) This to us seems a great mistake of Father *Fitau*, and those who have followed him (5); the mouth of the *Cuabo*, according to the latest discoveries, lying under the 17th and not the 8th degr. of south latitude, unless we will suppose two rivers of the same name. *D'Anville* places the mouth of one, to which he gives the name of *King*, near the town of *Quiloa*, which bids fair to be that on which the island lies, and answers well enough to the 8th degree of latitude above-mentioned (6).

(D) We are told, however, (7) that the king of *Quiloa* was master of a great number of islands, very fruitful and well-peopled; insomuch that his dominions along this coast are said to have extended near 300 leagues in length, when the *Portuguese* appeared first in these parts; who had not been long acquainted with them before they stripped him of a considerable number of them. For at that time, we are told, that he reigned over the kingdoms of *Sofala*, *Cuama*, *Angos*, and *Mozambico* (8); though long since reduced to that

only one of *Quiloa*, which is reckoned 400 miles from that of *Mozambico*.

Linschot moreover tells us that, in his time, the *Quilooan* king was tributary to the emperor of *Monemugi*, and that his whole kingdom was confined to that one island: if so, his case is still much worse, having been probably deprived by that potent prince of his inland dominions, as he hath been of all his other islands on the coast; and, with this double aggravation to his misfortunes, his being become tributary to the one, and deprived by the other of a considerable branch of his former commerce with the kingdom of *Sofala*, which those invaders have engrossed to themselves; so that at present there are but few vessels that go from the one to the other, and the traffick dwindled to little or nothing, in comparison of what it was when the *Quilooan* monarchs used to send their fleets thither, and brought thence vast quantities of gold, amber, and other valuable commodities, amounting to an immense value.

(5) *Fitau Conquest. des Portugais*, Davity, Dapper, Martinicre, La Croix, & al. Africa. (7) *Vincent Le Blanc World Surveyed*, part ii. c. 4. *Ossor. l. i. Davity, & al.*

Barbof. Linschot. Guin. c. 8. Ramus. sub Xiloa, & al plur. (6) See his map of (8) *Od.*

a THE country about *Quiloa*, though low, is yet very pleasant, and fertile in rice and millet, fruits and good pasturage; so that they breed abundance of cattle, besides poultry of all sorts, both wild and tame. They have fish likewise in great plenty, and very good^m. The climate is likewise affirmed by most travellers to be very temperate and healthy; *Sanutus* being the only author we know of who hath ventured to assert the contrary in all these respects; though this was probably done to excuse the *Portuguese* abandoning itⁿ.

WE read of another *Quiloa* on the continent, which some authors will have to be the same with the *Repta* of *Ptolemy*, because distinguished by the name of the old city^o. It was built about 100 years ago, by the celebrated *Hali*, the son of *Hoshein*, Soltan of *Shiraz*, or *Persia*, who afterwards made it his residence. It is parted from that on the island by the river *Cuabo*, and a narrow arm of the sea, on the south of which it stands. That prince, being come into those parts, pitched upon that spot to build and fortify it, that it might be a kind of bulwark against the insults of the *Cassers*: but whatever it might be in his and his successor's time, it is since gone to decay, and is now but an inconsiderable place, and of no great commerce abroad; whereas this in the island, being chiefly inhabited by rich merchants, who traffick with the neighbouring kingdoms, and adjacent islands, for gold, ambergrise, pearls, musk, and other rich commodities, renders it one of the most opulent, as well as agreeable cities on the coast^p. Their trading vessels are built much after the same manner as those of *Mombaso*; only with this peculiarity, we are told^q, that they are laid over, inside and outside, with a thick varnish, made of frankincense instead of pitch.

c IT is time now to come to the historical part of these two kingdoms; and, that we may proceed in such order as to avoid all needless repetitions, and yet omit nothing worth our reader's notice, we shall begin with the foundation of the old city and kingdom of *Quiloa*, by the *Persian* prince above-mentioned; that being the oldest transaction of moment we find concerning them. *Hoshein*, who reigned in *Shiraz*, as we hinted above, left seven sons behind him at his death; one of whom, named *Ali*, or *Hali*, being born of an *Abissinian* slave, and finding himself despised by the rest of his brethren, resolved to leave that kingdom, and to go seek his fortune elsewhere. As he was a prince of great prudence as well as courage, he quickly made choice of the coast of *Zanguebar* for the first trial, it being known to be a rich one, on account of its vast commerce, as well as of the gold mines on the continent.

d He accordingly embarked at *Hormuz*, with his small company of friends and other adventurers, in two vessels, and arrived soon after at *Magadoxa*, and thence proceeded to *Brava*, both which have been already described in this chapter^r; but finding them already inhabited, he was obliged to proceed farther, and in quest of some settlement where he might be sole master. He came at length to the bay of *Quiloa*; and having examined the advantageous situation of that peninsula, and consulted in what manner he might best secure himself and his small colony against the attempts of the *Cassers*, he easily obtained leave of them, by means of some presents, to settle and fortify himself in it against the insults of the *Arabs*, who were masters of *Songo*, *Changa*, and other islands in that neighbourhood. It was not long before he had made his new settlement so strong, and the harbour so convenient, as to be able to attempt the reduction of *Monfia*, and some other adjacent islands, by the assistance of his martial son; after which he assumed the title of king of *Quiloa*, and gave that name to this little state.

His first successor *Hali*, surnamed *Bumalo*, reigned 40 years; and, for want of children, left the kingdom to his nephew, named *Hali Busoloquese*, who reigned only four years and a half, and was succeeded by his son *David*. This last had not reigned above four years before he was driven out of his kingdom by the king of *Changa*, and retired to *Monfia*, which was one of the founder's first conquests, where he died. The king of *Changa*, now master of *Quiloa*, sent one of his nephews, named *Hali Boubucoquer*, to be governor of it. He was two years after expelled by the inhabitants, who set up in his room *Hoshein Solyman*, who was nephew to *David* the late dispossessed king, and reigned sixteen years. He was succeeded by another of *David*'s nephews, named *Hali Bendawd*, who, after a long reign of sixty years, left the kingdom to his grandson of the same name. This last had not reigned above six years before his subjects dethroned him for his tyranny, and set up his brother *Hoshein Ben David* on the throne, who reigned twenty-four years. He was succeeded by *Soleyman*, a prince of the same family, who, after a two years reign, was beheaded by order of his subjects, who raised one of his sons, named *David*, to the throne. *David* reigned forty years, and was succeeded by his son *Soleyman Hoshein*, a warlike prince, who subdued the greatest part of the coast of *Zanguebar*, and seized on the gold mines of *Sofala*, and of the islands of *Monfia*, *Pemba*, and *Zanzibar*. It was this prince who first raised the city of *Quiloa* to its greatest splendor and opulence, and fortified it with a stout citadel, built of

^m MARMOL, OSSORIO, DAVITY, & al. ubi. sup. ⁿ Lib. xii. ^o MAFF. hist. Ind. lib. i. ^p MAR-

MOL, OSSOR. SANUT. RAMUS. DAVITY, & al. sup. citat. ^q OSSOR. ibid. ^r Page 334, & seq.

square stone, flanked it with towers, and surrounded it with a ditch. He built also some a handsome palaces, and other stately fabricks in the city, where most of the buildings were before of timber only: all which were completed within the space of eighteen years, which was that of his reign. His son and successor reigned only two years, and left the kingdom to his brother *Talud*, who enjoyed it but one year, and left it to a third brother, named *Hasben*, who reigned 25 years, and was succeeded by a fourth brother, named *Bonji Soleyman*, who, during the ten years of his reign, proved the most successful of all his brethren, and was most prosperous in all his enterprizes.

AFTER his death the crown fell to his nephew *Hali David*, who, after four years reign, left it to another prince, who held it fourteen years, and left it to his grandson *Hasben*. This prince proved likewise very successful during the eighteen years of his reign, and was more- b over an excellent prince. His son *Soleyman* reigned fourteen years, and was treacherously murdered as he was coming out of the mosk. By his death the crown devolved on his eldest son *Hasben*, who being then at *Mecca*, his brother *David* took the reins of government, and held them till his return, which was not till two years after, when he resigned them to him again. *Hasben* reigned 24 years, and left no issue, and, after his death, *David* resumed the government, and enjoyed it the same number of years, and was succeeded by his son *Soleyman*, who was dethroned by his uncle *Hasban*, 20 days after his coming to the crown. *Hasban* died six years and a half after, and left it to his nephew *Taluf*, brother to the deposed *Soleyman*.

TALUF reigned only one year, and after him another *Soleyman* reigned two years and four months, and was dethroned by an uncle of his name. This last reigned twenty-four years c four months and twenty days, and was succeeded by his son *Hasban*, who reigned likewise twenty-four years, and left the throne to one of his bothers, named *Mahamad*, who, after nine years was succeeded by his son *Soleyman*, who reigned twenty-two years, and after him his uncle *Ishmael Ben-Hasban* fourteen years. His successor, who was prime minister, and raised to the throne by the people, had not reigned above a year before they deposed him, and chose one of the royal blood, named *Mahmud*, but then reduced to extreme poverty, and whose reign proved as short-lived, they having raised the old minister *Hasban* to it, who reigned ten years, and after him his son *Zayd* ten more.

ZAYD was no sooner dead than the prime minister seized on the throne, and held it one year. Upon his mounting it, he had substituted in his place of prime minister, one of his d brothers named *Mahmud*, who had three brave sons, against whom he conceived such jealousy, that he removed them as far as he could from his capital, under pretence of promoting them to some government; one of whom, named *Jusef*, was lord of *Sofala*. *Anaga*, who came to erect a fortress there, was slain; and the people chose *Abd'alla*, the brother of the late king *Zayd*, for their king. He reigned about a year and a half, and another brother of his about as long; after whose death the prime minister attempted to raise *Hasban*, the son of the late prime minister of the same name, to the throne, but was opposed by the people, who chose in his room a prince of the royal family, named *Chombo*, but who was on the next year deposed, and *Hasban* again raised to the throne. Five years after he was again e deposed in favour of *Brabam*, or *Ibraim*, the son of the late sultan *Mahmud*. *Ibraim* had not held the reins above two years before he was deposed in favour of his nephew *Alfudail*, whose reign proving but short, *Emir Brabam*, the prime minister, declined making a fresh election of a king, but laid claim to the throne, as being the son of the late *Soleyman*, and first cousin to *Alfudail*. However, though *Brabam* was then master of the metropolis, the people never vouchsafed to give him the royal title, but only that of governor. And what helped to keep him up against them, were the contests which arose between the *Quiloans* and the f *Portuguese* admirals. However we find that the *Alfudail* above-mentioned had left a son behind, whom he had by an *Abissinian* slave, who reigned afterwards in *Quiloo*, at the time when the kingdom was become tributary to that of *Portugal*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. We hope, in the mean time, our readers will not be displeased to have seen such a long series of monarchs preserved, and transmitted to us, through so many centuries; though little more can be found in it than their lineal descent from their first founder, and the length of their reigns, as they have been conveyed to us by the *African* historian, often quoted in this part of the work * (E).

IT

* MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 38.

(E) It is plain however, by the short sketch which that author hath communicated to us, that those *Arabs* had a very regular method of preserving their records; and that the list above-mentioned is only an epitome of what was more fully deposited in them. We shall find in the sequel of this history, that, at the time of *Almeid* the *Portuguese* admiral's reducing the city of *Quiloo* un-

der tribute, there was a person in it eminent in power and learning, named *Mahmud Ancon*, on whom that commander would have bestowed the royal dignity, but who generously declined it, in favour of one of the princes of the royal blood, whom he recommended to him, to which *Almeid* readily consented. And it is not improbable that it was upon this surprising occasion that

a It is now time to return to our history of the *Portuguese* exploits and conquests on this coast, especially in the kingdoms of *Mombaso* and *Melinda*, where we left off.

THE reader may remember that their admiral *Vasco de Gama* left the king of *Melinda*, in pursuance of his order, with a special promise of taking that capital in his way, at his return for *Europe*. He proved as good as his word; and, among other valuable presents, sent by that prince to the king of *Portugal*, *Gama* took with him his ambassador to that court, who was to conclude a treaty of alliance and friendship between them¹. He returned again on the following year, well satisfied with his reception and success at that court, and in the *Portuguese* fleet, bound for *India*, commanded by Don *Petro Alvarez de Cabral*, consisting of 13 ships and 1500 men. His orders were, among other things, to try, by all possible means, to obtain of the *Samorin* of *Calicut*², a permission to build a fortress near the city, by which the *Portuguese* might be secure from the insults of their enemies in the carrying on of their commerce; and, in case of refusal, to declare him an enemy, and treat him as such; and this we mention by-the-bye, to shew what methods they took to allure or frighten every prince or state into an alliance with the king of *Portugal*; and after what horrid and destructive manner they revenged the pretended affront of their refusal, not only on them, but on all their unhappy and innocent subjects, and all this under the specious cloak of religion, of which we shall quickly give some pregnant instances. However, what at present most chiefly concerns our subject, is, that *Cabral* was further ordered to take *Melinda* in his way, and to assure the king, in his master's name, that his embassy was very acceptable to him, and that he would omit nothing that was in his power to deserve the esteem and friendship of so worthy a prince.

Gama returns to Melinda, and sails homeward with an ambassador. A.D. 1500.

Cabral brings back the Melindan ambassador.

WE shall not enter into a detail of his adventures and disasters, which will be best seen in the history of *Portugal*, but relate only what passed on this coast between him and the several kingdoms he stopped at, after his doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*.

THE first place he touched at was the port of *Mosambico*, where he was to deliver some presents and a letter to the king from his master. But, in his way, meeting with two rich ships, lying at anchor near the coast, whose masters no sooner espied him than they made all the sail they could to escape him, he quickly came up to them, and took them; yet finding afterwards that they belonged to a prince related to the king of *Melinda*, he thought himself obliged to restore them, with all the gold and other valuables they had brought from *Sofala*.

Arrival at Mosambico.

HAVING performed his commission at *Mosambico*, and provided himself with a pilot for *Quiloa*, he went on coasting at a small distance from the shore, and observing the several fertile islands which lay in his way, and were either subject or tributary to that kingdom, extending in length about 200 miles³. Having at length reached the port of *Quiloa*, he sent a message to the king, named *Ibrahim*, or, as others write it, *Braham*, or *Abraham*, acquainting him that he brought letters from the king of *Portugal*, by which he would easily perceive how desirous that great monarch was to enter into an alliance with him. He added, that he himself would have been proud of bringing them to his majesty, were it not inconsistent with his office, and the orders he had received not to leave the fleet on any pretence, begging of him, at the same time, to appoint some place upon the water, where he might have the honour of conferring with him about it.

Extent of the king's dominions. Message to Braham.

IBRAIM received the message with great marks of gratitude, and returned the following answer to the admiral: That he would cheerfully embrace an opportunity of entering into an alliance of friendship with a prince for whom he had conceived the greatest esteem; and that seeing he could not have the pleasure of seeing *Cabral* on shore, he would give him the desired meeting on the water, by the very next day. He appeared accordingly, on the morrow, with his vessels, adorned in the richest manner, and attended with a splendid retinue, clad in purple, embroidered with silver and gold, and armed with swords and daggers, the handles of which were set with diamonds; the water resounding with the music of their flutes and trumpets; whilst the *Portuguese*, on their part, saluted them with their cannon, and other demonstrations of joy; and *Cabral*, as well as the rest of the officers, who accompanied him in his long-boat, were clothed in the most elegant manner. As soon as they were come up with the king's barge, *Cabral*, having saluted him in the most respectful manner, presented him with the letters from king *Emanuel*, written in *Arabic*, and gave him the other particulars of his embassy from him, all which were received with

His civil answer to it.

Reception at Quiloa.

Splendid interview with him.

^f Sup. p. 342, & seq. & OSSOR. lib. ii. ubi sup. RAMUS. MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

^u De hoc, vid. sup. vol. iv. p. 116, & seq.

^w OSSOR.

that the noble *Ancon* presented him with this extract of the *Quiluan* history, and regular succession of monarchs during the space of four hundred years, if not the very archives from which it was taken. Accordingly *Marmol* adds, that *Ancon* assured him that the people were so dis-

pleased with *Ibrahim* (as being only the son of a slave) that they would not admit of any king being set over them, unless he was descended from the royal family (10).

(10) *Lib. ix. c. 38.*

Ibraim insti-
gated against
the Portu-
guese.

Breaks off
with them.

Cabral sails
away in a pet
for Melinda.

Is kindly re-
ceived there.

Sails for
India.

A D. 1505.
Almeid's
arrival.

Braham
abandons the
city.

The Portu-
guese attack
it, and enter
it without
opposition.

Build a fort
in it.

Fair speech
to the inha-
bitants.

marks of the highest satisfaction and complacency; and it was agreed that *Cabral* should, a on the following day, send a proper person to land, to give the finishing hand to the proposed treaty of alliance. All this however was quashed before the time was come, by the intervention of the *Arabian* merchants of that city, who gave the king such an odious and dreadful character of the *Portuguese*, and their religion, with their conquests, piracies, tyrannies, restlessness, and cruelties, where-ever they got footing, that he was at once deterred not only from pursuing the negotiation, but from ever admitting them to trade in his dominions. And, as he doubted not their giving him some signal marks of their resentment on this occasion, he ordered the garrison of the city to be reinforced, and all other hostile preparations that are usually made in sea-port towns, when an enemy is in the harbour. *Cabral* was soon apprised of all this, by the brother of the king of *Melinda*, then at *Quiloa*; and, b to avoid all further hostilities and dangers, set sail immediately for that kingdom, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy by the king, who took care to send him an immediate supply of provisions and refreshments, sufficient for his whole fleet.

THE first thing which *Cabral* did, after his arrival, was to send the *Melindan* ambassador, whom he had brought back from *Portugal*, on shore, with the presents which *Emanuel* sent to his majesty. The good old king was so highly pleased, that on that day he appeared on horseback, richly dressed, and went to the sea-side, where *Cabral* and his officers met and saluted him in the usual form. *Cabral*, though earnestly pressed to make a longer stay, civilly declined it; and, having delivered two persons into his care, who were sent by *Emanuel* to penetrate into *Abissinia*, took his leave, and pursued his course for *India*, in which we c shall follow him no further than by observing, that he fell foul on all the *Arabian* ships that came in his way, in revenge of the disappointment and affront which those of *Quiloa* had occasioned to him. However, the *Portuguese* resentment did not display itself till the arrival of their new admiral upon this coast, four years after.

THIS was the famed *Don Francesco Almaed*, or *Almeid*, who was besides invested with the character of viceroy of *India*; and after much slow sailing and difficulty in doubling the *Cape*, steered his course directly for the island of *Quiloa*, where he arrived about the latter end of *July*. The first thing which he did, upon his approaching the port, was to send a formal message to the king with his compliments, and notice of his arrival, which that prince, however, whether out of hatred to his nation, or fear of his resentment, or, as the d *Portuguese* historian words it, conscious of his wickedness), instead of answering, left the city in the silence of the night*.

THE citizens, finding themselves deserted by their pusillanimous king, had immediate recourse to the brave *Mahmud Ancon*, mentioned in the last note; and begged that he would lead them against the common enemy, promising to obey him, and fight in defence of their lives and liberties; whilst *Almeid*, having waited some time for the king, or for some answer to his message, and beginning to suspect some hostile design, resolved to attack the city in form, and staid no longer than till the tide was at its height, which then commonly comes up to the walls of it, and then landed five hundred brisk fellows, whom he divided into two battalions; the one of 200 men, the command of which he gave to his son *Lawrence*, and headed the other himself; at the sight of whom, *Ancon* and his citizens e fled also out of the town, so that the *Portuguese* entered it without opposition. This failed not to alarm that suspicious general, who now dreading some treacherous design, ordered his men to halt, and his son with his battalion to proceed slowly, and with great circumspection, and on no account to suffer them to break their ranks. His precautions, however, proved needless, seeing the few that were left in the town were either such as had neither courage nor strength to oppose him; so that he ordered it to be plundered out of hand, and the spoil to be deposited in a large house, where he distributed it amongst his men, reserving for himself one single arrow.

HIS next care was to set them about building a fort in a proper place, near the shore, f to repel the enemy in case of need; and, whilst that work was carrying on, sent a message to fetch *Mahmud Ancon* and the other citizens to him, who, upon their arrival, threw themselves on their knees, and implored his mercy; but he quickly raised *Ancon* up, telling him and them, that they had no cause to fear any thing from him, but rather to be thankful to be delivered from the usurpation of a cruel and perfidious coward, and be restored to their liberty under the auspicious reign, and by the singular clemency, of king *Emanuel*, a most powerful, and no less benevolent, prince. He then proceeded to recapitulate the many injuries and cruelties they had suffered under their dastardly tyrant, and the blessings they might promise themselves under the protection of the king his master; as a proof of which, he told them, he would raise *Mahmud Ancon* to the royal dignity, whose affection, g fidelity, and conduct, they had so long and often experienced. Thus did the artful admiral

* OSSORIO, ubi supra, lib. iv. & al. sup. citat.

a cajole the now subdued and heartless *Quiloans*, out of one slavery into a worse; and, to conclude the scene with the greater shew of splendor, saluted him king of *Quiloo*, in the name of *Emanuel* his master, and placed a crown of gold upon his head; imposing, at the same time, an annual tribute upon him, which he obliged him, by a solemn oath, to pay; and to behave, in all other respects, as a most faithful vassal to the crown of *Portugal* (F).

Mahamed crowned king of Quiloo.

THE admiral, having succeeded so far, beheld, with no small pleasure, the remainder of the people, who had abandoned the city, flock back again at the news of their old chief being now become their king; as well as the first marks of their loyalty to their new lord the king of *Portugal*, which he had exacted from them, which were to assist his men in the completing of the fort which he had begun, and, to stir them up to the greater dispatch, ordered his tent to be set up at the foot of it. He caused likewise some 8 or 10 of the adjacent houses to be demolished, to make an esplanade between the city and fort, and on the sea-side caused some outworks to be made, and a large ditch to be dug round, to guard the place on that side, as well as on the land side. The fort, thus finished, was called *Fort St. James*, the patron of *Spain*, on account of their having entered the city on the eve of his festival. The last thing he did was to appoint a governor, and to leave a good garrison in it, together with a couple of vessels to guard the coast; eight days after which he steered his course towards *Mombasa*.

The citizens recalled to the city.

An esplanade made between the fort and city.

THUS far our two authors agree as to the promotion and coronation of *Mahmud Ancon*: but whilst the one leaves him in the quiet and cheerful possession of his new kingdom, till he was treacherously murdered by an ungrateful prince, a friend of the deposed *Braham*, whom he had obliged in the most singular manner, and afterwards to have been succeeded in the regal dignity by his own son^y; the other^z tells us, that that brave and noble prince, far from being satisfied with his exaltation to that dignity, took an opportunity, before *Almeid's* departure, to divest himself of it, in favour of a surviving son of the late king *Alfudail*, his particular friend, by an act of the most unprecedented gratitude and loyalty to the royal family; and prevailed upon the admiral to send for the young prince, and to settle the crown upon him, which was readily complied with, to the great admiration of all the *Portuguese*, who could not but highly applaud such a generous deed in an *Arabian* and *Mohammedan*, which, they were conscious, none of them could imitate.

Mahamed treacherously murdered. A different account of it from Ossorio. A singular instance of his loyalty.

d THE reader will see, in a few words, the substance of the two accounts, as they are differently related by our two authors, in the margin (G); whilst we resume the thread of our history.

^y MARMOL, ubi sup.

^z OSSORIO, lib. iv.

(F) It will not be amiss to add here, from *Marmol*, some other ceremonies attending this mock kind of coronation, to shew our *English* readers a specimen of the *Portuguese* address on these and the like occasions. It was performed on a stage reared for the purpose, to which he made the new king ride in great pomp, mounted on a stately horse, richly attired, and attended with the acclamations both of the *Quiloans* and *Portuguese*. To his other royal ornaments he added a scarlet surcoat, lined with white satin, and with gold buttons and button-holes, and a royal mantle of the same.

All the chief men of the city were ordered to be present at his installation; and the nature of the ceremony easily drew thither the rest of the people. Silence being commanded, a herald declared aloud the occasion of their meeting in *Portuguese*, which was interpreted to them in *Arabic*. The purport of which was, that *Braham*, or *Ibrahim*, having, for his treasonable misdemeanors, forfeited his crown, the lieutenant-general of the king of *Portugal*, and his officers there present, having, by right of conquest, gained the possession of it, did bestow it, in the name of the king their master, upon *Mahmud Ancon*, both as a reward of his merit and fidelity, together with the title of king; on condition that he shall pay the same tribute that *Braham* did to the crown of *Portugal*.

The ceremony being ended, he was made to cavalcade it through the city in the same pompous manner, having a standard borne before him, with the arms of *Portugal*, followed by all their trumpets, and other musical instruments, the citizens marching behind, and crying *long live king Mahmud*.

(G) According to *Marmol's* account, the *Portuguese* were become so powerful and insolent upon that coast, that they made a prodigious number of rich captures, under pretence of their carrying contraband goods, making prisoners of the owners and sailors at their plea-

sure. Among others they took one coming from the island of *Angocha*, in which was the son of the king of *Tirendicanda*, then an inhabitant of *Quiloo*, whom the governor of the new fort caused to be seized and imprisoned, under pretence that his father was at war with the *Portuguese*, and a relation of the deposed *Braham*. This, continues our author, induced the new king, who had not yet made any alliance with other princes, and was desirous of being in friendship with his neighbours, to take this opportunity of laying an obligation on that prince, by redeeming his son, at the price of 3000 pieces of gold, and equipping him suitably to his rank, and sending him back to his father; who no sooner heard of it, than he dispatched a messenger to him to thank him for his generosity, and to invite him to an interview, to consult about their mutual interest; adding, that he would then readily reimburse him what he had laid out for his son.

The governor tried in vain to dissuade *Mahmud* from the interview; alledging that the king, being an enemy to the *Portuguese*, and a relation of *Braham*, he could expect no good result from it. *Mahmud* was deaf to his advice, and ventured himself with him in a vessel attended by a small retinue; and such as should carry the face of confidence and friendship, rather than fear or distrust. But his ill-timed credulity cost him his life, being stabbed with a dagger, as he was asleep, by the perfidious prince, who palliated the horrid deed with saying, that he owed more to his own kindred than to him for the service he had received from him. His death occasioned great contests in *Quiloo*, which were however quelled in part by the election of his son in his room. Thus far *Marmol's* account.

That of the bishop is as follows. When *Mahmud* came to pay his compliments to *Almeid*, after he had obtained of him the release of the *Arabian* prisoners, he proceeded with a fresh request to this purpose: "There

New tumults
in the city.

King Ema-
nuel the chief
cause of them.

Commerce at
sea obstructed.

Vaal sent to
suppress the
Portuguese
piracies.

New dissen-
sions.

Braham ra-
vages the coun-
try.

history. Whether it was *Alfudail's* son, whom our author doth not name, or *Mahamed*, a who was left in possession of the *Quiloan* throne (though the latter seems to us the most probable, because he was actually slain, some time after, by *Tirecundus*, a friend of *Braham*, though not so soon after his elevation), it is certain that the face of affairs altered quickly after *Alineid's* departure, and the good understanding that seemed to reign between the *Arabs* and *Portuguese*, was soon turned into distrust and resentment; king *Emanuel* giving the first occasion, by depriving the *Quiloans*, as well as the other kingdoms on that coast, of one of the most advantageous branches of their commerce; viz. that with *Sofala*, of which he was now become master, and was resolved to engross wholly to himself; for this proved the source of such frequent depredations, or rather piracies, under the specious pretence of searching for, or punishing those of the natives who carried, contraband goods, as if the king of *Portugal* had been really what the chief of the *Imbis* called him, the absolute sovereign of the sea^a. The commerce, both on that coast and adjacent islands, was almost wholly interrupted, and the natives quite impoverished; whilst the *Portuguese* gained immense riches by their tyrannic depredations.

At length such heavy and repeated complaints came from all these parts to the viceroy of *Goa*, that he saw it absolutely necessary to send one of his officers named *Vaal* thither, to put the most speedy end he could to these disorders, by forbidding all those dreadful piracies and depredations, and going through all the trading ports, and inviting the natives to resume their wonted commerce, with promises that it should be free for the future from all molestation, and this in the viceroy's name, and that of the king of *Portugal*. This, in some measure, revived the spirits of the natives, and in particular of the *Quiloans*, many of whom had before abandoned that city, and gone to settle at *Mombaso*, *Melinda*, *Zanguebar*, and other parts, and returned again at this news, though a still greater number staid away.

ALL this while the city of *Quilooa* was strangely divided, *Braham* having still a strong party in it, who preferred him, as being of the royal blood, though by a slave, to *Mahmud* or his son, who were of mean extraction; but the governor and his *Portuguese*, and as many of the *Arabs* as they had drawn into their interest, stuck so close to the new-made king, that *Braham* finding he could gain nothing against him by open force, resolved to destroy him by treachery; and, to that end, hired a resolute fellow to assassinate him. Here again our authors differ afresh; one telling us that he missed his blow, and only gave him a wound in the arm, which did not however prove dangerous, though the assassin was seized and put to death^b. Whereas the other affirms, that he actually murdered him; and that his son, named *Hagi Hossein*, whom *Almeid's* governor had raised to that dignity, was chosen in his room, as we observed in the last note from him. But, adds the same author, this, instead of quelling, greatly increased the discontent, because he immediately insisted upon waging war against *Braham*, as the murderer of his father; though in other respects he did several public acts to gain their favour; so that on a sudden the city was broke out in open revolt, upon hearing that he had engaged *Mano Manfa*, a powerful neighbouring prince, to attack *Braham* by land, whilst he, unexpectedly, fell upon him by sea.

THIS revolt did not, however, divert him from his design; on the contrary, he and his ally succeeded so well in it, that *Braham* was forced to flee, whilst they ravaged the whole country, and carried away prisoners all that had engaged on his side. *Hagi Hossein* at length was now grown so haughty and insolent, as to ill treat the kings of *Melinda*, *Zanguebar*, and other *Arabian* princes; which so highly provoked them, that a war soon ensued, in which the *Quiloans* lost many of their citizens, and suffered so much in other respects, from those princes, as well as from the *Cassers*, on his account, that his very name was become odious, and that it was not mentioned without some execration. At length both the citizens and *Arabian* chiefs agreed to send a deputation to the viceroy of *Goa*, to beg that, in order to put an end to those destructive feuds, he would restore the deposed *Braham* to the crown, or bestow it on his nephew *Nicanto*, for whom they had already declared, and made some attempts to raise to the throne. The viceroy accordingly sent orders to the governor of *Quilooa* to rein-

^a See before, p. 347.

^b OSSORIO, & al. sup. citat. ubi sup.

“ having been a strict friendship between the late king
“ *Alfudail*, whom the traitor *Braham* murdered, and
“ myself, and it being now out of my power to resign the
“ kingdom to him, I most earnestly intreat you to let
“ me send for his son, and that you will please to let me
“ confer it upon him. I shall never prefer regal power
“ or wealth to my duty and allegiance; not that I think
“ myself or my sons unworthy of that honour; yet, as
“ the enjoying it and leaving it to them, would be
“ doing the highest injustice to those of the late king, I

“ should think I deserve to be branded with everlasting
“ infamy, and was intailing the greatest guilt and dis-
“ grace on my posterity; I rather chuse to leave them
“ this example of my fidelity and honesty, than the
“ richest patrimony, or the most opulent kingdom.”
This loyal request was highly admired by the *Portuguese*, especially by the admiral, who sent out of hand for *Alfudail's* son, and invested him with regal dignity, as the heir apparent to the crown (12).

(12) Confer. *Marmol*, lib. ix. c. 39. & *Ossor. lib. iv. Ramus. & al.*

- a state the former; but the governor, not daring to trust him so far, caused the latter to be crowned, and *Hofsein* to be deposed; who, not brooking his disgrace, retired to *Mombaso*, where he died soon after.

THE new king behaved, during the two first years of his reign, like a wise and good prince; but growing afterwards more debauched and tyrannic, became as odious to his subjects as he had been admired by them. And, to complete his misfortune, his friend the governor's time being expired, a new one arrived, who proved less favourable to him; whilst, on the other hand, *Brabam*, enraged to see him preferred before him, declared war against him. The Christians suffered greatly in this contest, and many of them were slain in fighting against him. At length *Brabam* got the better, and made his entry into *Quiloa*, at the head of his *Caffers*, who were commanded by his brother *Mingo*. The new governor and his nephew were soon after made prisoners, and *Nicanto* defeated at the head of forty Christians, which were all that were then able to take up arms, and performed wonders in that encounter, to shew his fidelity to the *Portuguese*. In the mean time there arrived an order to the governor for demolishing the fortress (wherein the reasons for building it were disapproved), and he and his garrison were to remove to the island of *Zocotora*, lately taken by *Tristan de Cunha*. The governor had, it seems, before this time, deposed *Nicanto*, and sent his nephew to *Brabam* to invite him to resume the real dignity. *Nicanto* had accordingly retired to the isle of *Quirimbo*, where he died miserably soon after, and *Brabam* came and took possession of the *Quilooan* crown; and having by his late deposition and disgrace become more prudent, governed the island peaceably and happily, and taught his children to do the same after him; that is, as our author words it, by a close adherence to the service and interest of the king of *Portugal*, and an expeditious dispatch of his affairs. Thus was the isle and kingdom happily freed, if not from a state of subjection and tribute, yet at least from the tyranny and oppression of a *Portuguese* governor and garrison, which were a constant nuisance to the natives both at land and sea.

It is time now to follow the *Portuguese* admiral to *Mombaso*, the next kingdom on which he made a new and more successful attempt than his predecessors had done. We have already observed that the capital of it is situated on a peninsula, made since into an island by cutting of a chanel on the land side^d. It lies between *Melinda* on the north, and *Quiloa* on the south, and pretty near at the same distance from both. As soon as the admiral came near it, he ordered his captain to sound the depth of the shore all the way; for though he had two expert *Arabian* pilots, who assured him that there was a sufficient depth of water for him to come closely to it, yet would he not so far confide in them as to venture nearer till he had it confirmed by him, that he might make his approaches accordingly.

It was on the 30th of *August* when he anchored in view of the city with eleven large ships. The city had neither walls nor any other fortifications, saving two old towers towards the water-side, built of stone, and surrounded with a ditch, and an old bulwark of earth, on which the inhabitants had planted a battery of seven or eight cannon, which they had taken out of a *Portuguese* ship which had been wrecked near it. With these they immediately began to annoy the above-mentioned captain *Gonzalo Pavia*, as he was sounding the bay, who returned their fire with interest from his larger guns; a shot from which happening to light on their magazine of powder, set it on fire; which so terrified the garrison, that they abandoned the bulwark, and fled into the city. By the next morning *Almeid* was come up close to the place with his whole fleet, which he divided into two squadrons, in order to attack it in two different parts, leaving his son *Lawrence* with one of them before the city, whilst he with the other went and posted himself behind a nook of land, whence he sent two armed barks to sail round the island, and posted two of his ships at proper places, to hinder the inhabitants from retiring into the continent, as those of *Quiloa* had done. The two barks being come back, brought with them a *Moor*, whom they had taken, and who acquainted him that the king had hired 1500 *Caffers*, besides his own garrison, to defend the city, and that he had expressly forbid them all to go out of the city under pain of death.

At this news *Almeid* thought proper, before he began any hostilities, to dispatch one of his officers to the king with a message of peace, and offers of friendship from the great and potent *Emanuel*, with large promises of his favour and protection, and a copious display of the many advantages that would accrue to him and his kingdom by becoming his ally and tributary; adding, that it could be no dishonour to the king of *Mombaso* to acknowledge such a mighty monarch for his sovereign, seeing so many other considerable princes, both in *Africa* and *India*, had voluntarily subjected themselves to his authority. He concluded, however, after the usual manner of his nation on such occasions, with telling him, that if he refused his generous offers, he should be obliged to compel him to it, and force him to live happy under the dominion of one of the best of princes. The messenger drew near ac-

* MARMOL *Afric*, in fin. lib. ix. & al. ubi sup.

^d See before, p. 346.

cordingly,

who is repulsed
with disdain. accordingly, attended with one of the *Arabian* pilots which they had brought from *Quiloa*,^a and desired to be admitted to the king, and deliver the admiral's peaceful message to him; but the inhabitants bid him at his peril attempt to land, and threatened to tear him in pieces, if he did not immediately retire; bidding him, in scorn, to go back to his ships, and let his master know, that he had not now to do with the women of *Quiloa*, but with men of courage and valour, as he should find them to his cost, if he attempted to enter the port with his fleet. *Almeid*, provoked at this answer, was going to reply to it with the fire of his artillery; but, upon cooler thoughts, was willing to be first informed of the strength of the place by better hands; and, on that very night, ordered a couple of his captains to go on shore, and seize on some of the inhabitants, from whom, by fair or foul means, he^b might get intelligence of the king's strength and design. They accordingly landed with great silence; and brought back with them, soon after, a person who proved to be one of the king's domestics and friends, and acquainted him, that the king his master, upon hearing of the taking of *Quiloa*, had, besides his own army, taken into his service 4000 mercenaries,^c and expected 2000 more. That he had, moreover, a large magazine of arms, and was provided with all other necessaries for a brave defence, and was able to repel a much greater army from his city and fortifications.

The strength of
the town, con-
firmed by fresh
intelligence. The siege of it
resolved on. *ALMEID*, nothing discouraged at this report, resolved to attack the place on the very next day, which was the 15th of *August*, and the feast of the *Virgin Mary's* assumption; and ordered his son, with some of his officers, to land with all expedition, to set fire to that part of the town which stood nearest the shore, and destroy the barricades, with which they^d had stopped up the entrance of the fleet on that side; but with orders, if they met with too strong an opposition, to retire as fast and as well as they could. His commands were executed with such speed and success, that many houses were all on blaze, before the townsmen could make any opposition, the admiral having ordered a constant fire of his artillery to be made, to cover their descent. They at length collected their forces to that side, and attacked the besiegers with great bravery. A fierce onset soon ensued, in which 70 of the garrison were killed upon the spot, and but two on the *Portuguese* side. All this while the fire spread with such fury and devastation, that the inhabitants were doubly distressed, being necessitated to fight the enemy, and extinguish the flames, which threatened the destruction of the whole city. And such was the violence of the heat, that the *Portuguese*, no longer^e able to bear it, were forced to retire to their ships.

Almeid lands,
and makes to
the palace. On the next morning, before the break of day, the fire still giving sufficient light to enter the town, the admiral, as had been agreed, easily gained the height of the sea-coast, attended with his men, and made towards the royal palace, without meeting with any opposition; but suspecting there might be some ambush, forbore beginning the attack till it was broad day-light; when finding the streets clear and defenceless, he ventured through them in his way to the palace; whilst his son *Lawrence* headed his men against another quarter of the town, as there was no wall about it to obstruct their entrance. These, however, met with no small opposition when they came into the streets and lanes, which they found so narrow and crowded by the inhabitants, that it was with the utmost difficulty and danger^f that they could force their passage through volleys of stones and darts, which were thrown at them from the windows and tops of the houses, and obstructed their pursuit of those who annoyed them in front, after they had forced them to give way. This at length enraged them to such a degree, that they set about bursting open the doors, and forcing their way, up the stairs, to the top; where, with incredible fury, they quickly cleared the row of those annoyers, by throwing some down headlong, killing others, and putting the rest to flight, the houses being all contiguous, and the roofs a continued flat from end to end, as we have elsewhere observed. But even then the inhabitants soon found out a way to spoil that destructive expedient, by demolishing here and there a house, and preventing the enemy's proceeding further; by which stratagem, *Lawrence*, who commanded the van, and *Novio*,^g who headed the rear, were so effectually parted, that they could no longer assist each other, but lay exposed again to the stones and darts which were discharged at them on both sides. This obliged them to have recourse to their first expedient, and force their passage into the roofs of other houses; where, leaping from one to the other, they re-united again, drove all before them, and got rid of all opposition and danger.

Almeid gains
the royal pa-
lace. DURING the dreadful contest in this part of the city, *Almeid* and his men had been as cruelly infested in every street through which they were to pass to gain the palace; the people discharging continual showers of darts and stones from the windows and the tops of the houses. But he had had the precaution to order a file of musqueteers and bowmen to march just before him, and to make a continual discharge of their arms against the windows

• See before, p. 346.

a and terraces; while he did the like against those *Arabs* who opposed him in front; by which means they got at length to the palace, without any great loss.

THEY were not a little surpris'd to find the place destitute of guards within and without; but at all hazards began to burst open the gates, and to crowd into it with great eagerness, meeting with only a few *Arabs* in their way, whom they quickly dispatched, or put to flight; and, without any farther opposition, made themselves masters of it. For whilst they were breaking into it, the pusillanimous king had given them the slip through a back gate, with his wives and family, and as many of his household as could follow him, and was retired into a neighbouring wood of palm-trees, where they lay concealed for a while.

b IN the mean time Don *Lorenzo*, being apprised that the corps of reserve was in danger, marched with all speed to their relief: and, having repulsed the *Arabs*, joined his forces with them, and marched directly to the palace, which he found already taken, and guarded by *Pedro Bermudio*, by *Almeid's* orders; and from him they learned the particulars of their forcing into the castle, and of the king's flight. This last news was no sooner spread thro' the city, than the inhabitants and garrison, who, till then had behaved with great valour and conduct, in defence of the place, began to slacken their courage, and to think of their own safety, especially after they found the *Portuguese* had set up their standard and the cross on the walls of the palace, and burned some merchant vessels that lay in the harbour; so that a general panic had already dispersed the greatest part, and the rest lay concealed where they could avoid the enemy's resentment.

c WHIST the *Portuguese* soldiers were refreshing themselves after their great fatigue, a new object appeared at a distance, which drew the attention of *Almeid*. It was one of the *Arabs*, who had followed the king into the wood, and was now come out with a white flag in his hand, which he waved to them, as if desiring a parley. Upon which a man was immediately sent to know what he had to offer; who answered, that the king would engage to become vassal and tributary to *Portugal*, on condition the city was exempt from being plundered; and that he begged to have an interview with him about it, and some hostage for his security. *Almeid* seemed willing at first to lend an ear to the proposal, but would not send any other hostage than his gauntlet, and afterwards his helmet. But these not being

d looked upon as sufficient pledges, and the king not appearing, the soldiers began to murmur at it, some being for plundering the city out of hand, and others for attacking the king in his intrenchments. But *Almeid*, thinking this last expedient would prove too dangerous and difficult, as the wood might serve them for an advantageous fence against him, rejected it, and contented himself with having made himself master of so considerable a place, and immediately gave it up to be plundered, and distributed its several quarters amongst his men. The spoil was inconsiderable, according to some writers, the inhabitants having timely conveyed away their most valuable effects; though others will have it to have been so great that they were obliged to leave a great part of it behind^f; but all agree that he found a great quantity of arms and engines of war. The number of the slain was, of the *Mombasans* 1500, and of the *Portuguese* only five, one of whom, an ancient captain, named *Ferdinand Decio*, died of a wound in his foot from a poisoned arrow. About 2000 were made

e prisoners, of whom *Almeid* kept 200 of the most considerable, and some of the handsomest women, and released the rest. To conclude this catastrophe, the soldiers had no sooner done glutting their avarice, than their general ordered them to set fire to the city at three different quarters, by which above three parts of it were reduced to ashes; tho' the poor remainder of it helped to invite its forlorn citizens to re-people and re-build it by degrees. What became of the unfortunate king we are not told; it is not however improbable that he went and put himself under the protection of his next neighbour the emperor of *Monoemugi*, to whom he became a vassal and tributary for that part of his kingdom which lies on the continent, whilst the city and island of *Mombaso* quickly resumed its ancient grandeur, by becoming the residence of the king of *Melinda*, the old friend and ally, as well as vassal, of *Portugal*, and of the *Portuguese* governor of all that coast. As for *Almeid*, he set sail soon

f after for *Melinda*, in order to settle, probably, with that prince, the conditions on which he was to become possessor of *Mombaso*, under the king his master; but, being prevented by a storm, was obliged to put into a bay about three leagues short of it; whence he sent his compliments and excuse for not being able to wait upon him in person, with the presents sent to him by the court of *Portugal*. He staid no longer here than till he had received an answer to his message, and a plentiful supply of provisions from that monarch; after which, being joined by some other of his ships, he set sail again, in quest of some rich *Arabian* ships, which he was apprised, by good intelligence, would pass by that way, in less than a month, and fall into his hands if he kept a good look-out^g: but whither we shall follow him no farther.

^f Conf. MARMOL, lib. x. c. 2. OSSORIO, lib. iv. RAMUS. & al. sup. citat.
MOD. HIST. VOL. VI.

^g OSSOR. ubi sup. &c.

S E C T. III.

The kingdom of Mosambico.

Kingdom of
Mosambico.

First discover-
ed, A. D.
1497.

SAILING still farther south on the same coast, the next kingdom of any note (A) is a that called *Mosambico*, from its capital of that name, situate on an island under the 16th degree of south latitude, and is the chief of the three isles which compose this kingdom; the others are called by the *Portuguese* *St. George* and *St. James*, and all three lie on the mouth of the river *Magincata* or *Megincata*, between the kingdom of *Quiloa*, spoken of in the preceding section, and that of *Sofala*, of which we shall speak in the next^a.

THE celebrated *Vasco de Gama*, often mentioned in this chapter, was the first *European* we know of, who discovered and came to an anchor near it, after his doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*; and here it was that he informed himself of the inhabitants about the main design of his voyage, the finding out a way into *India* by sea; and about the people who lived on this coast: and here it was that he was apprised of the vast commerce which was carried on by them from one kingdom and sea-port to another, and, among other particulars, that this island, which they told him was subject to the then king of *Quiloa*, was one of the most considerable marts on all the eastern coast; that it sent ships into *Arabia*, and many other parts of the world, and was resorted to by merchants from thence, who imported great variety of the richest commodities in great quantities: they added, that he had passed by a coast called *Sofala*, which abounded with gold mines, and was likewise a place of great commerce. For all which informations *Gama* gratified these kind *Arabs* with an elegant collation, and some small presents.

The island de-
scribed.

We have had occasion to mention the kind reception which he met with at first from the brave governor *Zacocia*, who supposed them to be *Mohammedans* like himself, and the greatest part of the inhabitants, and the repulse he gave him, upon the discovery of his being a Christian[†]; which shews that the conquest and behaviour of the *Portuguese* on the western coast had by that time reached this, and had already rendered their name no less odious than dreaded: so that it was with great difficulty that the admiral escaped being destroyed by those zealous *Mohammedans*. His successors on the coast proved more fortunate in a short time, as may be judged by the conquests they have made on it, and particularly on this island; upon which, having artfully obtained leave from one of those *Arabian* cheyks to build a fort, which might be a safeguard to them both, they have since made themselves masters of it, ingrossed the whole commerce, and made that port one of the securest harbours to rest and refresh; or, if the winds and weather do not favour, even to winter commodiously in, in their passage to and from the *East-Indies*. The only misfortune is, that the island lying low, and the town surrounded with marshes, the air is not quite so healthy as could be wished; but in all other respects, it abounds with almost every convenience for life and pleasure, and with most products, as well as manufactures, of that and other parts of the world.

^a SANUT. OD. BARBOSA, LINSCHOT. PICAFET, DAVITY, & al. [†] See before, p. 342.

(A) We say of note, because it would carry us beyond our bounds to describe all those that lie on this coast, concerning which we know but few particulars beyond their names and situation, worth our readers notice.

To give one instance for all, we meet with two such kingdoms or states between that of *Quiloa*, mentioned in the last section, and this of *Mosambico*; viz. *Mongalo* and *Angos*. The former is a small kingdom near the mouth of the *Cuama*, well peopled, mostly with *Arabs*, who are *Mohammedans*, and drive a good commerce with that of *Monomotapa*, in gold, elephants teeth, gums, &c.

The other is called *Angos*, from its capital, and by the *French* and *Italians* *Angoche* and *Angochia*, which signifies anguish; this capital is situate on another branch of the *Cuama*, about 160 leagues from its other mouth. The kingdom is much smaller than that of *Mongalo*, which is said to extend far westward into

the continent. Both of them are fruitful, producing abundance of rice and millet, and breed great quantities of cattle. The inhabitants of both are mostly *Mohammedans*, but intermixed with Negroes, who are Idolaters, and are remarkable for the lowness of their stature. They go naked from the middle upwards; the rest they wrap up with pieces of silk and cotton, wear a turban, or go bare headed, according to their circumstances. They are all given to traffick, and chiefly with the kingdoms of *Quiloa*, *Mombaso*, *Melinda*, and *Monomotapa*, and in much the same sort of merchandizes.

These are all the particulars we know of these kingdoms, and that only with relation to the sea-coast; but of the inland we know still less, except that the inhabitants are a brutish generation, who go stark naked, and live chiefly on the flesh of elephants and other wild beasts (1).

(5) *De his vid. Od. Barbof. ubi sup. Pigafet Congo. lib. ii. c. 28. Linschot. Guin. c. 7. Le Blanc. pt. 2. c. 5. Davity, Dapper, La Croix, & al.*

a It labours however under a scarcity of fresh water, having only one spring to supply it, *In want of water.* which rises among some palmtrees at a small distance from the town, but which is quickly exhausted : so that they are obliged to fetch most of it from a place called *Cabbacero*, on the continent, and to preserve it in large earthen jars. They have likewise very large cisterns to receive all the rain water they can, both for their kitchen and their gardens.

b THE island of *Mosambico*, though the largest of the three, is nevertheless very small, not being above two bow-shots in breadth, and above six in length, and about two miles from the continent. The bay is about three miles in circuit, so that the points of land on each side advance into the sea. The other two of *St. George* and *St. James*, lie on each side of it, facing the continent, in a direct line with it. Over-against that of *St. George*, and about a mile from it, is the cape called by the *Portuguese* *Cabo Cetra*, which is a small peninsula, joined to the continent by a small neck of land, which is covered with the sea at high, but is fordable at low water. There are some smaller islands between that and the head-land, *Several other inhabited by Mohammedans, the most considerable of which are those of St. Christopher, of the Holy Ghost, Magliaglia, Comorro, Anzama, and Majotta.* The bay, which serves for a haven both for the islands and continent, is convenient and safe, seldom having less than eight or ten fathom depth of water, and that so clear that one may see every bank, rock, and shallow, and may sail into it without a pilot. To make the town of *Mosambico*, one must sail between those of *St. George* and *St. James*, and the continent, leaving the former on the right, and the latter on the left, from south to north ; by this rout one comes safely and easily to the fort, and the ships lie sheltered from every wind ^c.

d THE city of *Mosambico*, according to the *Dutch* pilot *Verbeoven's* journal, is very handsome, the houses well built, especially the churches and convents, and the fort or castle is about a musket-shot from the town. Much the same description of it is given by captain *Paul Caerden*, last quoted, who adds, that the convent of the *Dominicans* is likewise an hospital for the sick ; and great need there is for such a place, considering the inhabitants of the island, and the number of ships which winter there in bad seasons, besides those which pass to and from the *East-Indies*. The fort is likewise one of the strongest and best contrived the *Portuguese* have on this coast. It is of a square form, and each corner is flanked by a bulwark, with some pieces of artillery, which are a sufficient fence both to the town and haven. It is surrounded with a threefold rampart, and a large ditch, and hath withstood all the attempts of the *Dutch* against it ^d. *The city described.*

e UPON the whole, this port of *Mosambico* is, as it were, the key of the *East-Indies* to the *Portuguese*, which, if once lost, or wrested from them by any *European* trading nation, they would hardly be able to carry on that extensive commerce, it being almost impossible to continue their voyage without such a place for making fresh provision of water, and other necessaries, for refreshing their men, or even to winter in, as they often do, though against their will, when the weather will not permit them to proceed. To all this we may add, that it is also of great importance to them, as it is now become a means to keep so many kingdoms in awe, both along the coast and the adjacent islands, who are either their allies, or tributary to them ; and secures to them the free, if not the sole, commerce with those of *Sofala* and *Monomotapa*, whence they export such quantities of gold and other rich commodities. We need not therefore wonder at the *Dutch* having made so many strenuous, though hitherto fruitless, attempts to wrest it out of their hands, particularly *ann.* 1606, when *Paul Van Caerden* their admiral laid siege to it, with 40 stout ships ; but, after thirty-two days, finding all his efforts frustrated, was glad to raise it again, and continue his voyage to the *Indies* ^e. *The importance of it to the Portuguese.*

f THE soil of the island, like that of the shore, is nothing else but a white barren sand ; yet have the richer sort found means to procure an artificial one in several parts of the island, on which grow very fine citrons, oranges, ananas, figs, and such-like fruits, notwithstanding their great scarcity of water : but the far greater part of their other fruits, pulse, roots, and other esculents, are brought thither from the continent.

It is far otherwise at land, where the ground is fat and fertile in rice, millet, variety of roots, pulse, fruits, and plants. Among others of this last kind, they have one called by the *Portuguese* *Pao D'Antak*, antak wood, which spreads itself along the ground not unlike the *aristolochum longum*, and bears a grain like our pease, but somewhat longer and more soft, of a green colour. But the chief virtue lies in the root, which, as they say, is a sovereign remedy against the distemper of that name, which is occasioned by a too great familiarity of the *Europeans* with the Negro women of that country ; that being the only remedy ^f. *Antak distemper and remedy.*

^b LINSCHOT. Guin. c. 8. MONETH. voyage, & al. ^c P. CAERDEN 2 voyag. in India. RAMUS. LA MARTINIÈRE, JARRIC, & al. ^d P. VAN CAERDEN, DAVITY, LA CROIX, & al. sup. citat. ^e PAUL CAERDEN'S voyage into India,

Liquors.

they know against it^c. They make likewise several pleasant liquors from their fruits; but the most common among them is made of millet, and called *Huyembo*, or *Puembo*^f.

Wild beasts,
fowls, &c.

THEY likewise breed vast quantities of cattle, large and small, particularly sheep with large tails, often mentioned in this and other volumes. They swarm with wild beasts of various kinds, as stags and wild boars, but especially elephants, which are so fierce and destructive, that the inhabitants are obliged to kindle large fires round their sown fields, to prevent their being devoured by them. Neither dare they stir far from their homes, without lighted torches or firebrands in their hands, to frighten them away; and even with these they have much ado to save themselves from being destroyed, especially by those of the female kind which have young ones. The woods are likewise filled with wild fowl of all sorts, and particularly with a kind of wild poultry, not unlike our common sort, b excepting that they are as large as our turkies, spotted with white and grey, though with smaller heads in proportion, and short combs, but thicker, and of a more vivid red than ours. Their flesh is black, but delicious above all other fowl, as their hogs, which are here in great abundance, are above all other flesh; insomuch that the physicians not only permit but prescribe them to their patients, when they forbid them all other kinds. As to the fowl above-mentioned, it is not only delicious but healthy; and some of them eat them quite raw without reluctance or inconveniency. The only defect it hath is its blackness, which is such, that when boiled it turns the broth of the same disgusting hue, not unlike ink; but it makes ample amends for it in its exquisite taste and flavour, as well as by the wholesome nourishment which it yields^e.

The means
made use of to
carry on their
commerce.

THE country hath likewise rich mines of gold, which is washed down by their rivers in great quantities, and makes a chief part of its commerce. Ivory, ebony, slaves, and cattle, are likewise exchanged for *European* goods, such as little bells, knives, scissars, and razors. These last are so valued among them, that they will give fifteen cows for one of them^a. They have also some mines of silver and other metals, but the inhabitants make no traffick of them: and indeed are so mistrustful of strangers, that they care not to have any dealings with them, but confine themselves wholly to the coasters, to whom they convey their merchandizes in little boats made of a single piece of timber. This is their usual way of conveying them along these coasts; but if the nature or quantity of their cargo requires a more capacious vessel, they commonly make them of planks, joined together with ropes d made of the bark of palm-trees, without the assistance of nails or wooden pegs, which they either know not or neglect the use of; and, upon their return, they can untie the boards, and set them out to dry, against the next occasion.

The barbarous
disposition of
the inhabit-
ants.

THE *Portuguese* however, of whom they stand in awe, are the only *Europeans* who are admitted into some of their sea-ports, whence they export, besides the commodities already mentioned, silver, copper, wax, rice, and other provisions: but to all other *Europeans* they refuse all kind of access on any pretence.

The inhabit-
ants cruel and
treacherous.

THE truth is, the further one advances into the continent, the more fierce and brutish one finds them. They all go naked, men and women, and only cover their middle before and behind with a piece of cotton cloth, or with a broad leaf. So unnatural are they to e one another, that the fathers will sell their children for slaves, for a shirt, a knife, some glass beads, or such other trinkets, and feast on the flesh of those whom they take prisoners in war. They are treacherous, thievish, and malicious, but stout and fit for labour, and seem designed by nature for slavery, which is a condition less dreadful to them than it is to the inhabitants of the opposite or western coast, as those of *Kongo*, *Angola*, *Loango*, &c. which will be taken notice of in a subsequent part. And as this continent is divided into a variety of lordships or petty kingdoms (B), who have each a particular language or dialect, and are frequently at war one with another, it is no wonder that such a commerce for slaves is carried on between them and the coasters. For these petty tyrants make a considerable gain of the prisoners they make, whether they condemn them to be sold for slaves, f or for meat for the shambles, according as they will fetch the greatest price.

^a Idem Ibid.^f TEXEIRA gen. de Perf. lib. i. c. 6. DAVITY, & al. sup. citat.

CROIX, DAPPER, & al. citat.

Guin. c. 3. & al. ub. sup.

^b PYRAR. DAP. DAVIT. tom. ii. c. 17. SANUT. lib. 12. LINSCHOT.ⁱ LINSCHOT. ub. sup.^e DAVITY, LA

(B) We know little or nothing of their policy or government; whether these lordships are hereditary or elective, nor whether they have any laws beyond the will of their petty kings; it being next to impossible to penetrate into these inland parts; and the natives, who come to the coasts to traffick, being exceedingly brutish, mistrustful, and incommunicative. However, we may safely suppose that they make at the best but an incon-

siderable figure, if we may judge of them by that which a son of one of them made at *Mosambico*, who being brought thither by mere curiosity, and, as he said himself, to know why his father and brother were Negroes, and he white, came attended only with some slaves, and was glad to take up with the mean entertainment which his new host *Monf. Mouquet* could afford to give him, during his stay in his little cabin.

(4) See the 2d volume of his voyages, lib. iv. See also Davity, La Croix, Dapper, & al.

THOUGH

- a THOUGH they affect to go naked, yet they are not without their fondness for various kinds of finery, such as collars, bracelets on their arms and legs, whether of gold, silver, ivory, coloured glass, or other materials, according to their rank. They likewise affect to have very protuberant lips; and, to render them the more so, will fix pieces of flat gold, amber, or bone, one above the upper, and the other under the nether lip, which is esteemed as rich an ornament to their black faces, as their fine white teeth. They have also a way of painting their bodies with a kind of red earth, especially upon some grand meetings or festivities, which gives them a very grim appearance, though they esteem it as a mark of their courage and fierceness. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, the hatchet and the dagger, together with any other kind they can procure by the way of traffick. *Linschoten*, who did not penetrate into the inland country, affirms them to be partly idolaters, and partly *Mohammedans*; but what *Pyrard* says of them is the most probable; viz. That they have no religion at all, but only, like the rest of the *Cassers*, observe some superstitious customs, not worthy to bear that name; and it is on the coasts alone, that many of them, by conversing with the *Arabs*, have been induced to become *Mohammedans*. We do not read of any manufactures or trades among them, except that of making their canoes, which we have already described, and that of weaving a kind of mats, which they do with some neatness, and of various sorts, and sell them afterwards to the coasts, whence they are exported to several parts of *India*.

- IF, therefore, we rightly weigh all the advantages of this island and its continent, its port, bay, and excellent situation, as at a middle distance, and a kind of place of refreshment for the *East-India* ships from *Goa* to *Lisbon*, or from *Lisbon* to *Goa*, we need not wonder that the *Portuguese* should so readily pitch upon it for that purpose, after their contest with *Ibrahim* the king of *Quiloa*, lately mentioned, had obliged them to abandon it; much less at their preferring this to any other they had upon the coast, and forbidding all their *India* ships to land, refit, or refresh at any other port but this of *Mosambico*. For, considering the vast length of the voyage between *Lisbon* and *Goa*, the great inconveniencies and dangers the vessels are exposed to from the inclemency of the various climates, and intolerable heats they go through, the boisterous seas they cross, the hardships and diseases which men are liable to, whether through want or badness of provisions, not to mention a great variety of other accidents and disasters, which happen frequently to the men, the ships, or cargoes, during a voyage of seven or eight months, all which make it next to impossible to perform it at one stretch, especially as they are so large and heavy laden, as to take so many fathoms of water, it was, in a great measure, absolutely necessary to make sure of some convenient harbour, as near as they could, in the half-way between those two capitals; but much more still after their doubling the *Cape of Good Hope* in their going out, and sailing by the dangerous coast of *Natal*, for them to put into, and find a supply for all their wants, and a remedy for all their disasters. And so well doth this of *Mosambico* answer all those ends, that the kings of *Portugal* have spared no cost to fortify and garrison it against all attempts, and to provide it with a noble hospital for the sick, and a well-stored magazine, with all necessaries for the shipping, though the charge of keeping them up often exceeds the revenues arising from it. The next section will shew still some farther advantages which these places yield to them.

S E C T. IV.

The history of the kingdom of Sofala.

- f SAILING still farther southward, along the eastern coast of *Africa*, one comes from that of *Zanguebar* to that of *Sofala*, or *Sefalo*, or, as others write it, *Zephala*, and *Sofala de-Cephala*, that famous and opulent kingdom, which, for its rich golden mines, hath been supposed by several learned men to be the *Ophir* whence king *Solomon* drew yearly such prodigious quantities of that precious metal^a.

- IT is, properly speaking, a continued coast, extending itself from the river *Cuama* on the north, to that of *Magnico*, since called *Rio de Spirito Santo*, on the south; that is, from the 17th to the 25th degree of south latitude; and having the *Cape Corientes* (not in the middle, between these two rivers, as some geographers have placed it^b, but) about two degrees south of the latter, according to the latest observations^c. It is bounded on the east by the *Indian* sea, and on the west by the empire of *Monomotapa*; and hath its name from its capital, which *D'Herbelot* calls *Sofalat Al Dheheb*, which, in the *Arabic*, signifies a low or hollow place, where is gold, or, more properly, a golden mine*. We must, however, observe here, with respect to the limits of this kingdom, that a late geographer, upon the

^a 1 Kings x. 14, & seq. & alib.^b DAPPER.^c D'ANVILLE.

* Biblioth. Orient.

authority of some new observations, hath, in his map of *Eastern Ethiopia*†, reduced it into a much narrower compass, and, in all likelihood, great alteration may have been made to them since the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* writers, of which we have had no particular account; for which reason we shall think ourselves obliged to subjoin them in the margin, according as they are fixed in the said map, for the satisfaction of our curious *English* readers (A).

A. D. 1500. As to the metropolis of *Sofala* above-mentioned, it was, at the first arrival of the *Portuguese*, but an inconsiderable town, neither large nor walled, but fenced only with a thorny hedge, but hath been since fortified, and, in every respect else, very much improved by them, and called *Cuama*, as well as the fort, which they built for its defence; but that name hath been since obliterated, and both pilots and geographers have retained its old one of *Sofala*.^b

Situation of the capital. IT is conveniently situated on a small island at the mouth of the *Cuama* above-mentioned; and besides it there are two other towns on the coast, one called *Haulema*, and the other *Dardema*, and the villages of *Savona*, *Bocha*, and *Gasta*, and some others, all of them mean, and worthy of no farther notice^d.

Gnaia the Portuguese admiral builds a fort upon the island. FRANCESCO GNAIA, or, as others call him, *Anaga*, the *Portuguese* admiral of the *East-India* fleet, was the first who came to anchor at *Sofala*, with four of his smallest vessels, the other two being so large that they could not enter the port, and obtained of the king, whom *Marmol* calls *Jusef*, a *Mohammedan*, and then blind with old age, the liberty of building a fortress near it, which, he said, would be of great service to his majesty, as well as to himself. This favour, however, appears to have been granted to him at the recommendation of one *Zacote*, an *Arabian*, wholly in the interest of the *Portuguese*, and in great credit and authority with the old prince, and helped both to forward that work, sent them intelligence of every thing that passed at court, and informed them of every particular relating to the nature of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants. This fortress, of whatever service it may have been to the good old king and his successors, hath proved of the greatest importance to the *Portuguese*, as it is a safe harbour for their ships sailing to and from *India*, as well as to secure their commerce with the *Cassers* of the inland; which is very considerable, as it consists in gold, ambergris, slaves, and elephants teeth, which they exchange for silk, stuffs, cotton, glass beads of various makes and colours, and other such trinkets. Both the fortress and the island, as tributary to the king of *Portugal*, are under the direction and government of *Mosambico*, spoken of in the foregoing section^c.

Its utility to the Portuguese.

Commerce with the Cassers.

River Cuama, al. Zenbere. THE river *Cuama*, on the mouth of which the city and fortress of *Sofala* are situate, had its name given to it by the *Portuguese* from that of the fort, which they likewise called *Cuama* at the first, or rather, as they pronounced it, *Cowama* (B); but is by the *Arabs* and *Negroes* called *Zembere* and *Empondo*. Its head-spring hath not hitherto been discovered by the *Europeans*, but it surrounds in some measure the kingdom of *Monomotapa*, dividing it on the west from that of *Abutua*, on the north from those of *Chicour*, *Sacomba*, and *Mauruca*. It receives in its course, among others of lesser note, the *Mangania*, *Mazeno*, and *Suabo*, and, dividing itself into two branches, discharges itself into the *Indian* sea, at four mouths, from north to south, distinguished by as many names; viz. *Kilimano*, *Linda*, *Cuama*, and *Luava*; or, according to others, the *Penbamez*, *Lunagoa*, *Arruyga*, *Manjovo*, *Guadire*, and *Rueriva*.^e

The Magnico; THE other river was called formerly *Magnico*, and by the *Portuguese* *Rio del Lagos*: but has since the name of *Rio del Santo Spirito* given it by *Laurence Marsbes*. Its source is not better known than that of the *Cuama*, but is supposed by some geographers to be the same with it; viz. the lake *Goyama*; and that, after a short course, it divides itself into the two streams or branches above-mentioned; the southern one of which was therefore called *Rio*

† D'ANVILLE. ^d SANUT. LINSCHOT. RAMUS. MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 2. & seq. OSSOR. lib. iv. DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. & alib. ^e Id. ibid.

(A) According to the above-mentioned map, *Sofala* is bounded on the north by the kingdom of *Monomotapa*; on the east by the *Indian* sea; on the south by the kingdom of *Sabia*; and that of *Manico* on the west; so this last, in which are the richest mines, as was formerly part of *Sofala*, hath now changed its master, and become probably tributary to it, as that once was to the great one of *Monomotapa*, and is divided from it on that side by the river *Wadanculo*, which runs from west to east, and falls into the *Indian* sea. There is another which runs across the kingdom from west to east, and takes its name from it, and falls into the sea near the city of *Sofala*. Between those two rivers run four or five others, one of which is called *Te-be*.

The king hath his residence on the western part of the kingdom, on the banks of the *Sofala*. Besides the fortress of that name, the *Portuguese* have built another about the middle on the same coast, named *Inbaguea*.

The same map adds two islands on this coast, one called *Bango*, on the mouth of the *Te-be*, and the other on that of the *Sephala*. This is all that is most remarkably new in it, with respect to this kingdom.

(B) The name of *Cuama*, *Cowama*, or, as others write it, *Quama*, was given to the river from a fort built on the mouth of it by the *Turks*; after which the *Portuguese* called it *Rio de los Lagos*, on supposition that this and the *Magnico* sprung both from one lake, and soon after divided themselves into two streams or arms (1).

(1) *Vid. Jo. de Barros, lib. x. c. 1. Davity, Dapper, De Lisle, D'Anville, & al.*

- a *de los Lagos*, or the river of the lakes, but still retains its old name of *Magnico*. Nothing can be affirmed concerning these two rivers descending from the same lake, and being branches of one and the same river. However, this we are sure of, that the *Cuama* is by much the larger and deeper of the two, being increased by the three large rivers above-mentioned, and by several others not much inferior to them, is navigable above 150 leagues, and hath many large islands, besides those formed by its several mouths ^f. It likewise washes down great quantities of gold, which the Negroes gather, when the rivers are low, ^{gold found in} by diving into such nooks as they know, by long practice, to have the greatest plenty in ^{it}. them, and bringing the mud out of them, which, being properly levigated, discover the metal in large or small grains, as it happens; and more a great deal might be found of it, ^{gold found in}
- b were they not such idle wretches that nothing can make them work but extremity of hunger and want ^g.

THE three principal capes on the coast of *Sofala*, are called *Corientes*, *St. Catherine*, and *The chief St. Sebastian*. The former of them, situate under the 23d degree of south latitude, is noted ^{as} for the many rocks, sands, and shelves, which lie between it and the isle of *St. Lawrence*, or *Madagascar*, and which cause frequent shipwrecks along that chanel. The rest of the land from the said cape to the mouth of the *Cuama* is called *Matuca*, and hath some gold mines, not far from the town of *Sofala*, and in the precinct called *Manico*.

- c THE inland part of the kingdom doth not extend itself far westward, being squeezed on that side by that of *Monomotapa*. *Marmol* computes it to be in compass 750 leagues ^h. The temperature, soil, and produce of it are much the same with that of *Zanguebar*; excepting ^{Soil and pro-} that as it is by so much farther from the line, its heat is nothing so excessive, and the land ^{duce} is more fertile in rice, millet, and pasturage. But the most abounding part in this last lies between the *Cape Corientes* and the river *de Santo Spirito*, where the greatest quantities of cattle are bred, especially of the larger kind, the inhabitants having scarcely any other fuel but ^{Scarcity of} cows dung, the country being much exposed to the southerly winds, which are equally ^{fuel} piercing on that, as our northern ones are on this side of the line. And here it is also that ^{Vast number of} the elephants herd in large droves, and are killed in such prodigious quantities (their flesh ^{elephants killed} being the chief food of the common people) that, according to their report, they seldom ^{starly} destroy less than between four and five thousand one year with another; which is in a great
- d measure confirmed by the vast quantity of ivory which is thence exported by the *Europeans* ⁱ.

- THE other part of the country on the contrary, that is, from the cape above-mentioned, quite up to the *Cuama*, and especially all along that river, abounds with mountains, covered with large woods; the vallies are watered with variety of springs and small rivulets, are very fertile and agreeable, and is that quarter in which the king and court spend the greatest part of the year. Among other delightful advantages of this part, it enjoys, we are told, such an odoriferous verdure, that, the coasts being low on that side, the fragancy which exhales therefrom is frequently perceived by mariners at a great distance, before the land itself appears. The soil of the province of *Matuca* is rich and fertile; but from the cape of *Corientes* to the river of *Santo Spirito*, it is rough and barren, and less inhabited, except by
- e elephants, lions, and other wild creatures ^k.

- THE natives of *Sofala* are for the most part black, with short curled hair, there being but very few tawny or brown amongst them. Their shape is taller and more genteel than that of the Negroes of *Mosambico*, *Quiloa*, &c. and those who live near the cape of *Corientes* are esteemed the most courteous of any of the *Caffers* that inhabit the coast from thence to that of *Good Hope*. Their common dress is the same with those of *Mosambico*, a piece of ^{Dress of the} silk or cotton, wrapped round their middle, and covering them down to the knees, all the ^{inhabitants} rest of the body being naked, except the head, the better sort wearing a kind of turban ^{Ornaments} upon it; and all of them adorn their neck, arms, wrists, legs, and ankles, with rings of gold, silver, amber, or coloured beads, according to their condition. These stuffs and
- f trinkets are mostly brought to them from *Bombay* by the *Portuguese*; and those of the better sort affect to wear swords with handles of ivory. All the coasters speak the *Arabic language*, tongue, which is their natural language; for, as we have before observed, they are not the original natives, but the descendants of the *Arabs*, who left their native country, and settled themselves more or less upon the western coasts. But as these of *Sofala*, as well as most of the rest, carry on a commerce with the *Caffers*, they likewise understand their language as well as the *Portuguese*, since these last have settled among them ^l.

- THEY cultivate plenty of rice and millet, which serve them for bread; and eat the flesh ^{diet} of elephants, large and small cattle, besides fish, of which both the sea and rivers yield a great plenty and variety. They have likewise their beer made of rice and millet, and some ^{and drink} other liquors made of honey, palm, and other fruits: the honey is here in such plenty, that a
- g

^f MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 30. RAMUS. DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. See also DE LISLE and D'ANVILLE's maps. ^g MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 30. ^h Ubi sup. ⁱ Idem ibid. & al. sup. citat. ^k DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. ubi sup. ^l L'IGAFET Congo, lib. ii. c. 8. OD BARBOS, DAVITY, & al.

The great profit arising from their commerce for gold.

They invite the Arabs to trade with them.

Rich gold mines.

Sofala supposed to be the ancient Ophir.

Warlike weapons.

Forces.

great part of it lies neglected; no more being gathered by the indolent people than serves a that purpose, or for extracting so much wax out of it as will procure them painted cotton or silk, and other cloths in exchange. For tho' they make great quantities of white cloths, they have not yet the art of dying them, and are obliged to send them, or at least their thread, to be died in *Cambay* or other places, of such colours as are most in vogue amongst them^m. They are often forced to buy the printed cloths, and undo the thread of them, in order to mix it in with their striped stuffs, when they cannot procure it from abroad. Their chief commerce here is with the inhabitants of *Mosambico*, *Quiloa*, *Mombaso*, and *Melinda*, who come hither in their sambucs or small barges, which are freighted with variety of the above-mentioned cloths of all colours, and they exchange them for gold, ivory, wax, or ambergrise; which the *Sofalans* usually go and exchange with the *Monomotapans* for gold, b not by weight, but in such quantities as shall satisfy the seller; so that the profit of the exchange amounts commonly to above 90 or 95 per cent. And this is the reason, that when the *Sofalans* perceive any of these vessels at sea, they signify their joy, and bid them welcome by lighting fires on the shore.

BUT besides the gold which they draw from *Monomotapa*, the kingdom of *Sofala* hath some very considerable mines of that valuable metal, and which, by the report of the *Portuguese* inhabitants, yield to the value of above two millions of metigals yearly (each metigal valued at about 14 *French* livres); and that the merchantmen from *Zidem*, *Mecca*, and other parts, export, in time of peace, about the same quantity from the same mines. We are farther told, that the governor of *Mosambico*'s salary, whose place lasts only three c years, amounted to 300,000 crowns, exclusive of the pay of his troops, and the yearly tribute he is obliged to send to the king of *Portugal*, which *Davity* calls a third part of its product. As for the soldiery, they are paid in gold dust, each according to his rank. And the same author farther assures us, that this gold, which is paid them just as it is gathered, is so pure, and of so fine a yellow, that ours, compared to it, appears little better than copper. Hence it is, that *Mouquet* hath, after other learned men, ventured to affirm, that it was from these mines that *Solomon* had his, which is so highly commended by the sacred historian; and that this kingdom of *Sofala* is the *Ophir* celebrated by themⁿ; this being allowed to be the purest and finest in all *Africa* (C).

AT the first arrival of the *Portuguese* into these parts, the people used no other warlike d weapons than the scymitar, the javelin, the bow and arrow, to which they sometimes added the dagger and the hatchet. But they have been since taught the use of fire-arms both small and great^o, and are become very dexterous in the use of them. Their king keeps a great number of forces in pay, but the *Portuguese* are become so powerful that they keep the whole kingdom in awe; and their chief governor keeps his vessels of observation to prevent what they have now made an illicit trade, particularly that of the exportation of gold without his special licence^p.

^m Idem ibid. DAPPER, & alib. DAVITY, & al.

ⁿ MOUQUET, lib. iv.

^o OSSOR: lib. iv. MARMOL, ubi sup.

^p Idem ibid.

(C) Some of the patrons of this hypothesis, will even affirm it to be the finest in the world. But that is said gratis; it being well known that that of *Japan* not only equals but greatly exceeds it. We shall however go no farther out of our way after that trite controversy (5), but refer our reader to what we have said upon it (6). What falls under our present subject is, that there are still remaining, in the neighbourhood of the mines of *Sofala*, some ancient squat towers and ruins of stately edifices, of large square stones, one of them with inscriptions over the gate, in a character or hieroglyphic, which no one hath been able hitherto to decypher. From whence the partisans of this hypothesis conjecture, that those edifices were palaces or castles built by that opulent king of *Israel*. But is not the unintelligibleness of those characters rather a strong argument against such a supposition? We never hear of *Solomon*'s having been in those parts, nor of his having built any fortresses, or made any conquests either here or any-where but in the neighbourhood of *Judea*; and if he had caused any inscriptions to be set up upon any of his edifices, is it possible they should have become unintelligible or undecypherable? May we not therefore suppose from this last circumstance,

that they were hieroglyphics, and most likely set up by some of the *Gymnosophists* of the isle of *Meroe*, or by some of the learned priests of *Egypt*, some of whose monarchs carried their conquests as far as these remote parts of *Ethiopia*, for the sake of those valuable mines, but might probably afterwards abandon them, on account of their great distance from their native dominions (7).

The *Portuguese*, on the contrary, tell us, that the towers and fortresses above-mentioned resemble others which are still extant in some provinces of the empire of *Abissinia*; whence they conclude they may probably have been the work of some *Abissinian* monarch, who was then master of the gold mines. This region or province the *Abissines* call *Acachuma*, and pretend it was the residence of the queen of *Sheba*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Achuma*, and says it was well known in his time, on account of its rich gold mines; and it is there that he fixes the end or limits of the fourth parts of the habitable world §. All these put together, afford us a more probable conjecture concerning the origin of those ancient edifices, than that which ascribes it to king *Solomon*; but we have dwelt long enough on that subject (8).

(5) De hoc, vide Huet, de Navig. Antiq.

lib. ix. c. 31. Ramus. Le Blanc, voy p. 2. c. 5. Mouquet, lib. iv. & al. mult.

(6) See Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 170. & 800 (R).

(7) Marmol.

§ Mælem. Geogr. lib. iv.

(8) De his, vide Marmol, & Le Blanc, & al. sup. citat.

^a THE *Mohammedan* religion is, according to *Pigafet*, and the generality of *Dutch* writers ^{Religion partly}, that of the king and court, and of a great part of the people, and accordingly *Ossorio* styles ^{Mohammedans and partly} them *Saracens* and *Mohammedans*. But it is more likely, as *Jarric* observes ^{ly}, that the original natives live wholly without any, good or bad; and the *Arabs* alone, who settled on this coast, are the only *Mohammedans*, except some few profelytes they may have made amongst those Negroes, for the sake of commerce, seeing all the merchants who come hither from *Quiloa*, *Mombase*, *Melinda*, &c. are of that religion. The *Arabs*, who had brought that religion with them, and been settled on that coast above two centuries, might be grown powerful enough, in that time, to have a king of their own probably, at the least tributary to, and under the protection of, the emperor of *Monomotapa*, and have been able to subdue the inland natives, without forcing their religion upon them: especially, if what *Marmol* says be true, that though they use no outward act of religion, have neither idols, altars, nor sacrifices, yet they acknowledge one supreme being, whom they call *Mozimo*, or *Guinguimo*, but abhor the idolatrous rites and other fortileges of the rest of the *African* Negroes, and their priests, and punish them with the utmost severity among them; not so much out of a religious principle, as because they think them destructive to society ¹. And may they not have been taught all this, and more, by their *Mohammedan* masters?

FOR in the next place they punish two other crimes with the same rigour; viz. theft and adultery; and so severe are they with respect to this last, that they make it death for any man to be found sitting upon a sofa or mat with a married woman, though they allow of polygamy in as great extent as the *Turks* do, and with much the same subordination both of the wives and their children. They never marry a woman till she hath had her monthly courses, as deeming her incapable of having children till then; at which time the family makes a kind of rejoicing and festivity in her favour ². ^{Theft and adultery severely punished. Polygamy allowed. Women when marriageable.}

IF they have any thing like a religious ceremony, it is in observing some particular days of the moon, as the 1st, 6th, 7th, 11th, 16th, &c. on which they pay a kind of offering to their dead friends, particularly to their parents, whose bones, after the flesh is consumed (D), they preserve in a place appropriated to that use; and, in remembrance of their owing their being to them, set plenty of victuals before them, and make their requests to them, as if still alive, the chief of which is for the preservation of the king's life and prosperity. Their petitions ended, they sit down in their white garments, which is the proper colour on these occasions, and eat up what had been served to the dead, which concludes the ceremony for that time ³. All this however may imply nothing more than a mere civil respect paid to their parents, ancestors, and other near relations, in the same manner as we have seen it practised in a much politer country, that of the *Chinese* ⁴, and instituted at first for wise and good purposes; seeing nothing can be well thought more effectual to curb the irregular passions of surviving children, than a firm belief that their deceased parents, ancestors, and near relations, are still present with them, and watchful over all their actions, in order to bless or chastise them suitably to their behaviour. As to the petition offered to them for the king's life and prosperity, we are not told directly whether it be intended for the king of *Sofala*, or for that of *Monomotapa*, to whom he was formerly, and a great number of others ⁵ are still, tributary. The latter seems however the most rational, as it is still practised by them, there being hardly any nation that pays a deeper regard to their prince than the subjects of that large empire, as we shall shew in the next section. Hence we may conclude, that the *Sofalans* had this custom from the *Monomotapans*, and observed it as long as they continued under his obedience; that is, till the *Portuguese* came and settled in these parts, and withdrew them from their obedience, in order to render them more serviceable to their own ends. ^{Ceremonies towards the dead; a mere civil and wise institution. The king of Sofala once subject to Monomotapa;}

WE are told accordingly by *Pigafet* ⁶, that one of those *Mohammedan* kings revolted from their ancient allegiance, and put himself under the protection of the king of *Portugal*. And ^{but revolted from his allegiance.}

¹ Congo, lib. ii. c. 9. SPILBERG, & al. ² Thesaur. Ind. lib. iv. ³ Ubi sup. c. 32. ⁴ MARMOL, ibid. ⁵ Idem ibid. ⁶ See before, vol. iii. p. 628, & seq. ⁷ MARMOL, ubi sup. ⁸ Congo, lib. ii. c. 8.

(D) The *French* translator of *Marmol*, or his reviser, adds here in the margin *ou mangé*, or eaten; and it must be owned that his author represents some of the *Sofalans* as a kind of unnatural cannibals, who not only feed upon human flesh, but also drink the blood of some of their cattle, which they bleed for that purpose. We shall have occasion in the sequel to mention some whole kingdoms of still greater monsters of barbarity, and in the heart of *Africa*, whose greatest dainties are

the bodies of their enemies and captives, whom they slay in great numbers; and, after having satiated themselves with their flesh, are emulous who shall drink the greatest quantity of their blood. But we can by no means persuade ourselves that these we are upon, and who, in other respects, appear to be more civilized, should use themselves to such brutish customs, as is there insinuated, of eating the flesh of their parents and relations, especially under a *Mohammedan* government (9).

(9) See D'Ablandcourt's marginal note on *Marmol*, lib. ix. c. 32, sub initio.

we have elsewhere had occasion to mention the singular and hospitable reception which his admiral *Gnaia* met with at his first landing in this kingdom, from the old blind monarch then upon the throne, and his obtaining leave of him to build a fort near his capital^a; which (whether he was the same with that mentioned before or not) plainly shews his readiness to take the first opportunity that was offered to him to shake off the *Monomotapan* yoke. And might not this have been likewise the main motive which the *Portuguese* commander used to engage him to comply with his request, which he full well foresaw would prove an effectual means, on some pretence or other, of stripping the old dotard of his capital and kingdom, and seizing both for his own master, as it actually did, in the manner we are now going to relate, from one of their own writers^b?

THE reader may remember the account we have given at the beginning of this section, of the first arrival of *Gnaia*, or *Anaya*, at *Sofala*, and of the kind reception he met with from the good old *Mohammedan* king *Jusef*, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the *Arabs* against his landing, the dangers, they told him, he must run, before he could reach the royal palace, and the difficulty he would find to get access to the king. *Gnaia*, who had been before informed by his friend *Zacote*, who had already secured him a singular welcome, sailed forward, and accordingly met with all the success he wished for, the king not only granting him free leave to build the desired fortrefs, but, as a farther token of his regard to his nation, delivered up to him about a score of his countrymen, who had been lately shipwrecked on that coast, and of whom he had taken the most hospitable care.

Reception of the Portuguese disapproved by the king's son-in-law.

THE king had a son-in-law named *Mengo Muçaf*, a brave warlike prince, who made no scruple to lay before him his present apprehensions at his reception and admittance of those strangers into his dominions, and much more so at his permitting them to fortify themselves in them, at the imminent hazard of his own and his subjects safety. The old king contented himself, whatever his views might be, with dissipating his fears, and telling him that time, which brings forth all things, would quickly discover to him his motives for thus encouraging these so much dreaded strangers. You will, continued he, in a little time, perceive them dwindled into nothing, through the heat and inclemency of a climate they are unaccustomed to; and then it will be time enough to drive them out of their fort, if they do not abandon it of their own accord. The kind reception I have given them was merely to remove all suspicion from them of my design. So the prince acquiesced to his reasons, and the work of the fortrefs was carried on with double vigour, the king having ordered his subjects to give it all possible forwardness^c. But what most alarmed his majesty, and obliged him to alter his measures, was the pathetic remonstrances of his faithful *Mohammedan* merchants, to awaken him to a sense of his imminent danger from the well-known perfidy of the *Portuguese* nation.

The king's wife answer to him.

Forwards the building of the fortrefs.

The merchants address against it.

Pathetic speech to him.

The king is alarmed against them.

Resolves to destroy them.

WE have already had occasion to mention more than once the strenuous opposition which the *Arabians* settled on this eastern coast made against the preposterous encouragement which some of these princes, particularly those of *Quiloa* and *Mombaso*, gave to these new comers. They made the same strenuous struggle here against the weakness of their superannuated monarch, and addressing themselves to him in a body, reminded him of the repeated warnings they had given him of the treacherous views of the *Portuguese*, who, under the mask of friendship, conceal the most wicked designs. "To what end," said they, "do they build a fort in your dominions, but to increase their own power, in order to strip you of yours, together with your kingdom. Have they not, by the like artifices, expelled the king of *Quiloa*, and robbed many other princes in *Afric* and *India* of their dominions? In short, where have they ever got a footing without leaving numberless traces of their villainy and cruelty? If therefore you have any regard for your safety and welfare, destroy them before they are become too powerful for you, lest it should not hereafter be in your power to avert the ruin and destruction which they will bring upon yourself and kingdom^d."

This speech had the desired effect, and the alarmed monarch began now to see his folly and danger, and to think of the properest means to avoid it. He accordingly gathered a sufficient number of troops, and appointed a day to fall upon the *Portuguese*, whilst they were employed in building their fort. Unhappily for him, the *Arabians* had a traitor among them, whom we lately mentioned, under the name of *Zacote*, or *Acote* (E), who betrayed all his secrets to them, and failed not on this occasion to send them timely notice of his designs against them; which gave *Gnaia* an opportunity of getting himself and his men in a

^a See before, p. 362.

^b OSSORIO, lib. iv.

^c MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 34.

^d OSSORIO, lib. iv.

(E) This villain was originally of *Abissinian* extract; but having been taken prisoner when young, by the *Mohammedans* of *Sofala*, had embraced their religion, and, by his address, had raised himself to the highest

degree of credit with the old king (12); but being afterwards brought over to the *Portuguese* interest, made no other use of it than to betray him and his dominions to them, as the sequel will soon shew.

(12) See *Marmol Afric. lib. ix. c. 35. Ossorio Portug. conq. lib. iv.*

- a condition to give them a warm reception. Accordingly, on the day prefixed, the *Sofalans* Besieges the fort; attacked the fort with great fury, by throwing volleys of fiery stakes into it, whilst others were assailing the walls with their warlike engines. The besiegers, with *Gnaia* at their head, made the stoutest defence they could against them; but, being reduced to 35 men, the rest being either sick or invalids, they would have had but a poor chance against 6000, had not, luckily for them, *Zacote* found means to enter the fort, at the head of 100 men; who immediately fell upon the besiegers with such bravery, that a desperate conflict ensued, in which the *Portuguese*, being thus timely reinforced, began to discharge their darts and artillery with double vigour; which, in a little time, so greatly annoyed and terrified them, that they fled with the utmost precipitation and dread, and left them in quiet possession of their new fortress. which is relieved by Zacote.
- b Not so quietly did they treat them in their flight, for they pursued them with speed and fury, not only into the city, but the royal palace, and forced their way into it. They even crowded into the very apartment where the old king had retired, and found him laying on his couch; but their insolence soon roused up his courage and bravery, in- The king re- pulsed. so much that, old and blind as was, he hastily arose, and darted several javelins at them, Pursued to his palace. some of which failed not of doing some execution among them, as they crowded so thick upon him. Several of them were wounded, and amongst them *Gnaia* in the neck, when on a sudden the *Portuguese* agent advanced with his drawn scymitar towards the king, and at one blow struck off his head, which filled his attendants with dread and horror. His noble defence.

- HERE *Gnaia*, fully satisfied with seeing the good old king weltering in his blood, and headless at his feet, whether to recover the *Sofalans* from the frightful prospect with which such a bloody scene must needs have filled them all, or to avoid their making some desperate attempt to revenge their monarch's death, had recourse to the old trite artifice, of feigned clemency, and immediately forbade his men to offer any farther violence towards a people whom he wanted to gain by acts of friendship and benevolence, rather than affright them with any further proofs of the *Portuguese* bravery and martial prowess; adding, that as they had by this time sufficiently experienced the one, he was now ready and willing to give them the most convincing proofs of the other, by acts of humanity, and tenderest compassion to their present distress. This plausible speech, whether it wrought most upon their fears or hopes, had the desired effect; and the *Sofalans*, finding they had to do with a nation that was too strong and artful, not only forbore all further hostilities, but patiently submitted their necks to a yoke which they have never been able to shake off from that day to this.^e Gnaia's artful speech to the Sofalans.

- ONE of our authors, who hath added many palliatives to this transaction, in favour of the *Portuguese*, adds, that prince *Muças* having rallied his scattered troops, again laid siege to the fort, with fresh courage and fury, but met with such stout opposition, that he was obliged to raise it three days after; his tired *Arabs*, the best troops he had, being by this time become more solicitous about the choice of a new king, than to revenge the death of the old one. The contest lay between the son of the deceased named *Soliman*, a great friend and patron of *Zacote*, and *Muças* his son-in-law, a prince of greater abilities and merit, and who would, in all probability, have been nominated to the succession, had not *Zacote*, or, as our author styles him, *Yacote*, by his interest and persuasions, obtained it in favour of *Soliman*, and prevailed upon *Gnaia* to confirm him king of *Sofala*.^f But the good bishop *Ossorio*, far from mentioning any such instance of the *Portuguese* admiral's regard to the son of the late *Jusef*, or of the perfidious *Zacote*'s ingratitude to that prince, assures us, in express terms, that the former bestowed the crown on the latter by his own authority, and as a reward for his great services to the *Portuguese*. His account of that remarkable transaction is as follows.^g Marmol's palliative account of that revolution.

- GNAIA*, having succeeded so far, thought it now time to settle this newly subdued state; and, as a mark of the *Portuguese* generosity and gratitude, to reward the perfidious *Zacote* for his friendship and fidelity to them in the amplest manner. He accordingly caused him to be sent for in great pomp, and, with the usual ceremonies, which we have described in a former note^h, to be, in his master's name, proclaimed king of *Sofala*, and enjoined the people to obey him as their sovereign. He next obliged them to take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to the king of *Portugal*, and to promise to behave, on all occasions, as his most faithful tributary.ⁱ Gnaia crowns Zacote king.

- GNAIA* had hardly begun to taste the fruits of his success, before he was cut off by a distemper which seized both him and his men, wholly owing to the inhospitableness of this new climate. We have already taken notice of the extreme unwholesomeness of the country, occasioned by the vast number of its marshes, which, being in summer dried up by the scorching heat of the sun, infect the air with their pestilential steams. The *Portuguese* quickly found the sad effects of it, being first seized with an excessive weakness in their bodies, and

^e MARMOL, OSSORIO, & al. sup. citat. before, p. 353

^f OSSORIO, ubi supra.

^g MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 35.

^h Lib. iv.

ⁱ See

dimness of sight, which, in a little time, turned into a wasting consumption, and carried off a great number of them, and among the rest the admiral above-mentioned; in whose room *Emanuel Ferdinando*, the old king's assassin, was chosen by the unanimous consent of all the officers. The news of this was soon sent to *Almeid* the governor of *Goa*, then in *India*, who received about the same time an account of the revolution which lately happened in *Quiloa*, by the murder of the new-made king *Mahmud*, by the partisans of *Brabam*^k. *Almeid* thereupon dispatched *Novico Vasquez Pereira*, with a commission to sail for *Sofala*, and take the government of the fort upon him; but with orders likewise to touch at *Quiloa*, and settle the commotions raised there on account of the king's murder, and to punish with the utmost severity all that had been accessory to it.

In the mean time the *Portuguese* garrison of *Sofala* was so dreadfully afflicted with the badness of the climate, and the diseases which then raged among them had carried off so many of them, that *Ferdinand*, who had succeeded *Gnaia*, could with great difficulty restrain the small remainder from abandoning it, when, in a lucky hour, the *Portuguese* ships arrived at the port, with a fresh supply of men, arms, and other provisions, and enabled them to hold it till fresh troops and other reinforcements were sent thither from *Goa*, with the new governor, who soon settled the fortrefs and garrison in such a condition that they have held it ever since, and obliged the *Sofalans* to accept of such kings as they shall please to set over them; by which means they have kept that kingdom under tribute, and engrossed that rich and advantageous commerce to themselves, to this time. How long their new-made king, whether prince *Soliman*, or the perfidious *Zacote*, enjoyed his dignity, who were his successors, and other interesting particulars relating to that new conquest, we are left wholly in the dark. We are told indeed by a *Dutch* writer^l, that the king of *Sofala* was a *Portuguese* by birth, at the time of his writing his book. But *Jarric* will have it that he was only a tributary to *Portugal*^m. But most writers agree that the kings of it were formerly tributary to the emperor of *Monomotapa* till an. 1507, when *Gnaia* and his successors reduced it under the power of king *Emanuel*. However it is not improbable that some of those emperors afterwards made themselves masters of the greatest part of the continent, and have confined the *Portuguese* to the sea-coast, in revenge for their shutting them in, and excluding their subjects from all foreign commerce with the sea-coast; though they have been since forced to refund it with interest, and to yield them, besides some of their best gold mines, a tract of ground of above 160 leagues into their own dominions, both which they have kept ever since the year 1640, as we shall have occasion to shew under the next section.

S E C T. V.

The history of the empire of Monomotapa, or Munemotapa.

MONOMOTAPA is, next to the empire of *Abissinia*, one of the largest in all Africa. Some call it *Benemotapa*, and others *Benemoaxo*; and the name of *Benemotapa*, we are told, is the common title of its monarchs, as *Cæsar* was that of the *Roman* emperors^a; but according to *Texeira* it ought to be written *Munæ Motapa*, because the kings who are seated beyond the *Cassers* call themselves *Mune*, instead of *Mani*. However that be, the *Portuguese* do more justly style him the emperor of the gold, on account of the many rich mines which are within his dominions. *Monomotapa*, properly so called, lies contiguous to *Sofala*, last described on the east, and is, like that, inclosed by the river *Cuama* on the north, and that of *Magnico*, or of the *Holy Ghost*, on the south, extending itself westward between those two rivers as far as their spring-heads: so that whilst *Sofala* belonged to it, as it formerly did, it might be properly called an island, surrounded on one side with salt, and on the other with fresh water, and between 700 and 800 leagues in circuit. It is situate between the 14th and 25th degrees of south latitude, and between the 41st and 56th of east longitude, or 670 miles from north to south, and 615 from east to west^b (A). But if we take

^k See before, p. 353.^l SPILBERG. navig. 1601. vid. & SANUT. lib. xii.^m Thes. Ind.

Orient. lib. iii. c. 8.

^a MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 32. PURCH. Pilgr. lib. vii. c. 8.

SANUT. lib. ix.

^b JOAN. DE BARROS, SANUT. lib. xii. LINSCHOT. Guin. c. 7. RAMUS. DAVITY, & al.

(A) According to Messieurs *De Lisle* and *D'Anville*, the kingdom of *Monomotapa Proper* is bounded on the north by the river *Zambira*, or *Cuama*; on the east by the *Indian* sea; on the south by the river of *St. Laurence*, and on the west partly by the *St. Laurence*,

and partly by the *Cuama*; so that, according to these limits, *Monomotapa* contains the kingdoms of, 1. *Quiteve*. 2. *Manica*. 3. *Sabia*. And, 4. *Inhabana*. To which *D'Anville* adds that of *Sedanda*, if it is not the same with the last. The first of which includes the pro-

a take in all the other inferior kingdoms, which are either subject or tributary to it, it will extend itself vastly farther; viz. southward almost as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, and on the north-west as far as the confines of the kingdom of *Congo*; for so far on these two sides the authority of its monarchs is said to extend itself; though on the west, and part of the north-west, it is confined by that of *Monocmugi**, of which we shall speak in the sequel.

THE climate of *Monomotapa* is temperate, notwithstanding the far greater part of it doth lie within the southern tropic; the air is clear and healthy, the soil fertile, and so well watered, as to abound with pasture grounds, on which are bred vast multitudes of cattle, especially of the larger sort, which the inhabitants set a higher value on than on their gold. Their ground produces plenty of rice, millet, and other grain, though no wheat. They have great variety of excellent fruit-trees, and abundance of sugar-cane, which grows here without any culture. Their forests swarm with wild beasts, and various kinds of game. Their rivers, of which they have a great number, as we shall shew in the sequel, abound not only with fish, but with gold likewise, which they sweep away from the mines through which they run; yet, in spite of all this abundance, the country is, for the most part, but thinly inhabited, notwithstanding some authors assert the contrary, particularly *Lopez*, who says the number of people is infinite, and who probably supposed them such from what he observed on the sea-coasts, particularly on the islands formed by the four mouths of the *Cuama*, and other considerable ones, and of great length, which one meets with in sailing up that river, as far as the towns of *Sena* and *Tele*, that is above 60 leagues distant from its mouth: all which islands are rich and fertile, and full of inhabitants, as well as on both sides of the shore†. But, excepting those lands which are watered by the *Cuama* and *Santo Spirito*, and a number of other rivers which flow into them, the rest of the inland parts are mostly sandy, dry, and barren; inasmuch that the few inhabitants that live in them, are forced to go a great way for water to levigate their gold dust, whenever their cisterns fail them for want of rain, as we shall see in the sequel.

THEY have neither horses nor any other beasts of burthen; but vast herds of elephants, mostly wild, of which they destroy several thousands yearly, as may be easily judged by the vast quantity of ivory brought from thence, and sold to the *Portuguese*. They have a kind of stag they call *Alfinge*, of extraordinary size and swiftness; and ostriches as large as oxen, whose grease or oil, either outwardly applied, or taken inwardly, is reckoned a sovereign remedy against pains and aches, sprains, and stiffness of the limbs^d.

THE natives are all black, with woolly air, notwithstanding their distance from the equinoctial line, and the coldness of some of their climates, and the snows which fall in such vast quantities upon their mountains, as in the country of the *Belonghi*, and the province of *Matuca*, that if any abide on them, they are sure to be frozen to death: and, what is still more surprising, even those who inhabit the countries beyond the south tropic, as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, are all of the same dark hue; whereas the people in the most torrid regions of *Libya* and *America*, which have the sun vertical over them, are strangers both to that black tincture of skin and crispness of hair. However, in other respects, they are well-shaped, robust, and healthy, and more sprightly and docile than those of *Quiloa*, *Mombasa*, and *Melinda*. They delight much in war, which they prefer to the dull and low way of living by traffick. As for the lower class, they are commonly brought up to diving; and are so dexterous at it, that their chief business is to fetch sand or mud from the bottom of rivers, ponds, and lakes, and to levigate the gold that is mixed with it more or less, which they afterwards exchange with the *Portuguese* for cotton and other cloths, and variety of other merchandizes and trinkets, which they carry thither from *India* and *Europe*, as they are closely shut up from all commerce with any other coasters^e.

THEIR chief food is the flesh of oxen and elephants, salted and dried fish, and a great variety of fruits. Among these last there is one called *Casaema*, not unlike an apple, very

Climate, soil, and produce.

Plenty of all necessaries.

Yet thinly inhabited, excepting its islands.

Wild and tame beasts.

Large ostriches.

Inhabitants described.

Their food and drink.

* Idem ibid. vid. & PIGAFET Congo, lib. ii. c. 8. RAMUS. & al. † DE FARIA Y SOUSA, & al. ubi sup. ^d PIGAFET Congo, lib. ii. c. 8. ^e SANUT. DAVITY, & al. ibid. JARRIC Thes. Ind.

provinces of *Zete*, *Bocuto*, *Mastapa*, *Sena*, *Jubanico*, *Quitewe*; those of *Sumbawa* and *Sfala*; that of *Manica*; those of *Montagua*, *Sabia*; and the last, or *Inhabana*, that of *Tongva* (1).

But according to *De Faria y Sousa*, this empire is divided into the following twenty-five kingdoms; viz. 1. *Mongas*. 2. *Baroe*. 3. *Manika*. 4. *Boesa*. 5. *Mafingo*. 6. *Remo*. 7. *Chique*. 8. *Chiria*. 9. *Chidima*. 10. *Boquizo*. 11. *Inhabanzo*. 12. *Chiruwa*. 13. *Kondfaka*. 14. *Daburia*. 15. *Makurumbo*. 16.

Mungussa. 17. *Rutuwa*. 18. *Chove*. 19. *Chungue*. 20. *Diza*. 21. *Rombâ*. 22. *Rassini*. 23. *Chirano*. 24. *Mokarango*. And, 25. *Remo de Beza*. To this he adds, that there are many lordships which have not the title of kingdoms, and that the greatest of all those that have is that of *Mongas*, which borders on the rivers *Cuama* or *Zambere*, whose monarch is said to be absolute in his dominions, though a tributary or homager to the emperor (2).

(1) *De Lisle Atlas. La Martiniere Dict. sub. voc. Monomotapa. See also D'Anville's map of Eastern Ethiopia.*
(2) *Vid. Pigafet Congo, lib. ii. p. 97, 192, & seq. Collection of voyages, 4to. an. 1746, p. 396.*

sweet to the taste, and of a lively violet colour; but so pernicious in its effects, when eaten a in too great a quantity, that it never fails of causing violent dysenteries and bloody fluxes. Their bread is made of rice or millet, baked into thin cakes, and their drink sour milk, and oil of sesaman, or *Turkey* wheat. The richer sort have some strong sorts of liquors made of honey, millet, and rice, and of some kinds of fruits. They have, among others of this sort, the palm-wine, which is esteemed a royal liquor, and drank much at court. This wine, which is drawn from the palm-tree by incision, is like the hydromel, and preserved here, as in other parts of *Ethiopia*, in vessels made of horn, curiously wrought; but the former is commonly mixed with manna, ambergrise, musk, and other such high-scented perfumes, of which the courtiers and better sort of people are very fond, not only in their meat and drink, but in their apartments, walks, &c. infomuch that we are told the emperor consumes b daily as much of these sorts of perfumes as is equivalent to two pounds weight of gold. All his flambeaux, which are burned before him, are perfumed in the same manner; and when he goes abroad he is generally carried in a stately sedan or chair, borne by four persons of quality, and under a magnificent canopy, richly embroidered, and bespangled with pearls and precious stones; if the weather happens to be cloudy or misty, four of those lighted torches are carried before him, to clear and perfume the air^f. The princesses and ladies of the highest rank always dress his victuals, bring and serve it at his table, and they take that office by turns, as do also his musicians; but these last, before they come into his presence, are obliged to be hood-winked, or have a veil before their faces, to prevent their seeing him either eat or drink^g. All the women in general, whether of quality or meaner c rank, are fond of performing the same duty to their husbands and families.

The king expensive in it.

Dress of the people.

THE *Monomotapans* go naked almost as low as the girdle, but from thence downwards are covered with a piece of cloth of various colours, and dress more or less richly according to their rank or circumstances. That of the common people is of dyed cotton; but that of persons of quality is of *India* silks, or of cotton embroidered with gold, over which they commonly wear a lion's, or some other wild beast's skin, with the tail hanging behind, and trailing on the ground. When they go into the country, they commonly cover their private parts with the rind of a calabassio, to prevent their being annoyed with the stings of venomous insects: in other respects young men and maids go naked, except a bit of cloth with which they cover their middle: but after these are married, and have children, they d cover their breasts and all the rest of their bodies^h.

Polygamy allowed.

The king's vast number of wives. His dress described.

THE men are allowed to marry as many wives as they please, or as they can maintain; but the first is always looked upon as the chief and mistress, and her children as the father's heirs, whilst the rest are only deemed as servants. The king or emperor is said to have above a thousand wives, and all of them the daughters of some of his vassal princes; but the first is the only one who hath the title and honours of a queen. He never alters his dress, but goes attired in the same manner as his ancestors did, neither allows he himself, or any of his wives or family, to wear any cloths that are manufactured out of his dominions, for fear they should have some poison or charm concealed in them. His usual dress is a kind of long vest or cassock, which goes down to his knees; then crossing between his legs, is e again tucked up under his girdle. He wears also a stately brocaded mantle, waving over his shoulders, and buskins on his legs, richly wrought and embroidered with gold, pearls, &c. His neck is adorned with a magnificent karkanet or collar, enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones, and going several times round, one under the other, down below his breast. Of the same rich materials is the hatband which goes round his turbanⁱ.

Retinue when he goes abroad.

WHENEVER he goes abroad, which is either in his sedan or palanquin already described, or mounted on an elephant or an *Alfingo* (B), he is always attended with a vast retinue, besides his own guards, and band of musicians. On these occasions, besides his other regalia, he affects to wear hanging at his side a small spade, with an ivory handle, and an f arrow in each hand. These he calls the ensigns or badges of his royalty. The spade is the emblem of industry, intimating that his subjects ought to apply themselves to the effectual cultivating of their lands, lest the neglect of it once reducing them to indigence, they

^f SANUT. OD. BARBOS. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. MOL, SANUT. RAMUS. & al. sup. citat.

^g Ibid. ubi sup.

^h Idem ibid.

ⁱ MAR-

(B) The *Alfingo*, as hath been hinted already, is a kind of stag, but of an extraordinary size, strength, and speed, yet so wild that there are but few, especially monarchs, who dare venture themselves on their backs; tho' some of their subjects will, after they have, with

great difficulty and danger, been broken to the bit and saddle: but examples of this are rare; and, as horses are no less so, the *Monomotapan* emperors chuse the most safe and noble beast to ride on; viz. the elephant (2).

(2) Sanut. *Linschot. lib. ii. Davity, & al. sup. citat.*

should

- a should be tempted to pilfer and steal: on which account one of the arrows in his hand points out to them his power and duty to punish such, as well as all other crimes, as by the other he is represented as the protector and defender of his people from all foreign invasions^k. On occasions of their going abroad in this public manner, whether to war or diversion, or to visit his dominions, his subjects, who pay him the most profound homage and respect, never fail of appearing in crouds to wish him all imaginable success and prosperity; and sacrifice, at proper distances on the road through which he passes, a deer, or some other victim; over which, whilst the beast he rides on goes, their augurs, who always assist on such occasions, observe carefully the motions of the liver, heart, &c. of the dying creature, and from thence proclaim his enterprise or journey successful or otherwise; if the former, they fill the air with shouts and acclamations; and, if the latter, with doleful sounds; and it is seldom that any of those monarchs will proceed farther on their journey or design, whenever these pretended conjurers persist in giving it a sinister aspect.

THEY are however less liable either to revolts from within amongst the great number of their tributary princes, or of invasions from without, as they keep constantly a numerous standing army, even when at peace with all the neighbouring nations, which secures them against the latter; and oblige all the sons of their vassals and tributaries to be educated under their eye, and with their own family, where they are taught their duty and loyalty to them, and are kept as hostages of their parents fidelity. To this double policy they add a third, and no less successful maxim, which is, to send once a year their ambassadors to all the grandees who are vassals to the crown, to give them what is styled among them the new fire. No sooner do these ambassadors arrive at the court of a vassal, than they order them, in the emperor's name, to put out their fire, on pain of being declared rebels and traitors; which being complied with, they come and light it afresh at that which the ambassadors bring with them for that purpose. Should any tributary refuse to conform to this order, war is immediately declared against him, and military execution is put in force against him with the utmost severity^l.

- AND as they are thus careful to keep all their vassals within their due obedience, so are they no less solicitous to preserve the affections of their subjects by acts of kindness and benignity. They exact no taxes or tribute from them, but some small and inconsiderable free-gift or present, and that chiefly when they apply to them for justice, or some other favour; because that is esteemed a mark of respect from an inferior to a superior, whenever they approach them. The same thing is observed by the merchants, who, at their fairs, or other places of sale, commonly present him with some of their wares, not by compulsion, but of their own accord; and if any neglect that small homage to him, their only punishment is, that they must not dare to appear before him, which is reckoned a great mortification and mark of contempt amongst them. This singular indulgence makes them look upon themselves as a free people, and by far more happy under such a prince than any other *African* nation under theirs; and such is their affectionate regard for him, that whenever he drinks, sneezes, or coughs, one of the nobles in presence, cries aloud, "Pray for the health and prosperity of the emperor:" upon which not only the place where he is, but as far on all sides as their shouts can be propagated and heard, is filled with acclamations of joy and good wishes for him^m. If he at any time doth summon them to labour, either at the gold mines, or for any other service, as is sometimes the case, he never fails of sending them cows and other provisions, which makes them come with greater readiness to his work.

HIS ministers and officers, both civil and military, as well as his soldiery, who subsist by his pay, are indeed obliged, instead of taxes, to pay him a kind service of seven days in every month, either in cultivating his grounds, or any other work he thinks fit to employ them in; and the lords and nobles of the kingdom are likewise bound to the same service when required, unless exempted from it by some particular privilege granted to their family or office.

- ALL law-suits and contests may be brought before him by appeal, and the former judgments be either confirmed or annulled by his authority. He hath no gaols or prisons in his dominions, because every trial is summarily determined, either according to the report of the parties, or the evidence of the witnesses, and every crime is punished immediately after conviction. If the complaint or crime be of such a nature, that it cannot be so quickly adjudged, and there be any danger of the person accused making his escape, he is ordered to be tied to a tree, and a guard is set over him till he is either absolved or condemned; if the latter, the sentence is immediately executed in the open field, whether it be corporal or capital punishment; the former is commonly a more or less severe drubbing with a knot-

^k Idem ibid. vid. & OSSORIO, lib. iv. RAMUS. & al. ubi sup.

^l MARMOL, OSSOR. & al. ubi sup.

^m MARMOL. OSSORIO,

ted cord, according to the nature of the crime, or the favour of the prince, as it is not reckoned ignominious among them, though inflicted on a nobleman.

Witnesses how purged. If any contrast or doubt happens between the witnesses, one of them is obliged to take a piece of the bark of a certain tree into his mouth, and to chew it into a powder, which is then thrown into some water, and given to the other to drink. If it stays with him he is absolved, if not he is condemned. In the former case however, he that gave the water hath still one way left to clear himself, by drinking some of it, and if it stays with him also, the law-suit is left undetermined, and an end put to it". He exacts no servile prostrations from his subjects, as the eastern monarchs usually do from those who come into his presence, but obliges them all to a sitting posture (C), except the *Arabians* and *Portuguese*, together with some few favourites, who are allowed the privilege of standing before him, b which is esteemed one of the greatest marks of his favour; the next to which is that of having the liberty of sitting upon a carpet, at their own homes; and a third they add of having doors to their houses or apartments. All which, but chiefly the last, only belong to the *grandeos* of the empire, the rest thinking themselves secure enough under the protection of their prince, and is only granted to such *grandeos* as a mark of honour and distinction. If any other pre-eminence they have, it is more on account of the largeness than the richness of the materials, or elegance of their structures, they being all built of wood, and thatched with leaves or reeds, and are round on the top, like a bell or cupola °.

Capital described. THE metropolis of this empire is called *Benematapa*, or *Banamatapa*, and by *Le Blanc* and others *Medrogan* P. It is a spacious city, situate about six days journey from an ancient c palace named *Simbaces*, and about 20 miles west of *Sofala*. The houses are neat, and more or less high and lofty, according to the rank of the owners. They are mostly white-washed within and without, and adorned with beautiful cloths of cotton, finely wrought or dyed, which

The imperial palace.

Rich furniture.

make the most considerable part of their furniture. But the greatest ornament of the city is the imperial palace, which is a large spacious fabric, though of wood, well flanked with towers, and with four avenues or stately gates, constantly kept by a numerous guard. The inside consists of a great variety of sumptuous apartments, spacious and lofty halls, adorned with a magnificent kind of cotton tapestry, the manufacture of the country, wherein the beauty and liveliness of the colours greatly raise the value of them above that of the gold with which they are embellished. The floors, cieling, beams, and rafters, are all d either gilt or plated with gold, curiously wrought, as are also the chairs of state, tables, benches, &c. and all beautifully enamelled, or curiously painted, if we may credit some travellers ° and geographers. They use candlesticks and branches of ivory inlaid with gold, and hanging from the cieling by chains of the same metal, or of silver gilt, and every thing else answerable to them. The flambeaux, which are lighted in them, are all perfumed with every costly odour, with the same profusion. The emperor is served at table upon the knee, and the dishes tasted, not before he eats of them, but after they are taken away. He is commonly attended at such times by a great number of officers, who keep a most profound silence. The plates, dishes, and bowls, belonging to his table are of a sort of porcelain, curiously wrought around with sprigs of gold, resembling those of coral; but whether manufactured in his dominions, or brought from *India*, we are not told. e

The king how served.

Brilliant court.

THE ladies of the court are said to make a most gallant figure, and to go richly clad, tho' in the manufacture of the country. The same we may suppose of the sons of all the tributary princes, who are here brought up under the king's eye, and must be supposed to make the noblest figure they can. They have colleges and academies appropriated to their education, and at his charge. These, joined to the retinue and equipages, and the great number of officers civil and military, who are obliged to attend on the court, may likewise be reasonably supposed to make no inconsiderable addition to the brilliancy of it, as well as the opulence and splendor of that great metropolis f.

The empress presides over his harvest, in his absence.

THE empress, as well as such and as many of his other wives as the emperor invites, are always glad when the time comes to accompany him into the country, to assist at the gathering of his harvest; and if he be hindered by war or otherwise, she takes the whole care of it upon herself, and assigns to the other wives their several tasks under her; viz. to overlook a certain number of those soldiers or other subjects that are employed in that work. These are obliged, as was lately observed, to pay him the service of seven days in thirty,

° MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 32. & al.

° Idem ibid.

° LE BLANC, ubi sup. DAVITY, & al.

P LE BLANC World surveyed, part i. c. 6. DAPPER, & al.

° SANUT. OD. BARBOS. LE BLANC, DAVITY, & al.

(C) As perhaps the less dangerous to his person, because men in that posture are less able either to offend, or to defend themselves; whilst at the same time it carries the appearance of an uncommon condescension and confidence, very unlike the state and grandeur which

the *Persian* and other eastern monarchs exacted from those who approached them, to have all their hands muffled up in their sleeves, and to remain prostrate on the ground all the time they continued in their presence.

- a and to bring their own provisions with them, but are nevertheless commonly supplied, over and above, with cows, sheep, and other eatables, by his special bounty, especially whenever he is present*. And as he is always accompanied with a numerous band of musicians, jesters, and buffoons, each under their own captain or master of the revels, the evening, and even the whole night, is entertained either with the music of the one, or the songs, jests, and buffoonries of the other. And this pastime, we are told by some authors, is not only usual in the country, and upon these joyful occasions, but lasts most of the year where-ever the court is, whether in the capital or out of it†. We must, however, observe here, with respect to the female part of it, of what rank soever, that they are, every-where through this empire, treated with the utmost respect and decency; insomuch, that if even a prince of the blood meets a woman of ever so mean a rank in his way, he dares take no other notice of her than to give her the upperhand, and pass by her with a civil bow‡.

The women: very respectfully treated.

- OTHER cities of note, though not considerable enough to deserve a description, are *Zimbas*, *al. Zimbaos*, in the neighbourhood of *Sofala*, and supposed to have some relation with the *Agasimba* of *Ptolemy*, as that word signifies properly a palace or castle, of which there are several antient ones, probably to guard the gold mines; so that *Agasimba* might then properly signify the region or country of castles or palaces. The relation published of this country by the Jesuits, *an. 1624*, mentions another city in this country named *Tele*, where that society hath the college of the *Holy Ghost* for their residence. *Sena*, inhabited chiefly by *Portuguese*, one of their chief fairs, as the *Cuama* is navigable up to it, and to that of *Tele* last-mentioned, which is another of their colonies§. We might add that of *Tumbaro*, and some others of less note, but of which they give no particular account.

Other cities. Zimbab.

- BESIDES these and other provinces and kingdoms, tributary to the *Monomotapan* empire, we are told of a province or district, appropriated by the king for a set of female warriors, in all respects like the ancient *Amazons* we have spoken of in our ancient history, and observing the same way of living. These are said to be seated in a separate kingdom, on the confines of those of *Damot* and *Gorago*, belonging to the *Abissinian* empire. And some add, that the kings of *Monomotapa* prefer them in their wars to their own standing troops. Many more wonderful things they tell us concerning their way of living, fighting, wounding and killing in their pretended flight, that we should be loth to vouch for, as well as absolutely to deny the real existence of such martial viragoes, against the evidence of so many, other-wise credible authors. The reader is at liberty to judge as he pleases.

A province inhabited by Amazons.

- WE have already hinted, on another occasion, that the emperor maintains a numerous army constantly on foot, for he hath no cavalry, there being but few horses, if any, in his dominions, at least fit for that purpose. Whenever he goes to war, either against an invading enemy, or revolted vassal, those heroines always make one part of it, as well as of his guard. They are armed and clothed like the men; their weapons are the bow and arrows, the javelin, scymitar, cutlance, and dagger, and some of them use also the hatchet, very keen and light, all which they handle with great dexterity, being trained up to it from their tender years, and frequently exercised in them. Where-ever the emperor incamps, they rear for him a large wooden house, in which a fire must be constantly kept burning, lest some conjuring spell against him should be concealed under the ashes. He takes such of his wives with him as he likes best; and, besides his *Amazonian* life-guard, is always escorted by 200 large mastiffs, as the more trusty animal of the two, and in less danger of being bribed. In what order and manner his army marches, incamps, attacks, and fights, we are not told; only that neither he nor any of his soldiery are permitted to wash hands or face, till they have gained a complete victory: after which the spoil is divided between him, his officers, and common soldiers.

who are part of the king's army and guard.

Their weapons.

Spoils of war how divided.

- THE principal officers of his court, are the *Ningamisba*, or governor of the kingdom (a kind of grand vizier, or prime minister), the *Mokomasba*, or captain-general, the *Ambuya*, or lord high-steward, to whom, among other privileges, belongs that of naming a new empress when the old one dies, but she must be either one of the sisters or near relations of the emperor. The *Inbantore*, or captain of the band of musicians, who has a great number of them under him, and is himself a great lord. The *Nurakao*, or captain of the vanguard. The *Bukurumo*, which signifies the king's right hand. The *Mogando*, or chief augur or conjurer. The *Nelambe*, or keeper of the king's pharmacy, ointments, and other utensils and ingredients used by the augur. The *Nehono*, or chief porter of the palace. All these are styled lords, as well as the two chief cooks belonging to his majesty, who are

Principal officers of state.

* OD. BARBOS. MARMOL, DAVITY, PURCH. Relat. of the World, lib. vii. c. 8.

† PURCH. ubi sup.

& al. sup. citat.

‡ Id. ibid.

§ FARIA Y SOUSA Voyag. & al. sup. citat.

¶ Univ. Hist. vol. ii.

p. 266, & seq.

⌚ SANUT. DAVITY, DAPPER, &c.

⌚ LE BLANC, DAPPER, PICAFET, LINSCHOT.

lib. ii. & BETERI, BENEMOT, part i. & al.

⌚ Id. ibid.

* Id. ubi sup.

commonly his relations; and the under cooks, who are also men of quality. None of these must be above twenty years of age, for till then they are supposed to have been free from carnal commerce with women; and if any have not, they are severely punished. As soon as they have attained the age of twenty; they are preferred to greater employments; those within doors are governed by a captain, as are likewise those without, much of the same nature as were formerly the *Alcalde de los Donzelos*^y.

Chief wives,
their revenue
and employ.

AMONG the many wives belonging to the king, there are nine who are immediately next to the empress, and enjoy some considerable employment at court. The first of them is styled *Mazarira*, or mother of the *Portuguese*, who solicits their affairs with his majesty, and is gratified with large presents for it by those servants of hers who commonly accompany his envoys to them. The next is the *Inabanda*, who performs the same office in favour of the *Moors*. The third is the *Nabaiza*, who lives in the same apartment with him. The other six have likewise their respective titles, employments, and apartments, and all of them their several revenues arising from the respective kingdoms allotted to them, and sufficient to enable them to live in great state, and to keep a separate court; and as soon as one of them dies, another out of the next rank is named to succeed to her title, place, and income. All these have likewise a great number of women to attend them, as the king often goes to or sends for them; if he sees any of these that please him, he makes no scruple of taking them to his bed^z.

THE prince, as well as the subjects of this vast empire, are generally heathen; though neither polytheists, idolaters, nor given to such bloody and detestable superstitions as the greatest part of the *Caffers* are, which are here held in abhorrence, and severely punished where-ever any such thing is found. They acknowledge a Supreme Being, Creator and Governor of the universe, and accordingly stile him *Mazira* and *Attuno*, terms equivalent to those two attributes. They pay moreover, we are told^a, a singular veneration to a certain virgin whom they call *Al Firoo*, and have temples and nunneries erected in honour of her, and confine their daughters in them, much in the same manner as their neighbours the *Abissinians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* do, to perpetual celibacy; but whether this notion of the worship of that virgin be derived from any of them, or hath some other origin, we will not venture to affirm; only thus much we may observe from some of their other superstitious rites, such as praying to and for the dead, preserving and paying a kind of religious regard to the bones and relics of their deceased parents, children, and other near or dear friends and relations, keeping stated anniversaries to their memory, and some others of a lower rank; and more might we still find, were we more fully acquainted with them; they all favour so much of the *Abissinian* superstition, that it is not unlikely they may have been formerly made profelytes to that church, whilst the country was subject or tributary to its emperors, but have since fallen away from the one, after their shaking off the yoke of the other. However that be, *Pigafet* taxes them with being given not only to a great variety of superstitions, but to such magical arts and practices, as quite eclipse the lustre of their belief in one Supreme Being^b; though that belief is no small preparative disposition to their being made converts to Christianity.

Christianity
introduced.
Emperor bap-
tized.

Cruel to his
converter.

His sorrow for
it; and kind-
ness to the
new Jesuits.

ACCORDINGLY we are told, that, in the year 1560, *F. Gonzales Silveyra*, a *Portuguese* Jesuit, had the good success to baptize the then emperor and his mother; the former of them by the name of *Sebastian*, in honour of the king of *Portugal*, and the latter by the name of *Mary*, in honour of the blessed virgin. Their example was followed by above 300 noblemen belonging to his court, and quickly after by a great number of the greatest lords of the empire. But if we may believe our author, who was of the same fraternity^c, a year was scarcely expired, before that young and inconstant prince was so far exasperated both against his new religion and its preacher, by some of his favourites, who were *Mohammedans*, and represented the *Portuguese* Father not only as a dangerous spy, but as a great magician, and capable by his enchantments to overturn his whole empire, and to destroy the lives of his subjects, as to cause him to be murdered by eight of his domestics, whilst the good father was taking his rest, and to order his body to be thrown into the next river. He likewise caused some fifty of his neophytes, whom he had baptized but the day before, to undergo the same fate; but repenting afterwards of his rashness and too easy credulity, he caused those *Mohammedans* to be publicly executed for their calumnies; of which the Jesuits of *Kochin* were no sooner apprised, than they sent two of their society to him, who, by representing to him the infinite benefit which they did to the world by their preaching and conversions, so far ingratiated themselves into his favour, that he gave them at once full liberty of propagating their religion, and to his subjects the full permission of embracing it.

^y PIGAFET, Congo, p. 192, & seq.
^c JARRIC. Thef. Ind. lib. iii. c. 9 & 10.

^z Id. ibid.

^a PIGAFET, Congo, lib. ii. c. 8.

^b Ubi sup.

- a THEY had now a fair prospect of converting the whole empire, but which was not long after obscured again by the indiscretion of *Sebastian* king of *Portugal*; who, instead of sending thither a fresh supply of preachers, to accelerate the good work, equipped a new fleet, the command of which he gave to *Don Francisco Baretto*, with orders to enter *Monomotapa* in a hostile manner, and to revenge the death of the late Father *Silveyra* on the young emperor; and this, we are told, was done rather at the earnest solicitations of that Jesuit's illustrious family, as well as of a great number of grandees, than out of any inclination that prince had to fall out with the *Monomotapan* emperor. This proved, however, a very unsuccessful expedition both to the admiral, who is said to have been taken off in that war, not by the arms, but by the treachery, of the *Arabs*, who caused his water and provisions to be poisoned; and to the greatest part of his men, who died either in the same manner, or by the ill temperature of the climate. This is all the account we have given us of that fatal expedition; which, our authors however add, did not hinder the *Portuguese* settled there from continuing their commerce with the subjects of that empire with the same freedom, assiduity, and advantage, that they had done before^d. Our author adds, in a few words, that the Jesuits were soon after succeeded in that mission by some Dominicans, who undertook the conversion of those heathens (D), without telling with what success, which probably was but small, since these have said so little of it: and a celebrated traveller, who was there about the year 1570, tells us, that the then emperor, who had by that time reigned 47 years, and was in all respects a prince of great penetration, valour, conduct, and justice, and almost adored by his subjects for his excellent qualities, still professed the old *Monomotapan* religion^e. However that be, the next paragraph will plainly shew, that the *Portuguese* proved more successful in their secular affairs, in enlarging their conquests, and in the increase of their wealth and strength; by which means the Jesuits got fresh footing and credit in that empire. It is as follows^f.

- IN the year 1604, the *Monomotapan* emperor having invited the *Portuguese* to come and take possession of the mines which he had yielded to them, the Fathers *Francesco Gonzalez* and *Paulo Aleixo*, both Jesuits, were appointed to accompany the army which was destined for that empire; from which vast advantages were expected to be reaped by both sides, the emperor confiding solely in the *Portuguese* for the reduction of his revolted vassals, and permitting them to build fortresses where-ever they thought fit, and even near his court, in order to their being nearer at hand to assist him against all emergencies.

- FROM these few historical fragments which we have been able to gather from the *Portuguese* writers, and from what we have occasionally observed in the last note, the reader will easily perceive the reason why we are so much in the dark, concerning the antiquity, foundation, and regular succession of this opulent and extensive monarchy: though, from a remarkable revolution which the *French* traveller last quoted hath transmitted to us, and in which the emperor then reigning was the chief actor, it appears to have been intailed by their laws in the male line, and might, if better known to us, have furnished us in all likelihood with a noble series of monarchs, of many illustrious reigns, and other remarkable particulars, worthy a curious reader's notice, especially if they bore any proportion to that signal one we are going to relate. We shall give it as near as possible in the author's own words, though stripped for brevity's sake of the many pompous eulogies and superfluous appendages with which the subjects of so greatly admired a prince, or perhaps the vanity of the author, may have thought proper to embellish it.

^d JARR. ubi sup. LA CROIX, DAVITY, DAPPER lib. ii. c. 10. & al. c. 6 & 7. ^f JARRIC, ubi sup. c. 41. DAVITY.

^e VINCENT LE BLANC, part ii.

(D) We must leave it the reader to make his own remarks on these short detached pieces of history, where our authors, who are of the same fraternity, and equally concerned for the credit of their order, have thought proper either to conceal or palliate such transactions and concurring circumstances, as, if fairly told, would be likely to impair, if not ruin it. They need but confront them with what hath been related in former volumes of their boasted conversions and unchristian behaviour, which have ended in a general persecution and total extirpation of them and their religion, in the empires of *China* and *Japan*, in the kingdoms of *Tong-king*, *Kochin China*, *Siam*, &c. and more recently in the history of *Abissinia*, as well as what we shall have occasion to take notice of in those of *Kongo*, *Angola*, and other parts of *Africa*, to be enabled to form a more than probable conjecture about their motives for thus curtailing the *Portuguese* transactions in this of *Monomo-*

tapa. We may likewise conclude, from their being succeeded in that mission by the Dominicans, that they were by that time, on some account or other, become either obnoxious to the emperor and his subjects, or that their proceedings here, as well as every-where else, were displeasing to the congregation *de propaganda fide* at *Rome*, which, for many good reasons, always kept a watchful eye over them, and seldom if ever failed of sending other missionaries, either of the Dominicans or some other order, to be a check over them; witness the heavy charge and grievous complaints which were exhibited against them from *China*, *Japan*, and other parts, and their being frequently recalled from their missions, and other orders sent in their stead, by that illustrious body, notwithstanding the many friends they have in it, and their vast interest both in the conclave and the *Roman* court.

bloody contest
about the suc-
cession.

THE emperor *Al Fumigar-bachi*, who reigned about sixty years before our author's arrival a thither, being surprised with sudden death, in the 47th year of his age, without having time to appoint a successor from among the 64 sons he had by his several wives, a long and bloody contest arose between the most considerable of them, to which their respective mothers contributed all their efforts, interest, and riches, in order to bribe the most potent lords in behalf of their favourite sons. The struggle was so great, and the partizans so zealous, that each of the competitors strove to destroy the rest of his rivals, not only by all hostile means, but by publicly setting the greatest prices upon their heads. At length, after many fierce engagements and much blood-shed, the candidates were reduced to four; viz. *Abgara*, *Adala*, *Cercut*, and *Gulman*, who having escaped the many snares laid for them by their other brethren, agreed to unite their interest and strength against them, and slew as many of them as fell into their hands, whilst the rest either fled into different provinces and strong-holds for safety, or continued the war against the four with incredible fury and obstinacy, insomuch that the two former of the four princes lost their lives in it. The two survivors proving more successful against the rest, and impatient to reconcile the nobles to them, and restore peace to the empire, agreed to reign jointly and by turns, and that each should hold the reins of government six months in the year, after the manner of the two Theban princes *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, mentioned in our ancient history, and almost exactly with the same tragical end²; for they had reigned peaceably some time, when *Cercut* unfortunately marrying an ambitious princess named *Gildada*, was easily persuaded by her, on some pretence, to send for his brother to court, and to put him privately to death. He reigned singly after this fratricide about thirteen years, when an uncle of his, named *Nabi*, put both him and his wife and children to death, to the general joy of all the people, to whom his reign was become odious on that account, and himself reigned in his stead.

Two brothers
reign jointly.

The history
of the emperor
Al-fondi.

His noble
character.

Exploits, and
rise at court.

Marries the
emperor's
daughter.

THIS revolution soon brought on a dreadful war between him and *Gildada's* father, then a powerful prince (E), in which vast numbers were slain on both sides. In the mean time, one of the princes of the blood, who had escaped the horrid slaughter which his other brothers made against each other for the empire, had retired far enough into a distant kingdom, where he had bought a small territory, which he cultivated himself, and on which he lived as a private man. Here he had also married a wife, by whom he had a son whom he named *Al-fondi*, who at the age of seven or eight years began to give signal prognostics of a rare elevated genius, and grew more and more beloved and admired as his years increased, by all who knew him. He began by times to display an undaunted courage in hunting of lions, tygers, and other wild creatures; and hearing at length of the cruel war that raged in *Monomotapa*, between his then unknown great uncle and the king of *Dasila*, resolved to set out as soon as possible for that kingdom; and having provided himself with some arms and a horse, he began his journey thither, attended only with a small number of brave youths like himself, whom he had engaged to accompany him.

HE had not been long there, before he signalized himself by such brave exploits, as drew the eyes of all upon him; but more particularly, and by a kind of natural sympathy, those of his great uncle, who, though then wholly ignorant of the proximity of blood between him and the brave stranger, conceived such and affection for, and confidence in him, that he intrusted him with the command of a small corps of his troops to attack the enemy in some important post. On this occasion *Al-fondi* displayed so much conduct and bravery, and gained so signal a victory over the *Dasilans*, that their king left no means untried to bring him over to his interest, though all to no effect. The consequence was, that in the space of six months he gained so many battles, and performed such surprising exploits, that he rid the empire of that troublesome enemy; and, in recompence for his signal services and inviolable fidelity, his uncle gave him his daughter in marriage, without his having the least surmise of his true extract and near relation to him.

² Vol. ii. p. 358, & 374.

(E) Our author, whether through forgetfulness or misapprehension, styles that prince king of *Dasila*; a kingdom no-where to be found but in some geographers (12), who place it within the territories of the *Babrnagash* in the empire of *Abissinia*, on the confines of the coast of *Habash* or *Abcz*. But those geographers were misled by some fabulous and erroneous maps: and had there been really a kingdom of that name on that coast, it must have been too inconsiderable and too remote from *Monomotapa* to have maintained such a bloody war against it. It is therefore probable, either that he mistook the name of the king for that of the kingdom,

for want of rightly understanding his informer, or that his memory misled him in this, as in another kingdom which he calls *Le Royaume d'Eli*, the kingdom of *Eli*, and his *English* translator, by another mistake, the kingdom of *Deli*, but which is as unknown to modern geographers as that of *Dasila*. However, as it is no strange thing that a traveller should make some mistakes, in such a variety of strange names; so neither is it improbable that there may be a great number of kingdoms in the inland of *Africa*, which are still unknown to the best geographers even by name.

(12) *Mercator*, & al. de his, vid. *Le Martiniere*, sub voc. *Dasila*.

a THE first thing *Al-fondi* did after his advancement, was to send for his father, who still *His father arrives at court.* lived in his obscure farm, and upon his arrival at court, disclosed the whole mystery, and declared himself the son of the late emperor *Alfumigarbachi*, to the joyful surprize of his uncle and of the whole court and army. The uncle gladly resigned the crown to him as his undoubted due, and he at the same time, with the universal consent of all, transferred his to his worthy son *Al-fondi*, and his wife, who were accordingly crowned with the utmost solemnity and universal acclamations of the people, who gladly acknowledged him as their lawful *Al-fondi is crowned.* sovereign, and honoured him as the restorer of the peace of the empire, and of the imperial crown to its ancient chanel, after so many long and bloody wars and contests about the succession ^h.

b THIS remarkable revolution happened in the year 1523: and that noble prince was still on the throne, *an.* 1570, when our author visited his dominions; who tells us, that he was still the love and admiration of all his subjects, and relates some signal instances of his justice, equity, and other royal virtues, for which we shall refer the curious reader to his own book ⁱ.

BEFORE we dismiss this chapter, it will not be amiss to give some account of the rich *The gold mines of Manica.* golden mines with which this empire abounds, and which we have but just occasionally mentioned in the course of its history. The most considerable of them are in the kingdom of *Manica*, under the 23d degr. of south latitude, and 31st of east longitude, near unto which is situate the capital of the same name, called by some *Magnica*. They extend themselves through a large spacious champaign, wild, sandy, and barren, about nine miles in circuit, and surrounded with high mountains. The province is called *Matuca*, and the inhabitants who dig the mines *Botooge*. Their rule for discovering the places where the gold lies, is by the dryness and barrenness of the ground; as if nature so far exhausted herself in the production of that precious metal, that it could yield nothing else, where it yielded that. The country moreover is so inhospitable in winter, tho' so near the south tropic, that whatever creatures abide there during that season, are frozen to death by the vast *Extreme cold of the region.* quantities of snow that fall, and the excessive cold that reigns throughout it ^k. But in summer the air is so serene and clear, that some *Europeans* pretend to have seen the new moon on the day of its conjunction.

d THESE rich mines lie about 150 miles west of the mart, or place where the commerce *Difficulty in gathering the gold.* for it is carried on; the misfortune is, that the *Cassers* who work at them, and are naturally lazy, find great difficulty in gathering the metal, which here is in dust, for want of water to separate it from the earth; so that they are obliged to carry it as mixed as they dig it out to other distant places, where they keep large cisterns and reservoirs for that purpose. One conveniency they have, however, that they need not dig deeper for the ore than above six or seven spans; all the rest underneath being solid rock.

NEXT to those of *Manica*, or indeed preferable by far to them, if what we are told of *Mines of Massapa.* them by a *Portuguese* traveller be true, are those which he calls the mines of *Massapa* ^l, and others of *Afur*; from the affinity of which name he concludes them to be probably the ancient *Ophir*. In these, he tells us, have been found two lumps of gold, the one worth 1,200 ducats, and the other 400,000. He adds, that it is not only found among the stones, but grows up within the barks of several trees quite up to the top where the branches spread. But setting aside this wonderful one, there are others in this empire not much inferior to those of *Manica*; particularly those of *Batua*, a kingdom bordering on the barren *Mines of Batua.* wilds lately mentioned, and extending itself from *The Mountains of the Moon* to the river *Magnico*, and whose prince is a vassal of the emperor.

THESE are reckoned the antientest mines in the whole empire, on account of some old castles in their neighbourhood, supposed to have been built as a safeguard to them, and carry the greatest marks of antiquity. Those of *Boro* and *Kiticuy*, the one about 100 and *Boro, &c.* the other 200 leagues from *Sofala*, and more particularly still those of the province of *Toroa*, in which are those buildings or castles of which we have spoken in the last section ^m, and which some learned have attributed to king *Solomon*. The reader may see the principal one of these ancient structures described in the margin (F); by which he may judge of the rest, there

^h LE BLANC, part ii. c. 6.

ⁱ Idem ibid. c. 6, & 7.

^k MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 31.

^l FARIA

x SOUSA, vid. & Collect. of voyag. 4^{to}. 1746, vol. iii. p. 396.

^m Page 364 (C).

(F) It stands in the middle of a large spacious plain, round about which are scattered the mines above mentioned, and therefore is reasonably supposed to have been designed as a guard to them, especially as the structure rather resembles a strong fortress than a *Zam-ba* or a palace; the name which the inhabitants give both to this and to all the others of the same construction.

Its walls are not high, but of the thickness of 25 spans; the stones are laid regularly one upon another, without either cement, or any other material to fasten them together. On the front, just over the great gate, is a larger stone than the rest, and upon it an inscription in characters, or more probably hieroglyphics, which no man hath hitherto been able to decypher.

MOD. HIST. VOL. VI.

5 D

Round

Markets for
gold.

there being many more such edifices in this empire, and all of them of much the same fabrication. They are computed about 170 leagues, or 510 miles west from *Sofala*ⁿ. But there are several other considerable places where they have their fairs and markets, between the mines and the sea coast, particularly in those towns which lie on the *Zebeze* or *Cuama*, and other rivers, which, as was hinted above, are navigable up to that of *Tele*, one hundred and twenty leagues from *Sofala*, and where the *Portuguese* have built fortresses to keep the natives in awe, who come to those markets to exchange their gold for *European*, *Indian*, and other commodities. The first of these towns is called *Luano*, or *Luancho*, and is about four days journey from the sea; the second is *Buento*, still farther in the inland; the third *Massapa*, still farther up; the fourth *Sena*, and the last *Tele* above-mentioned.

Portuguese
judges.

THE commodities which the *Portuguese* give the natives for theirs are chiefly cloths, of various kinds and value, glass beads of various sizes and colours, and other still more worthless trinkets, for which, besides the gold above-mentioned, they give them ivory, furs of sundry wild and tame beasts, and other such valuable commodities, which makes that commerce very advantageous to them, especially as they are in some measure their own carvers, and oblige the natives to submit to their own terms. They have moreover in those markets an officer of their own, who is appointed by the governor of *Mosambico*, and decides all contests and differences that arise about their traffick; that of *Massapa* in particular, who is nominated with the consent of the emperor, seems to be the chief of them, and, we are told, is forbid to go into the country without his leave, under pain of death. They have likewise, in most of these towns, churches and monasteries of the dominican order^o. By the means of these several forts on the inland, as well as that more considerable one which they have on the mouth of the *Cuama* (all which, they tell us, the emperor allowed them to build in gratitude for the service they had done to him in assisting him to reduce some revolted vassals to their obedience, as well as to enable them, on all such exigencies, to be near at hand to assist him) they have made themselves masters of a tract of land on both sides of that river of above 160 leagues, and of some of the most considerable mines in the empire, and ingrossed the whole commerce of it, both of the inland and of the coasts, ever since the year 1640.

S E C T. VI.

The history of the kingdom of Monoemugi.

Kingdom of
Monoemugi.
Its extent,
boundaries,
&c. uncertain,

and variously
settled.

BEFORE we resume our course round this *African* coast, it will not be improper to give our reader an account of the vast and potent kingdom, or, as some authors style it, empire, of *Monoemugi*, or *Munni Emugi*, or, as it is otherwise called, *Nimeamaye*, which extends itself along the eastern coast lately mentioned of *Sofala*, *Mongala*, *Mosambico*, *Quiloa*, and *Mombaso*, as far almost as that of *Melinda* on the east, on the north as far as that of *Abissinia*, from which it is said to be divided by the *Nile*, and the dominions of the grand *Macocco*, on the west it is said to reach quite to the frontiers of *Kongo* and *Angolo*, and on the south to those of *Monomotapa* lately described^a. We must own, however, that these limits are nothing less than certain for the most part; and that we know little of the kingdom itself, but what is chiefly founded on the report of their neighbours, with whom its monarchs are frequently at war, or from the Negroes who carry on a commerce with it, rather than from the testimony of any *European* travellers into it; and hence proceeds that diversity of accounts we meet with among geographers concerning its extent, limits, division, &c. which the reader may see in the margin (A); from all which he will be the more easily convinced

ⁿ Conf. MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 31. & PURCHAS. Pilgr. lib. vii. c. 8.
FARIA, & al. sup. citat. & al.

^o MARMOL, PURCHAS, LOPEZ,
^a SANSON, LUITZ, PURCHAS, PIGAFET, ODOAR, LOPEZ, LINSCHOT.

Round this fortress, and at some distance from it, are seen several other such structures, all built on some eminence or rising ground, and amongst them a tower above twelve fathoms or seventy-two feet high. The wild natives, being unable to conceive how such structures could be reared, imagine them to be the work of demons. Those *Moors* who have seen them and the *Portuguese* castles in these parts, affirm that these are in no way comparable to them; neither is there

any fabric, ancient or modern, to be seen in all these vast tracts that bears any resemblance to them, or indeed any thing else, but the low cottages, mostly made of earth, or at best of wood covered with clay, in which the poor inhabitants dwell (13).

(A) This kingdom, according to *Sanfon*, is divided into three great provinces, which he calls *Monomotapa*, *Cafraria*, and *Kongo* (14). *Luitz* divides it into five; viz. the empires, as he styles them, of *Monoemugi*,

(13) *Marmol Afric. lib. ix. c. 31.* (14) *Atlas.*

- a vinced of what a late and more accurate geographer says of it, that the inland kingdom is in all those respects little known to us ^b. Neither need we wonder at it, considering the great precaution, which, as we have often had occasion to mention in this and the foregoing chapters, the *Africans* every-where take, to prevent any *Europeans* penetrating into the inland parts. However, what all our writers most agree in is, that he is a powerful and rich prince, and hath subdued most of the petty kingdoms round about him to his obedience; tho' not so absolutely, but that some of them, especially on the north and south side of him, frequently revolt, and put themselves under the protection of the *Abissinian* or *Benemotapan* emperors. He is said to have many rich gold, silver, and copper mines in his dominions, by means of which he carries on a kind of commerce with these ^{Commerce.}
- b two empires, as well as with some of the eastern coasters, with whom he is forced to exchange that precious metal for *Indian* and *European* commodities, for want of having some port of his own on either the eastern or western sea. This obliges him to cultivate a constant peace with the maritime kingdoms of *Quiloa*, *Mombaso*, and *Melinda*, whose merchants furnish him with variety of silks, cotton cloths, and other such merchandizes, together with cutlery work, and other sorts of trinkets: and amongst the rest, those little round balls or beads from *Cambaja*, made of a transparent red bitumen, with which they affect to adorn their necks, arms, and legs, and which they likewise use instead of money. Elephants being here also very numerous, vast quantities of ivory are exported by them into those kingdoms; from all which that emperor reaps a considerable yearly profit, and his subjects a no less conveniency, those *Indian* stuffs being their only apparel, and that only from their middle downwards; and those beads and trinkets their only ornaments, for which they gladly exchange their gold dust, which is of no value to them on any other account. He likewise lives in friendship with the grand *Macocco*, another prince on the north of him; on account of the Negro merchants who trade with the *Portuguese*, at the great markets of *Fongeno*, *Pombo*, and *Ocango*, and must traverse through his dominions in going and coming, and drive a considerable traffick likewise with him and his subjects.

- WHAT kind of people the natives of *Monoemugi* are in other respects, what their religion is, if they have any (for we do not find that *Mohammedism* hath reached them), what their laws, customs, and other particulars, we are wholly in the dark. The *Arabs*, who inhabit the coasts of *Zanguebar*, and are all *Mohammedans*, call them by the name of *Caffres*, or *Caffers*, that is, infidels, or men of no religion. We learn moreover that the frontiers of this empire, as well as some of the other provinces of it, are inhabited by the barbarous nations of *Giachas*, *Giagas*, or *Agags*, lately described, whom we take to be of the same extract, if not the same nation, with those whom the *Abissinians* call *Gallas* and *Agaus*, of whom we have elsewhere spoken ^c, and are a wild, fierce, and warlike people, of a whiter complexion, taller, and more stout by far than the *African* natives, and who live altogether upon plunder, and have spread themselves over most parts, and even some of the most potent kingdoms, of *Africa*, where, though they are called by different names, they plainly appear to have been originally the same people. They have no fixed habitations, but, like the wild *Arabs*, elsewhere described ^d, wander about in tents or portable houses, and spread dread and destruction where-ever they come. They have a way of marking their faces and bodies with iron instruments, and turn their upper eye-lids upwards to appear more terrible; and indeed one can hardly imagine any appearance more frightful, especially when joined to the idea of their other and still more barbarous customs, of butchering all that oppose them in their incursions, feasting on the flesh of all that unhappily fall into their hands; and, like the horrid *Imbii*, elsewhere described ^e, proclaiming death, fire, and destruction, where-ever they come.
- d the wild *Arabs*, elsewhere described ^d, wander about in tents or portable houses, and spread dread and destruction where-ever they come. They have a way of marking their faces and bodies with iron instruments, and turn their upper eye-lids upwards to appear more terrible; and indeed one can hardly imagine any appearance more frightful, especially when joined to the idea of their other and still more barbarous customs, of butchering all that oppose them in their incursions, feasting on the flesh of all that unhappily fall into their hands; and, like the horrid *Imbii*, elsewhere described ^e, proclaiming death, fire, and destruction, where-ever they come.

- f THESE savages, who scarcely knew the use of any weapons except their darts, the emperor of *Monoemugi* hath found means to fasten to his interest; and it is chiefly those whom he makes use of in his wars against the emperors of *Abissinia* and *Monomotapa*, and against the kingdoms of *Kongo* and *Angola*, in all which they committed such dreadful ravages and

^b See D'ANVILLE's map of Africa. p. 244, & seq. vii. c. 10. §. iii.

^c See before, p. 175. & seq. 190. & seq.

^d Anc. Hist. vol. vii.

^e Before, p. 347, & seq. See OD. LOPEZ voyag. lib. i. c. 13. lib. ii. c. 9. PURCH. lib.

Monomotapa, and *Cafraria*, and the kingdoms of *Kongo* and *Biafara*; the two first of which are wholly inland, and the other three maritime, and watered by the *Ethiopic* ocean (15), by the enlargement of whose dominions he doth of course remove its limits still farther northward and southward. But we have already seen that *Monomotapa* is no part of, but a boundary to this em-

pire; and shall shew in the sequel that those of *Kongo* and *Angola* are no more subject to it than that; unless we will suppose, what is far from improbable, that being contiguous to and frequently at war with both, he hath conquered some provinces from them, and assumes a title over the whole, without having either tribute, or perhaps regard, paid to him from either.

butcheries, that the poor inhabitants have no other way avoid them, than by abandoning a their country at the first news of their approach, and carrying off all they conveniently can with them in their flight. And it was probably in some such expedition as this, that, we are told, they forced the king of *Kongo* to abandon his dominions, and to retire into a little island on the *Zayr*, where they kept him so closely blockaded, that he died soon after of the dropsy, and the people that were with him were famished to death^f. We are likewise told that this powerful emperor employs these bloody cannibals against a commonwealth of female warriors, otherwise called *Amazons*, situate on some of his southern frontiers, from whence they used to make frequent inroads into his dominions; but are since kept in awe by them, not so much out of fear of their superior valour and strength, as of their inhumanity, and the dread of being roasted alive by, and made a banquet of to, that accursed foe. And b hence it is, that, when-ever they are attacked by them, the fight is commonly very bloody on both sides, there not being any of those martial females that will trust to their heels when routed, tho' extremely swift of foot; but will fight to the last gasp, and chuse to die sword in hand, rather than yield themselves prisoners to them.

His attempts on the western coast hitherto ineffectual.

WE shall not here inquire how far we may credit the various accounts we read concerning these female heroines, both in that and other parts of the world, but refer our readers to what we have said concerning them in our ancient history^e. But as to this infernal generation in human shape, we shall have such frequent occasion to mention instances of their horrid customs in other parts of *Africa*, besides what we have already said of them in a preceding chapter, as will put that matter out of all question. And shall only observe c here, that those emperors, who can encourage and make such frequent use of their assistance against their neighbours, whose chief and laudable aim is to suppress and extirpate them, cannot come very short of their savage and inhuman nature. Yet in spite of all their help, and his strength and opulence, it is plain he hath not hitherto been able to extend his conquests so far as to gain one maritime port on either coast; though from what we have observed above, he hath made more than one attempt, on the western side, on *Kongo* and *Angola* to that intent.

Unwholesome air.--No missionaries venture thither.

WE do not hear of any considerable towns in this empire, but only of small ones, which are situate along the river *Cuama*, which is said by *Luyts* to run through part of it, and to keep up the commerce with the maritime kingdom of *Sofala*, or rather, according to our d more modern maps, the *Cuabo*, which runs from this kingdom to that of *Quiloa*; and these are rather a sort of villages, where fairs are kept at settled times of the year, and resorted to by the people on each side for the sake of traffick. We meet with an account of some large lakes in it: but these have been since found to be fabulous. The *Portuguese*, however, who traffick with those Negroes we lately spoke of, have been assured by them, that there is a large one, out of which spring several great rivers, and which was filled with a vast multitude of islands, inhabited by Negroes. They farther told them, that on the eastern side of it, from the land, one frequently heard the sound of bells, and perceived some stately structures like the Christian churches; and that some people of a dark swarthy complexion came and trafficked with those islanders. Those negroes being asked how far they reckoned e that lake from their own country? answered, that it took them full 60 days travelling still directly eastward^b. We are further told, that the country which lies between that lake and the small territory of *Ocango*, or, as Mr. *D'Anville* writes it, *O-Cango* (B), is pleasant and fertile, and watered with great plenty of springs. It abounds with variety of fowl and four-footed creatures, and with palm-trees, from which the inhabitants draw both wine and oil; and honey is there in such plenty, that the Negroes cannot consume one third part of it, and suffer the rest to be lost; the misfortune is, that the air and climate are so unhealthy, that no missionaries or other *Europeans* dare venture so far into the inland, especially as the f *Giachas*, who inhabit these parts, and are reckoned the most fierce and cruel of all cannibals, infest all the roads, and massacre all that come in their wayⁱ.

THE greatest part of the kingdom is very mountainous; and among other long and lofty ridges of them, is said to run that famed one called by the antients *The Mountain of the*

^f OD. LOPEZ, lib. ii. c. 5. ^e Ant. Hist. vol. ii. p. 278, & (I) vol. iii. p. 721. ^b OD. LOPEZ, ubi sup. PIGAFET, lib. ii. c. 9. DAPPER, & al. ⁱ Idem ibid.

(B) Mr. *D'Anville*, who, in his map of *Africa*, hath given us a sketch of that lake as we suppose from its situation (for *Dapper*, who mentions the particulars above-noted, takes no notice of that name), calls it *Moravan*, and represents it as extending itself above five degrees from south to north, but exceeding narrow, from end to end, in proportion; and at the south end of it places a city of the same name, on what authority we know not.

As for the small canton of *O-Cango*, it is situated on

the frontiers of *Kongo*, and about thirteen degrees north-west above-mentioned. All that whole tract however is no less unknown to us than that of *Monocmugi*; no missionaries or *Europeans* having ventured farther eastward (excepting Father *Carvazzi*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel) than the duchy of *Sundi*, that is, the third province in the kingdom of *Kongo*; or if any have, no account hath been published of it that we can hear of.

a

Moon, supposed by *Ptolemy* to be those where the *Nile* had its source^k. We shall refer our readers to what hath been said in confutation of that notion^l, and ascertaining its true source to be as far on this side the equator, as those mountains are beyond it. Here we must conclude our account of this large and opulent empire, for want of further intelligence. For though some authors have inserted in their descriptions many other particulars concerning its cities, towns, rivers, lakes, traffick, &c. yet they differ so widely from each other, that no dependance can be had on any of them; and the best that can be said of those relations is, that they have been taken on the credit of those Negroes who traffick thither, and who might have no other view than to amuse the inquisitive, and too justly suspected, *Europeans* with fabulous reports, the more effectually to conceal every thing that might

Reports about it not authentic.

b invite them to penetrate farther into those parts. All, therefore, we shall add with relation to this unknown empire is, that Mr. *De Lisle*, in his Atlas, divides it into the five following kingdoms or provinces; viz. 1. The *Maracates*. 2. The *Moffagueres*. 3. The kingdom of the *Bengas*. 4. Of *Masty*. And 5. Of *Maravi*. The last of which Mr. *D'Anville* places on the southermost verge of the lake of that name, which is all we can find concerning them.

Empire how divided.

THE farther we move southwards towards the *Cape of Good Hope*, the farther we may be said to travel in the dark; though all our maps unite to embellish both coast and inland with such prospects, and pompous names of empires, kingdoms, and countries, crouded close to each other, as might induce an unwary reader to imagine those countries to be as

The more southern parts of it why so little known.

c fully known as those of *Europe*; and were he to compare the vast shew they make in those maps, with the little he finds in the relations and accounts of the *African* writers, he might be apt to conclude from the former, that the far greater and most considerable part of the latter, like those of the ancients, have been unhappily lost or destroyed. And this we think ourselves bound to apprise our readers of, lest they should be induced to ascribe our leaping over such a vast tract of land, overlooking so many seemingly considerable kingdoms and states, to our neglect, rather than to what it is really owing, the want of proper intelligence, and so lose their time in a fruitless search after them, amongst that variety of authors that have written of this part of the world. The truth is, the *Arabs*, as well as the natives who inhabit the whole eastern coast, are too jealous of, not to say incensed against, all *Europeans*, to give them any intelligence of the inland parts; much less to let any of their missionaries penetrate into them, as they have more luckily done in the western. So that all the knowlege we have been able to gain of them, is chiefly founded on the precarious report of those trading coasters, and extends little farther than the names and situation of those kingdoms, which make so fine an appearance in our maps; and might probably be represented by them in such a light as might rather deter than encourage strangers from attempting any farther discoveries about them; though perhaps no better, if not inferior, than that poor beggarly one of *Dancali*, of which we gave an account in a former chapter^m.

The rudeness and poverty of the inhabitants render it unfrequented.

e BUT whatever they are must be left to time to discover, as well as what extends itself farther towards the south, which is no less unknown to us, and commonly goes by the common name of *Cafraria*, or land of the *Caffers*, quite to that of the *Hottentots*, of which we shall speak in the next chapter. One thing we know however of that great tract of ground, that it is mostly barren and uncultivated, inhabited by wild barbarous nations, or rather tribes, distinguished among themselves by various names; though by all appearance all of the same wild and savage extract; and all, on that account, comprehended by the *Arabs* under the common name of *Caffers*, or men of no religion or knowlege of a Deity; tho' whether really such we will not affirm, seeing they give the same opprobrious term to all that disbelieve the *Mohammedan* creed. However that be, the poverty and barrenness of their country rightly accounts for the small acquaintance the *Europeans* have with either.

^k Geograph. lib. iv. in fin. & seq.

^l See Ant. Hist. vol. 1. p. 177, & seq.

^m See before, p. 320,

S E C T. VII.

The history of Cafraria, or the land of the Caffers, or Kaffers, and various nations so called.

Caffers and
Cafraria,
whence so
called.

Northern
boundaries
uncertain.

WE have already observed, that the name of *Caffers*, or *Kaffers*, is a kind of nick-^a name, given in contempt by the *Arabian Mohammedans* to all the *Africans* in general, who are either idolaters, or even of a contrary religion; that word signifying *without law*, or lawless, and is often applied to Christians as well as to Infidels. But geographers confine it to those wild nations only who live in the most southern part of *Africa*, and comprehend the whole country under the general name of *Cafraria*, though they are not agreed about assigning its boundaries on the north side^a; and no wonder, considering the little commerce the *Europeans* have with them. So that the generality of them make them begin at *Cape Negro*, on the western, and the mouth of the river *Cuama* on the eastern coast, and to extend quite to that of *Good Hope* on the south, including therein the whole nation of the *Hottentots*, who inhabit the most southern part, tho' these last plainly appear, in all respects, to be a different race from all the other *Africans*, as we shall shew in the next chapter*. But if by *Caffers* and *Cafraria* we must understand all the heathen and idolatrous nations who inhabit this south side of *Africa*, it is certain those northern limits will extend themselves much farther on that side, at least on the inland, and will include not only the kingdoms of *Monomotapa* and *Monoemugi*, already described, together with those of *Anfiko*, *Fungono*, *Metamba*, and others we shall speak of in the sequel, but the countries of the *Gallas*, *Jagoes*, on the south side of *Abissinia*, the *Monsoles*, and other nations of the same kind, which extend themselves between that empire and the kingdom of *Kongo*, *Loango*, *Angola*, &c. as far northward as the *Mountains of the Moon*, and how much further, is beyond our power to decide, with any tolerable probability, from the disagreement of our geographers and their maps. We may even add, that they sometimes contradict themselves, as one may see by the difference there is between the map which Mr. *De Lisle* gave us of this country, in conjunction with that of the kingdom of *Kongo*, and that which he published of the whole continent of *Africa*, the one in 1708, and the other in 1722^b. The truth is, there is really no country properly so called; and the *Portuguese* having mistaken the *Arabic* word *Caffer* for the name of a country, instead of a reproachful epithet, have led the rest into the same error; for which reason we shall forbear saying any thing more of it under the former notion, but only add, with respect to the latter, that all the vast tract of inland from the *Hottentots* to the equinoxal line, and beyond, may justly be called by that odious name of *Cafraria*, or Infidel land, seeing the whole race of its inhabitants are not only all idolaters, but addicted to the vilest and most inhuman superstitions and witchcrafts, perhaps of any nation in the world, and such as the very *Hottentots* are utter strangers to; but on which we shall not here enlarge, because we shall have occasion to mention them in the sequel, in our route along the western coasts, so far at least as our missionaries have dared to penetrate amongst them. The misfortune is, that the ferocity and cruelty of those savages, joined to the excessive heat and unhealthiness of these climes, hath proved a constant discouragement to those good fathers from risking the loss of their lives and labours amongst them. So that there have been but very few who penetrated far into the inland; and of these one part died so soon, either through the heat of the climate, badness of the food, and the terrible fatigues they were exposed to, or were deterred by their ill success from staying any time among them; and at their return home gave such a dreadful account of this mission, that few, if any, have been sent thither since, except to such maritime places where the *Portuguese* or other *Europeans* are settled†: and hence it is that we know so little of that vast inland tract, notwithstanding what *Dapper*, *La Croix*, and others, have written concerning it from hearsay reports; authorities to which, we think, no credit can safely be given, except only what more immediately relates to the *Hottentots*, with whom they have plainly, though absurdly enough, confounded them. Instead therefore of troubling our readers with a long detail of nations, of whom we know little else but their names, even if these may be relied on, we shall now readily close up this chapter, in order to open our way in the next to those more remote natives of *Africa*, as well as those kingdoms and nations who inhabit its western coast, with whom we are much better acquainted.

^a De hoc, confer. int. al. SANUT. LINSCHOT. RAMUS. PURCHAS, & al. DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al.

* De his, vid. sup. vol. iv. p. 497, & seq.

^b Confer. DE LISLE's map, 1708, & not. D'ANVILLE.

† Vid. P. CAVAZZ. hist. of Kongo, &c.

C H A P. VIII.

*The history of the various nations of the Hottentots, with their coasts ;
together with the Dutch settlements on or about them.*

S E C T. I.

- a **T**HE *Hottentot* coast, which furrounds the empire of *Monomotapa* in the form of a *Situation and extent.* horse-shoe on the east, south, and west, extends, according to *Magin*, from the west of *Cabo Negro* as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, and from thence northward to the river *Magnica*, or *Rio de S. Spirito*, including *Mattatan*, a distinct kingdom. According to *Sanutus*, this coast, beginning at the *Mountains of the Moon*, under the tropic of *Capricorn*, in 28 deg. and a half of south latitude, extends north beyond the *ape* to the coast of *Zanguebar*, having the *Indian* sea on the east, the *Ethiopic* on the west, the southern ocean on the south, and on the north the kingdoms of *Mattatan*, *Monomotapa*, and the coast of *Zanguebar*, or rather the *Mountains of the Moon*, which divide it from the rest of the continent ^a.
- b THE natives, whose original name has been mistaken, and believed by *Tachart*, *Marklin*, *Original* *Dapper*, *Arnold*, and others, a nickname only, call and distinguish themselves by the name *name* of *Hottentot*; who, though generally confounded by *Europeans* with, and denominated *Caffers*, from *Cafri*, an *Arabic* name, as we have shewn in the close of the last chapter, are a distinct people, of different colour and manner of life, who know not, nor have any traditional account, of any national appellation antecedent to the arrival of *Europeans*, who have remained where they are ever since the deluge, or originally descended from the ancient *Troglodytes*, the posterity of *Abraham* by his wife *Cethura*. Their language is a composition of the strangest and most disagreeable sounds, deemed by many the disgrace of speech, without human sound or articulation, resembling rather the noise of irritated turkies, the
- c chattering of magpies, and whooting of owls, justly considered the monster of languages, attainable only by youth, and children born in the country, and never to be acquired by strangers, the sound depending on extraordinary vibrations, inflexions, and clashing of the tongue against the palate. On this account the *Hottentots*, who are hardly intelligible when they speak other languages (though there are instances of some who have expressed themselves roundly) are esteemed a nation of stammerers ^b (A).
- THE coast is extremely mountainous, abounding in capes, bays, and roads. Thirty *Coast.* leagues to the east of the *Cape of Good Hope*, situated in 24 degr. 21 min. of south latitude, is another cape more south, beyond deg. 25, called by the *Portuguese*, who first doubled it, *Cabo das Agulhas*, or *Cape of Needles*, the needle of the compass appearing to them, when
- d opposite this eminence, to turn from north direct south; tho' later mariners have remarked, that it still inclines five or six degrees to the north-west. Near this cape is a flat shore, with plenty of fish, which begins in the west near a fresh water river, and extending 15 leagues in the main sea, ends in the east near *Fish Bay*. *Cabo Falso*, so called by the *Portuguese*, who, returning from *India*, mistook it for the *Cape of Good Hope*, is between these two capes, eight or nine leagues eastward beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*; the *Portuguese*, who believed there were no more capes, called this, which they afterwards discovered in the same course, *Cabo Falso*. Along the coasts, on both sides of the *Cape of Good Hope*, are many fine bays, where ships may ride in the greatest safety. Twenty-seven leagues to the north-west is *Saldanha Bay*, so named from a *Portuguese* captain shipwrecked on that coast. The largest and
- e most commodious is *Table*, or *Vasel*, Bay, on the south, and near the mountain of that name, six leagues in circumference, with four fathom water close to the beach, and sheltered from all but north-west winds, which blow strait up. Opposite to this bay is *Robu Eilan*, or the *Island of Rabbits*, in 34 degr. 40 min. of south latitude, to the east of *Cabo das Agulhas*, and 67 leagues from the *Cape of Good Hope*. *Peter Both*, in 1661, discovered a bay which he named *Uleest*, sheltered only from north winds, in which is a small island, and on the west a rivulet of fresh water, extremely convenient for *European* mariners. Twenty-five or thirty leagues farther east *Both* discovered *Mashell Bay*, afterwards named by the *Portu-*

^a ROBBE Geogr. vol. ii. p. 242. LA CROIX Relat. vol. iv. p. 12. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al, ^b KOLBEN, Eng. edit. 8°. vol. i. p. 28, 30, 31, 300. LA CROIX, vol. iv. p. 38, & al. sup. citat.

(A) If so, should not our authors have apprised us here when, and by whom, such a series of proper and well articulated names of persons, tribes, &c which the reader will find in the following pages, were first coined for them, and reduced into a public standard?

guefe Seno Formoso. Next to this is *Seno do Lago*, from its resemblance of a lake. There ^a are several roads in the extent of this bay, and an island called *Ilha dos Caos*. *Cabo do S. Francisco*, and *Cabo das Serras*, are marked upon charts between these two bays. The island *Contento*, and *Cabo do Arecito*, are near *Cabo das Serras*; and something more north-east is *St. Christopher's River*, called *San Christovano* by the *Portuguese*, and by the *Hottentots* *Nagoa*. The country beyond this river was called by the *Portuguese*, who discovered it on the festival of our Lord's nativity, *Terra do Natal*. Between the *Cape of Good Hope* and *Cape das Agulhas*, are the *Sweet*, *Salt*, and *Jaquilina* rivers, which run into the sea; the *Sweet-water* river flows from the bottom of the *Table* mountain, tho' the spring is asserted to rise on the west of lake *Gale*, between the *Mountains of the Moon*, and to run into the sea ^b near *Cape Falso*. *Pigafet* mistook this for the river *Camissa*, which runs from that lake, and whose mouth is more eastward, and nearer *Terra do Natal*. The company of the ship *Mauritius*, wrecked on this coast in 1662, began a fort opposite this river, in order to defend and secure a watering place, but the work was never completed. The mouth of the *Salt-water* river, so called from the extreme white salt made therein by the sun, in hot and drougthy seasons, is on the east. This receives the fresh water of three rivers, about nine or ten leagues up the country, and of a rivulet which springs up in the sands about half a league from the shore. The mouth of the river *Jaquelina* is also on the east, and half a league distant from the *Table Gulph* ^c.

^c **Hottentot nations.** THERE are no considerable kingdoms throughout this large extent of country, the whole being inhabited by different nations of tribes of *Hottentots*, governed by different *Honquers*, or chiefs, who have no fixed residence, living, like the *Arabs*, in huts or portable houses, and removing their *Kraals*, or villages, whenever the pasture becomes too bare for the subsistence of their cattle, and upon the natural or violent death of an inhabitant. The known nations, according to our author (who esteems the several details of the *Hottentot* nations, given by *Dapper*, *Anderton*, *Tachart*, and others, for the most part made up of invention and hearsay) are the *Gunjeman*, *Kochaquan*, *Suffaquan*, *Odiquan*, *Chirigriquan*, *Greater and Lesser Namaquan*, *Attaquan*, *Koopman*, *Hessaquan*, *Sonquan*, *Dunquan*, *Damaquan*, *Gauros* or *Gouriquan*, *Houteniquan*, *Chamtover*, and *Heikom* ^d.

^d **Gunjeman.** THE *Gunjeman* nation, who sold their territory, still live promiscuously among the *Dutch*, holding a small part only of their ancient possession. This nation, called also *Goringhaiquas*, pretend to the property of the *Cape*, of which they are said to be natives. They consisted of about 95 families, and sent into the field 3 or 400 men capable of bearing arms ^e.

^e **Kochaquan.** THE *Kochaquan*, called *Saldachaters* by *Dapper*, border northward on the *Gunjeman*, and hold the greatest part of their territory, the meadows excepted, which are extremely fine and numerous, and possessed by the *Europeans*, who furnish the company's ships with provisions. The *Dutch* keep a constant guard in this country for the security of their salt pits, to watch the sea, and to give notice to the *Cape* of ships in sight. The chief of this nation, consisting of 450 families, inhabiting *Kraals* a quarter of a league distant from each other, and containing 30 or 40, and 50 families, assumes the title of *Sbeck*, and pretends to the sovereignty over all *Hottentots*, 75 leagues round the *Cape of Good Hope*. *Oldasoa*, who had but one wife, being extremely chaste for a *Hottentot*, was the reigning *Sbeck* in 1661, of a well proportioned body, and of the sweetest and most peaceable disposition. This prince, who avoided broils and contentions with the *Dutch*, dying of a lingering disorder, left one daughter, the princess *Ramis*. His viceroy *Gonnomoa*, extremely corpulent, and known to the *Europeans* by the name of the *Black Captain*, had three wives and several children; and *Caucosoa*, the third person in the state, of a genteel appearance for a *Hottentot*, was a courteous and polite man ^f.

^f **Suffaquan.** THE *Suffaquan*, or *Sassiquan*, border northward, at some distance from *Saldanha Bay*, on the *Kochaquan* nation. A great part of this tribe were numerous and rich in cattle, till plundered by *Dutch* freebooters, who, in the infancy of their settlement, pillaged and robbed the *Hottentot* nations, forced them to abandon their country; and the sooner, on account of the scarcity of spring water. This nation seems to be the *Chainonquan*, mentioned by *La Croix* ^g, a numerous and rich people, who, with their aged chief *Sousoa*, and his son *Goboa*, married to *Camisofa*, retreated from the neighbourhood of the *Cape*, to a more distant country, towards the *Cobonas*, the blackest of the *Negroes*, with long hair, and, by the account of the *Cape Hottentots*, a cannibal nation, possessed of mountains producing plenty of the greatest curiosities. The *Hottentots* disdain descent, kindred, and connection with these people.

^g **Odiquan.** To the *Suffaquan* adjoins the *Odiquan* nation. These two tribes having entered into a perpetual confederacy against the *Chirigriquan* neighbouring nation, with which they have

^c KOLB. ubi sup. p. 61. & alib. pass.
15. & al. sup. citat. See also before, vol. iv. p. 497.

^d Idem ibid. p. 13, 33, & alib. pass.
^f KOLBEN ibid. p. 23.

^e LA CROIX ib. p.
^g Idem ibid. p. 245.

- a had long and bloody wars, join upon the least injury or affront given by the *Chirigriquan*, in pursuit of satisfaction and revenge.

THE *Chirigriquan* is the next nation; a numerous people, remarkably strong in body, *Chirigriquan.* and famed amongst the *Hottentots* for their dexterity in throwing the *Hassagaye*. The *Elephant River*, so named from the great number of elephants frequenting its banks, runs cross this country, whose soil is superior to the *Suffaquan* and *Odiquan*. There are many hills, whose tops, like most others in *Hottentot* countries, are covered with meadows and a large thick wood, divided by several roads, yet extremely dangerous to pass, on account of lions, tigers, leopards, and wolves. This nation, with which a regular commerce has been established, were extremely furious against *Europeans*, having greatly suffered by
b the *Dutch* freebooters, who robbed them in the most barbarous manner of their lives and cattle.

THE two *Namaquan* nations, of the same name, yet different in form of government *Namaquan.* and manner of life, of the best sense amongst the *Hottentots*, and able to take the field with 20,000 men, are greatly respected for their strength, valour, and discretion, and the women are extremely gay and artful. The *Lesser* lies on the coast; the *Greater* is the next nation eastward. Both territories are mountainous, stony, and sandy, the soil of the vallies indifferent, with little wood, and but one spring. The *Elephant River*, which runs through the two countries, principally supplies the inhabitants with water. There are numbers of wild beasts, and a particular sort of deer in these countries, spotted white and yellow, never seen
c single, but herding in hundreds, and sometimes in thousands together. The flesh is generally fat and delicate, but of a different taste from *European* venison. The *Namaquans*, who, like the *Chirigriquans*, were extremely exasperated against *Europeans*, by the cruelty and rapine of *Dutch* freebooters, who, without quitting the field, had maintained a battle for three days, and, despairing of victory by force, had, by stratagem, vanquished and defeated a *Dutch* party, who, finding their proposals of peace rejected, had resolved upon giving the most distinguished proofs of their courage, appointed and sent a deputation to Mr. *Van Assenbourg*, who arrived at the *Cape* in 1708, to assure that governor of their readiness to enter into and observe exactly a treaty of alliance. The deputies wore a small plate of polished iron, in the shape of a half-moon, on their foreheads; and having waited on the governor, and dis-
d charged their commission with surprising ability and discretion, to the great honour of their respective nations; and, having been liberally entertained for some days at the company's expence, returned extremely satisfied, and complimented the governor at their audience of leave, that they promised themselves from his personal virtues all peace and security; and that they should not fail of making the same impressions on their countrymen, which they had themselves received of his integrity, disinterestedness, and generosity.

THESE *Hottentots* travel 150 and 200 leagues from the *Cape*. *Riebeck*, governor of the *Dutch* settlement in 1661, sent 13 *Dutchmen* in an equipage drawn by four oxen, in order to establish a correspondence, and to discover gold or other curiosities among the *Namaquans*†. The ambassadors having travelled 150 leagues, at length discovered the *Nama-*
e *quan* Kraals, and were received with great courtesy and civility. They were first entertained for four hours by a band of one hundred musicians with a concert of *Namaquan* composition, conducted afterwards to the palace, and introduced to king *Acambia*, whose three daughters were of gigantic stature, and regaled by his majesty with milk and mutton. The ambassadors having presented the king and people with bits of copper, grains of coral, some brandy and tobacco, and instructed the *Namaquans* in the use of that weed, with which they were before unacquainted, returned perfectly satisfied with and convinced of the extraordinary stature of the *Namaquans*, and the beauty of the ladies, whose persons and apparel were besmeared with grease, tho' adorned, like the *Songuas*, with umbrellas of ostrich feathers. On *November* 14 of the same year, 13 more set out from the fort on a more accurate dis-
f covery of this nation, 12 only returned on *February* 13, in the following year, who gave an account that one of the company had been killed by an elephant: that having travelled 150 leagues, without a lucky or amusing adventure, they had discovered one *Chirigriquan* hut near the place, where the *Namaquans* had before resided, who, they learnt, had departed, and gone to a distant country, nor would they be heard of in less than a year^h.

THE *Attaquans* are a brave, sprightly, contented nation, who are seldom at war, living *Attaquan.* in tranquility, in small bodies, at a considerable distance from each other, the soil of their country being indifferent, and ill provided with water. These *Hottentots* make fires at the tops of the highest mountains when under apprehension of an enemy. Upon these signals the most able to bear arms repair to a fixed place of rendezvous, and a numerous army is
g immediately assembled.

THE *Koopman* nation, so named from one of their captains, lies southward of the *Gunje-* *Koopman.* *man*. The *Palamit*, a rapid river, receiving on both sides several rivulets, and a consider-

† De hoc, vid. sup. vol. iv. p. 495, & seq.

^h Idem, p. 28.

able stream, called the *Black River*, has its source in *Drakenstein* mountains, and runs, winding itself, through the vallies of this territory, into the sea. There is a hot-bath, and several salt-pits in this country, where *Europeans* are continually taking in many large and rich tracts of land, unemployed by the *Koopmans*. This territory is extremely fertile, abounds in wood, and is well watered.

Hessaquan.

THE *Hessaquan*, the richest of the *Hottentot* nations, whose *Kraals* are the most numerous and best peopled, border likewise on the *Gunjeman* nation. These *Hottentots* trade considerably with *Europeans*; many enter into, and make fortunes in, their service, employing their wages in the purchase of cattle. This territory, whose pastures are covered with great and small cattle, is esteemed the most fertile, the *Hessaquans*, the most luxurious and effeminate *Hottentot* nation, and less inclined to war, are brave upon occasions, but never pursue enemies beyond their frontiers.

Sonquan.

THE *Sonquan* nation inhabit a mountainous, rocky, and poor country, to the east of, and bordering on, the *Koopman*. The enterprising and lively *Sonquans*, who are dexterous in the management of arms and in chase, take up in general the military profession, serving as mercenaries the *Hottentot* nations. The *Sonquans*, 3 or 4000 in number, are great hunters, men and women; their diet is venison, and roots instead of bread; their dress buffalo skins, and the women adorn their heads with umbrellas of ostrich feathers. The *Sonquans*, who are no admirers of honey, are famed at the *Cape* for engaging bees, barter great quantities of honey with *Europeans*, who mix it with water for refreshing draughts.

Dunquan.

THE *Dunquans* are next to the *Sonquan* nation; whose territory is less mountainous, and extremely fruitful, abounding throughout with cattle and game, and well watered by several rivulets running through into the *Palamit* river.

Damaquans.

THE *Damaquans*, great hunters and admirers of the flesh of wild beasts, are the next and adjoining nation, possessing a more level tract of land, equally fruitful and plentiful in cattle and game, and producing water melons and wild hemp. There are several salt-pits; but great scarcity of wood; and a sort of moss, offensive when set on fire, is made use of for fuel. The river *Palamit*, which turns and winds throughout this country, without any bridges, is extremely inconvenient to travellers; who are obliged to pass it in small canoes, or on floats of timber.

Gouriquan.

THE *Gauros*, or *Gouriquan*, who lie next to the *Damaquan*, are a numerous people, living in great ease and plenty in a small territory, swarming with more wild beasts than any country about the *Cape*. The soil is extremely rich and fruitful, well watered, and abounding with wood. The inhabitants, whose courage and dexterity are frequently exercised, distinguish themselves by their apparel, which is made of the skins of wild animals.

Houteniquan.

THE *Houteniquan*, whose territory, full of woods, intermixed with meadows, produces a wonderful variety of herbs and beautiful flowers of exceeding fragrancy, lie on the coast to the north-east of the *Gauros*.

THE *Gouriquas* and *Houteniquas* are very probably the *Chrigriquan* and *Hosaan Hottentots*, who were shepherds and hunters, inhabitants of the lands round the vallies of *Sal-danba Bay*.

Chamtovers.

THE *Chamtovers*, who border on the *Houteniquas*, possess a flat tract of land, extremely fertile, and abounding in pastures, with small woods, of the most lofty trees in the *Hottentot* territories. There is game and all kinds of wild beasts; and several large streams, enriched with various sorts of river and sea fish, divide and water the country.

Heikoms.

THE *Heikoms*, who lie north-eastward, and border on the *Chamtovers*, are exposed and subject to great inconveniencies and shifts, from the want of water: yet the vallies of this exceeding mountainous country are fertile, and cattle of every kind thrive on the brackish water, and reeds on the banks of the rivers. All kinds of game and wild animals abound in this territory.

THERE are several nations, hitherto scarce known, that extend themselves along the coast, from the *Gauros* as far as *Terra do Natal*; and the *Chorogaugaus* possess a large tract of country northward, bordering on the *Attaguas*, with many others between this nation and *Angola*¹.

Births and character of the Hottentots.

THE *Hottentots*, who are brought into the world by the assistance of a decoction of milk and tobacco, to forward their births, and immediately rubbed with fresh cowdung, afterwards washed with the juice of *Hottentot* figs, and when dried by the sun, besmeared with melted butter or fat, then named by the mother or father *Horse*, *Lion*, *Sheep*, *Ass*, &c. according to their esteem for the beast, and taught to smooke as soon as weaned, are of good stature, well made, both sexes erect, from five to six feet high, the women excepted, who are short, with small and tender feet, subject to few distempers, and generally of long life. Their colour is of a nut or dingy olive: their heads are large, with piercing eyes,

¹ KOLBEN'S history, p. 78.

- a and noses flattened by art, with thick lips, and teeth as white as ivory: their wool, like Negroes, is short, and black as jet, and their feet large and broad. The *Hottentots*, insensible of the noble fruits reaped from industry by *Europeans*, remain the most lazy people in the universe: neither sex pare the nails of fingers or toes: they esteem thinking as labour, and, abhorring both as capital plagues, pass three parts in four of their lives with amazing stupidity in shameful idleness. They are, notwithstanding, occasionally, surprizingly active; they surpass in swiftness the fleetest horse, and are famed for dexterity in discharging arrows, throwing stones, Hassagayes, and Rackum sticks; and, though unacquainted with agriculture, and the qualities of tobacco, before the arrival of *Europeans*, excel, and are often consulted by most resident in the country, in the management of lands, and choice of tobacco.
- b Their mutual affection, liberality, and benevolence, extend to each other in the most friendly manner; and naturally compassionating distress, are extremely hospitable to strangers of every nation. They are of good sense, and integrity, in the expeditious execution of justice, and in chastity excel all or most nations in the world; yet practise, in the midst of these eminent virtues, the most barbarous and unnatural cruelties, upon the bare authority of *Hottentot* customs, the foundation and sole reason of all their institutions^k.

ON the birth of twin girls, or of a boy and girl, if the parents are rich, and the mother complains of the want of milk, or the same plea, or poverty, is set up by the indi- *Barbarous cus-*
gent, the worse-featured of the girls, who always suffer in other births, is allowed by the whole Kraal, assembled purposely to determine, to be buried alive, or exposed, stretched
c on the back, or tied to the bough of a tree, to birds or beasts of prey.

If the eldest, and, in default of sons, the next male relation, who inherits all *Hottentot* estates, which are never divided, nor descend to women, who are debarred even of legacies but with consent of the heir, determines to get rid of his father, mother, or relation, who are regarded as superannuated when incapable of any useful domestic performance, the Kraal is convoked, and informed of the condition and request of the heir; consent is never refused, and a day is immediately appointed for the removal of the superannuated man or woman, whether captain, the wealthiest, or obscurest amongst them, and the person is compelled to surrender his whole estate to the claimant, whether son or male relation, who entertains the Kraal that bids farewell, and attends the superannuated person, who is conveyed upon a carriage ox, placed, left, and abandoned by all, without any other comfort or assistance, in the middle of a lone hut, but that of a small provision within reach, to die of age or hunger, or to be devoured by wild beasts, without remorse or scruple of affection, duty, or respect. And the most impious practice of *Hottentot* youth, made men, of reproaching, insulting, and beating their mothers with impunity, is an indulgence equally barbarous and cruel in the father, as unnatural and vicious in the sons, and must render the *Hottentot* race the most brutish and abominable of the human species.

THE Krosse, or skin of a sheep or wild beast, prepared with cow-dung and sheep's fat, *Dress.* and afterwards greased with butter or fat, fresh or stinking, according to the rank or wealth of the *Hottentot*, hangs, like a mantle over the shoulders, high or low, and open or closed
e before, according to the seasons or customs of the tribe. The men, who have no covering but a composition of fat, foot, and dirt, in the most raging heats, wear cat or lamb-skin caps in cold and wet seasons. The face and fore part of the neck are always bare; and, the verenda excepted, which are covered with a Kull Krosse, or piece of wild beast skin, they go naked from the hips downwards. Leather stockings, and sandals cut out of the raw hides of elephants or oxen, are used occasionally, in driving their herds to pasture, or in passing sands or rocks. A greasy pouch hangs about their necks, with a knife, pipe, tobacco, Dacha, and a small piece of wood called Sufa, burnt at both ends against witchcraft. Three ivory rings adorn the left arm, to which, on journies, is fastened a bag of provisions. The Kirri and Rackum sticks are in the right hand, and another is carried in the left with a bushy
f tail of a wild cat, fox, or other animal fastened to it for a handkerchief. The Honquers and captains, who were formerly distinguished only by fair skins of tigers or wild cats, appear at present at the head of the army, in councils, and on every solemn occasion, with brass crowns, and brass-headed canes. These ornaments were presented by the *Dutch* to the chiefs and captains of the nations in their alliance, and are now annexed to, descend with, and are esteemed an unalienable property and distinctive badge of, their dignity. The women, whose hair, like the men's, is short, woolly, and black, constantly wear caps made of the skins of wild animals, pointing spirally up from the crowns of their heads, and two Krosses, the lesser undermost; which being shaped and worn like those of the men, open, the fore part of the body appears naked down to the *Pudenda*; a wonderful broad and callous
g excrescence growing above and flapping over the *Pudenda*, seems designed by nature to conceal those parts, which are always covered with a Kut Krosse, made of sheep-skin, stripped of

^k KOLBEN'S hist. vol. i. p. 38, 117, 141, 211, 324, & alib. pass.

the wool, and three times larger than the Kull Kroffe worn by the men; the posteriors are hid by a small Kroffe, fastened round the waist, which reaches below the hams, and their legs are encircled, from the knee to the ankle, with slips of leather, resembling one smooth continued swathe.

BOTH sexes are fond of ornaments; the men distinguish themselves by bladders of wild beasts, blown up and tied to the hair, which is powdered with buchu; and bits of brass plates, looking-glasses, and buttons, are intermixed; the rich add pieces of mother of pearl, which the *Hottentots* shape and polish in the most curious manner. Brass and glass beads are ornaments the most esteemed, and worn by both sexes in necklaces, bracelets, and girdles; the beads for the waist are stained with various colours. The ladies, whose wool is concealed by their caps, plaster their foreheads with grease and buchu, and make a red spot over each eye and cheek, upon the nose and chin. The bodies of both sexes, who hold the fat of fish in the utmost abhorrence, are besmeared from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot with fat, butter, and soot intermixed; and the rich display their luxury in the quantity of grease, their distinctive mark of quality and wealth.

Manner of eating and dressing victuals.

THESE people, restrained by traditionary laws from the flesh of hogs, hares, rabbits, and fish without scales, eat in the most ravenous manner, when their humour or appetite calls, in the open air when fair, and within doors in windy or rainy weather. Hares and rabbits are allowed to the women, but the pure blood of beasts, and flesh of moles, are permitted only to men, who eat separate, the wedding-day excepted, when the bridegroom is indulged in eating with the women. Their food is the flesh and entrails of cattle, and other wild beasts, with fruits and roots of various kinds. These are gathered by the women, whose choice is directed by the hedgehog and *Bavian* ape. The *Hottentots* eat no sort of fruit or roots but those which these animals feed upon; and between the *Anderfsmakens*, or solemnities, no flesh but of cattle that die naturally, and of wild beasts or venison. The flesh and entrails are boiled in blood, and sometimes in milk, which, according to our author, would be extremely agreeable, but for the filthiness of the cooks. Lice are commonly eaten, and old shoes, made of raw hides of oxen or deer; the hair is singed off, when they are steeped in water, and broiled on the fire. No salt or spice is made use of in dressing *Hottentot* dishes, yet they devour with great avidity the salted and high-seasoned victuals of *Europeans*. The usual and ordinary drink is cows milk and water; ewes milk is permitted only to women: but both sexes, who are inexpressibly foolish and extravagant when drunk, are immoderate lovers of wine, brandy, and arrack; and their passion for tobacco, dacha, or wild hemp, and buspach, or a mixture of dacha and tobacco, and the root kanna, is without bounds.

Government.

THE chiefs, or Konquers, of each nation, who are hereditary, engage before instalment, which is performed in a solemn manner, to preserve the ancient form of government, the prerogatives and privileges of the Kraals and people. The command of the army, and conduct of negotiations of peace, are their province, who preside also in their councils, which are composed of the nobility, or captains of each Kraal, and collect the votes, the majority of which make the resolutions of these assemblies held at the residence of the chief. The captains of every Kraal equally engage not to alter the laws and customs of the Kraals. Their office is to preserve the peace, administer justice, and, in time of war, to command, under the chief, the troops of their several Kraals. All civil and criminal causes are heard and determined by them, state criminals excepted, who are tried by the chief, or Konquer, and the captains of every Kraal, assembled juridically¹.

Hottentot Kraals, or villages.

THE *Hottentot* Kraals, or villages, consist of low huts like ovens, whose area is oval, about 14 feet diameter, ranged in a circle, built with sticks, and covered with mats made of flags and bulrushes, interwoven by the women, in the closest manner, when dried by the sun. The huts appertaining to the rich have two coverings; the uppermost is of skins, not penetrable by excessive heat or violent rain. None receive light but by the entrance, an arch about three feet high, and two broad, with a skin fastened to it to take up or let down, according to the serenity or inclemency of the weather. The generality of Kraals contain from three to four, and some five hundred inhabitants; the families consist of ten or twelve persons, young and old, who lie in separate holes dug round the huts; in the middle of each is a hole about a foot deep, for the fire-place. The furniture of these smoaky huts, not subject to fire, are a few pots for cooking and drinking, a few earthen vessels for milk and butter, with Kroffes, bows and arrows, Haffagayes, Kirri and Rackum sticks.

THERE is but one narrow entrance into a Kraal, whose area is green, and is the lodgment for calves and small cattle: the great are ranged round the Kraal on the outside, with their heads close to the huts, and tied two and two by the neck, to prevent straying: no watch is appointed to guard them from wild beasts, the cattle giving notice of the approaching enemy by a general lowing: an empty hut is preserved in every Kraal for calves and lambs

¹ KOLBEN's hist. p. 84, 217, 223, & alib. pass. OD. LOPEZ, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. mult.

a too weak to follow their dams, which are drove to pasture between six and seven in the morning, and back to the Kraal between five and six in the evening.

THE *Hottentots*, whose hearts are set upon their cattle, their only wealth, and sole objects of their care, who are extremely affected by the flourishing or declining condition of the herds; alternately drive and tend them to pasture, in proportion to the herds and number of men in the Kraal, where a single sheep belonging to the poorest *Hottentot* is guarded with equal care as those of the richest in the Kraal. The Backeyleys, a sort of fighting oxen, chosen by the most skilful *Hottentot* for that purpose, tamed and trained like elephants in *Asiatic* nations, for war, are of great use in the conduct of the herds, who bring and preserve stragglers within compass. These warriors know every inhabitant of the Kraal, and furiously run at and attack the *Buschies*, or robbers of cattle. The bulls and rams run with the cows and ewes the whole year: these the *Hottentots* geld when increased beyond the proportion of the herds, the bulls at one year, and the rams at half a year old. The bulls are thrown upon their backs, and their horns fixed in the ground, their legs are extended to the full stretch, by ropes fastened to stakes drove into the ground; the testicles are tied up in the bag as tight and close as possible, to stop all communication with the vessels above: the animal is then let loose in this condition, and the testicles rot off in time. The rams testicles are tied up in the same manner, but bruised to mash before set at liberty. Manner of gelding bulls and rams.

IN every Kraal is a physician, an officer called *Suri*, cowdoctor, and midwife, all elective, and without salary; a small present and entertainment, occasionally accepted, being their only perquisites. The health of the inhabitants is the province of the physician, whose practice is attended with surprising success, and who keeps his prescriptions and remedies inviolably secret. The *Suri* directs the religious, performs the marriage and funeral ceremonies, and is the operator in the custom of depriving the males of one testicle. The cow-doctor, who studies the disorders incident to, inspects and watches the health of the cattle. The midwife, chosen by the women, out of the most able in the Kraal, holds her office for life. Physicians.

THE operation on the male children, peculiar to *Hottentot* nations, who confessedly surpass in agility all others in the universe, induced *Saar*, *Vogel*, *Tachart*, *Boeving*, and most writers, to believe their surprising swiftness owing only to the excision of the testicle, and the original cause of the practice. Our author, notwithstanding the accounts of some *Hottentots*, who confirm this opinion, affirms the practice religious, asserting, the intelligent *Hottentots*, who keep with great secrecy the origin of their customs and ceremonies, to be quite frank when questioned on this point, and declare the observation a law, of the breach of which they have no memory, that has prevailed throughout all generations, *That no man should have carnal knowledge of a woman before he is deprived of the left testicle*: that, to secure the observance, the operation is performed on the children, when eight or nine years of age: that should a marriage be consummated previous to the excision, the man and woman would be exposed to the mercy of the chief, and the woman probably tore to pieces by her sex, who have a prevailing opinion, that a man with two testicles constantly begets twins. In treaties, therefore, of marriage, the friends of the contracting party, to avoid an immodest examination, certify and aver the operation ^m. Peculiar custom.

THE candidate for this state discovers his intention to his father, if living, and, in case of his death, to the next in authority of his kindred, whose approbation is absolutely necessary, who repairs with the youth to the father of the woman, and demands, in his name, the daughter in marriage: the mother is instantly consulted by the husband, who returns an immediate answer, seldom negative, unless the damsel is already contracted: in this case both depart directly. If the issue is favourable, and the youth is already made a man, according to the *Hottentot* ceremonial, two or three of the fattest oxen, in proportion to the figure of the family, are drove to the residence of the lady. The relations of both parties attend the nuptials, those of the bride receiving the relations of the bridegroom with the utmost civility; the oxen are killed; the whole company besmear their bodies with the fat and buchu, and the women, to appear more brilliant, daub their foreheads, cheeks, and chins, with red chalk. The nuptial ceremony approaching, the men and women squat themselves on the ground, in different circles, at a small distance from each other; the bridegroom squats himself in the center of the circle formed by the men. The *Suri*, or master of religious ceremonies, who is always the *Suri* of the bride's Kraal, enters the circle, and advancing to, pisses on, the bridegroom, who receives with great eagerness, and rubs the urine into the furrows of the fat with which he is covered, till the *Suri* returns from the woman's circle, where he performs the same ceremony over the bride, who receives the stream with equal respect. The ceremony ends with the stock of urine, and the following wishes, which are pronounced aloud by the *Suri*; *May you live long and happily together; I wish you much joy; may you have a son before the end of the year; may this son prove a man of courage, and a good huntsman; may this son be a comfort to you in your old age.* An entertain- Manner of courtship, and nuptial ceremony.

^m Ibid, p. 113, 117, 118, & alib. pass. & al. sup. citat.

ment of feasting and dancing concludes this and every *Hottentot* solemnity; but it is remarkable that these people, the greatest lovers and admirers of music, should admit none in their marriage festivals. Polygamy is allowed; and marriages, upon satisfactory cause shewn to the Kraal, may be dissolved amongst *Hottentots*; a man who is divorced from his wife may marry again, but a woman divorced from her husband cannot; nor can first or second cousins intermarry; relations in these degrees of consanguinity, convicted of marriage or fornication, are cudgelled to death, without any regard to wealth or power; and adultery is also punished with death†.

Education of
the *Hottentot*
youth.

THE *Hottentot* youths, who converse only with the women (not being permitted to speak to men, till summoned into their society, and made men) are instructed in the laws and customs of the ancient *Hottentots* by these female repositories of their opinions and traditions. On these solemnities the inhabitants assemble in the middle of the Kraal, where the men squat in a circle on the ground. The oldest *Hottentot* who proposes the youth's introduction into the assembly, receiving an unanimous assent, advances to the candidate, who sits squatted near by, but within five or six inches of the ground, and informs him of his admittance; that his thoughts, words, and actions, from that time, are to be manly; and that all conversation with his mother, which would banish and render him unworthy of the society of man, must subside for the future. The elder then pisses on the youth, who rubs the urine into the fat and foot with which his body is besmeared, while he pronounces aloud, *Good fortune attend thee; live to old age; increase and multiply; may thy beard grow soon.*

Manner of
war.

HOTTENTOTS, like other nations, sensible of injuries, and keen in resentment, seek for redress in war, upon invasions of right, and national affronts. Every *Hottentot*, fired with revenge, flies to arms, and the place of rendezvous, whence deputies are dispatched, previous to acts of hostility, to remonstrate the injury, and demand satisfaction. Upon refusal or delay of justice, the armed nation marches in search of the enemy: the attack begins with the most frightful noise; showers of arrows are instantly discharged, the *Hottentots* continuing the battle in alternate sallies and retreats to the main body; when the *Hassagayes* are spent, throwing *Rackum* sticks and stones, for want of arrows, and warding off those of the enemy with the *Kirri* sticks, till the fortune of the day declares victory, which depends greatly on the judgment and conduct of the chief, in the direction of the time and place for driving on the *Backeleyers*. These animals stamp, kick, and gore with incredible fury and activity where-ever they break in and penetrate, and, if well followed by the men, speedily rout the enemy.

A BATTLE generally decides the war; a *Hottentot* army once routed never rallies. The conquerors triumph and pursue the flying enemy with astonishing roarings, shoutings, and exclamations. All prisoners are killed, and both armies bury their dead, which are never insulted or plundered.

DESERTERS and spies are immediately put to death. On treaties of peace, part are delivered up by the contending nations, and the rest pass the remainder of life in contempt and want.

THE *Chamtover* and *Heikom* nations are governed, during the battle, by a pipe like a flagelet, played upon by the chief. These people retreat and renew fighting as the pipe ceases or continues playing; and pursue in the same manner, or desist pursuing, the flying enemy.

THE *Namaquan*, *Suffaquan*, and *Odiquan* nations, fight with the utmost bravery, till acquainted that their loss is superior to that of the enemy, when they leave the field.

SEVERAL nations continue fighting while the general lives, whose custom is to conquer or die.

THE *Damaquan* and *Gouriquan* nations fight while their generals are in sight; and their armies always fly when the generals disappear or are slain.

THE *Hottentots*, who are esteemed the most religious observers of national faith, who fight with equal ardour and resolution to support, and never desert, the cause of their allies, keep up and perform mock battles in time of peace, in order to train the youth, and preserve the old in the practice of arms.

Manner of
hunting.

GENERAL hunts amongst *Hottentots*, fond of the flesh of wild beasts, and particularly that of tigers, take place in a scarcity of cattle, or when the neighbourhood is infested with those animals. The arms of chace and war are the same, and the whole Kraal is engaged in the pursuit, relieving each other with incredible speed and resolution, and exhibiting surprising activity and address in their attacks and engagements with lions, tigers, leopards, &c. They surround, if possible, those animals, by dividing into different parties, each avoiding the efforts and leapings of the beasts, raised to fury when galled by showers of arrows.

Hottentot be-
haves.

A HOTTENTOT who has encountered singly, and killed a lion, tiger, leopard, elephant, rhinoceros, &c. is esteemed and distinguished as an hero. Upon his return to the Kraal, he repairs to, and squats down in, his own hut, where an ancient *Hottentot*, deputed by the

† Ibid, p. 157, 158, 159.

‡ Ibid, p. 284, & seq.

- a Kraal, visits and compliments him in their name, at the same time giving notice of their expecting his coming to receive the honours due to his exploit. The hero rises upon the message being delivered, and attends the deputy to the middle of the Kraal, where he squats down on a mat, spread for the solemnity in the center of the men, who squat round him in a circle. The deputy then advances, who pronounces certain words, and pisses upon him from head to foot. The deputy afterwards lights a pipe of tobacco, and having smoked two or three whiffs, delivers it to be smoked out in turns by the assembly, and the ashes are scattered by the deputy on the hero, who instantly rises, the whole circle rising with him, and receives the personal compliments and thanks of the Kraal for the signal service rendered to his country. The ceremony finished, the hero returns to his hut, where he is three days
- b sumptuously entertained, at the expence of the Kraal, with the nicest rarities, and called out to no public action; nor is his wife admitted till the evening of the third day, when the hero receives the lady with the greatest marks of fondness and affection; a fat sheep is killed, and the neighbours are entertained, who congratulate the lady upon her being restored to the arms, and become a partner of her husband's glory. Every *Hottentot* enjoys the liberty of hunting, and pursuing his game throughout the *Hottentot* countries.

HOTTENTOTS fish in the sea and rivers, and many are fishermen by profession, who supply the *Cape* with rock-fish, or fish without scales, from which they are restrained by law. *Manner of fishing.* They are esteemed extremely dexterous by *Europeans* in casting and drawing nets, angle well, and take fish with the spear, or pointed rod, and by groping or tickling. Their fish-

c hooks are *European*; the spear is used in rivers and creeks, where they wade, higher than the middle frequently, and treading upon the fish, pierce and bring them up with the spear. In shallow water they take fish with their hands, and grope in creeks and bafons formed by nature on the tops of the rocks near the shore, upon the fall of tides. The *Hottentots*, who fish from the rocks with lines made of guts or beasts sinews, baited with muscles, whistle upon the discovery of a valuable fish, and shout if the whistling is drowned by the roar of the sea, which allures and brings great shoals of fish round the baits.

The *Hottentots* swim from the shore to the rocks and back again, loaded with fish. Their *Excellent manner of swimming* is extremely surprising; they swim erect, with their necks out of *swimmers.* water, and balance themselves with their arms, extended upwards, and rise and fall with

d the waves in raging seas, without apprehension, in great cheerfulness and security, and seem, when swimming, to walk upon firm ground.

THEIR butchers, who observe near the same method in killing great and small cattle. *Butchers.* proceed anatomically in the dissection and separation of the parts of slain animals. The flesh, bones, membranes, muscles, veins, arteries, &c. are parted and entire, in a surprising shortness of time; yet the deaths of the animals are lingering and shocking to *Europeans*. The sheep is stretched with the back on the ground, two persons hold the hind and fore feet which are tied extended, and a third, having ripped up the belly, tears with one hand the guts from the carcase, and stirring the blood with the other, to prevent congealing, avoids, with great exactness, the breaking of the blood-vessels about the heart^p.

e THE horns of great cattle, thrown likewise on their backs, are fixed in the ground, and the legs, stretched to the full length, are fastened to stakes. The physicians, who are surgeons also, are generally present, and attentive to the motion of the heart. Every part but the excrement is made use of; and the bones, which are curiously extracted from the flesh, might be quickly reared into perfect skeletons.

THE reeking sheep skins are rubbed with fat only, if dressed for a stranger, and with fresh cow dung and fat alternately, still black and stinking, for a native. The hides are tanned by rubbing wood ashes into the hair, which they sprinkle afterwards with water, and lay, rolled up, two days in the sea.

f THE skimmers or taylor's instruments for sewing, are a bone of a bird, for an awl, split *Skinner and taylor.* sinews or veins of the back-bones of cattle, dried in the sun, for thread, and a knife for shaping the kroffes, and cutting the hides into strops. These strops are of great use in *Hottentot* œconomy.

THE ivory-workers make ornamental rings for the arms: a knife is the only tool; and *Ivory workers.* the rings, when finished, are as round, smooth, and bright, as the most expert *European* can produce.

THE mat-makers are mostly women, and weave with their fingers only. Neither light, *Mat-makers.* wind, or rain, penetrates their work. The mats are used for covering huts, and are made of flags, reeds, and bulrushes, dried in the sun.

HOTTENTOT ropes, made of the same materials, are equally strong, neat, and durable, *Rope-makers.* g as the best *European* made of hemp. The flags, reeds, &c. are twisted separately into small strings, and tied afterwards to the length of four yards; these lengths are twisted one round

^p Ibid, p. 228.

another, to the thickness of an inch and a quarter. Though the rope-makers have no tools a but their hands, frequent experiments have been made on the strength of these four yard ropes in length, and inch and quarter thick, which no pair of oxen could ever break.

Potters.

ALL *Hottentots* are potters, and make their earthen vessels of the mould of ant hills, first cleared of sand and gravel, and kneaded well afterwards with bruised and incorporated ant-eggs. They beat upon a flat stone, fashion and smooth with their hands the mould or clay in the form of a *Roman* urn, and leave it two days in the sun; then place it in the oven or hole in the ground, of the depth of the pot, and thrice larger in circumference, with a quick fire round and over it, that burns out of itself. A cement runs from the ant-eggs in the burning, which spreads through the whole, and binds the matter to a surprising firmness, giving it a jet black colour, which never changes. b

Smiths.

THE smiths, who are ingenious and work hard, melt iron from the ore, in holes dug upon rising ground, in proportion to the intended quantity. The hole is heated properly before the ore is put in, when a large fire is made and kept up till the iron melts, and runs through a narrow chanel into another hole, or receiver, dug upon the descent, at the distance of a foot and a half.

THE cold iron is broke into pieces with stones, and heated again in other fires, when wanted for use, the smiths have no hammer but a roundish stone, with which they beat and shape the iron into weapons, upon the hardest flat stone, and upon this grind and polish in the neatest manner. Their work is valuable for beauty and service.

THE copper ore is melted in the same manner; and the shaping and polishing of copper c trinkets is equally beautiful and surprising.

Musical instruments.

VOCAL and instrumental music are in great esteem among *Hottentots*; the musical instruments are the grand and lesser *Gom-gom*, the *Potdrum*, and pipe. The lesser *Gom-gom* is a bow made of iron or olive-wood, strung with twisted sheeps guts or sinews, with the barrel of a split quill fixed at one end, through which the string runs: the quill is put to the mouth of the performer, whose various modulations of breath direct the different notes of the *Gom-gom*. The grand *Gom-gom* is made by running the string through two holes near the brim of a cocoa-nut, prepared and sawed in the manner of a hanging-cup, with the mouth upwards. The performer on this instrument varies the sound, by moving the shell nearer or farther from the quill, kept close to his mouth. There is a softness, with charms for d a delicate ear, according to our author, in a concert of three or four *Gom-goms*, played by skilful performers; who likewise believes the grand *Gom-gom* worthy of the study of the most judicious *European* musician. The pipe is an instrument played upon by the chiefs in time of battle. The *Potdrum*, resembling a *Roman* urn, is covered on the top with a smooth dressed sheep skin, tightly braced on with sinews and sheeps guts, like a kettle-drum. This instrument is peculiar to the ladies, who, with their fingers, play but one tune upon it of a few notes¹.

Vocal music.

THE vocal music consists of the monosyllable *Ho*, sung by both sexes, on religious ceremonies, in concert with the *Gom-goms*.

Manner of dancing.

ON the making of *Sam-sam*, or peace, and other public rejoicings, the inhabitants of a e Kraal dance in turns; and when all have danced, the ceremony breaks up. The men and women dance in couples together, two couples at a time; they begin face to face, at the distance of ten paces from each other, sometimes meeting, and at others back to back, and never take hold of each other's hands. Every dance takes up an hour: both sexes are surprisingly active, cutting clean and high capers. During the dance the women keep their heads in their bosoms in a manner, and their eyes fixed on the ground¹.

No money amongst *Hottentots*.

THE *Hottentots* have no money, nor idea of the utility or value of coin, some few excepted, who are neighbours to, and by conversation with, the *Dutch*, have some notion of the small pieces; but which, as soon as possessed of, they part with for other commodities. Cattle are the riches, and the chief and capital produce of the country; and barter is the established f method of traffick.

Trade.

THESE people, who trade among themselves for cattle, armour, and other goods, which they have purchased by traffick or labour from *Europeans*, get considerable returns of cattle by *European* commodities, which they barter with *Europeans*, receiving in exchange for cattle, elephants teeth, ostrich eggs, skins of wild beasts, horses and asses, wine, brandy, tobacco and pipes, dacha, beads, fish-hooks, small looking-glasses, knives, iron, bits of polished glass, brass and copper, brass ear-rings, and sometimes Kanna root. The *Europeans*, who are more expert in finding, make a great advantage of this root, extremely scarce, and highly valued; ornamental and rich manufactures for apparel, and useful furniture, are in no esteem, and of no value amongst *Hottentots*. g

THEY trade in the most friendly and upright manner; the proportion observed by the way of price, in exchanging cattle for *European* effects, rises and falls amongst them, as in

¹ Ibid, p. 273, & seq.

¹ Ibid, p. 281, & seq.

- a other countries, according to the scarcity or plenty, greater or lesser demand, of commodities. Their dearest rate is a cheapness almost incredible; one pound of tobacco purchases a fat ox; half a pound a large sheep; and a quarter of a pound a fat lamb.

THE *Hottentots*, who formerly brought droves of cattle to market at the *Cape*, being under other regulations, bring none now, but what are presents to the governor; and are believed by the *Dutch* to have another market for their elephants teeth, and to trade with the people of *Terra do Natal*, and the *Mosambic Portuguese*; their own consumption in ivory rings, and the small quantity brought to the *Dutch* by neighbouring *Hottentots* only, bearing no proportion to the vast numbers of elephants killed annually.

- b THE *Dutch* travel with a *Hottentot* attendant; and the natives, though no instance has been known of an *European's* being murdered, are obliged, if an *European* dies amongst them, for the safety of travellers, to give a satisfactory account, that his death was natural^a.

THE great secrecy with which *Hottentots* conceal their religious opinions and ceremonies from *Europeans*, and the many superficial and contradictory accounts, published before the histories of *Saar*, *Tachart*, and *Kolben*, rendered their faith uncertain, who acknowledge and firmly believe that there is a God, Almighty, whom they call *Gounja-Gounja*, or *Gounja Tinquoa*, or God of gods, the Governor of the world, endued with unsearchable attributes and perfections, who made heaven and earth, the sun, and every thing in them; who, dwelling far above the moon, causes thunder and rain, and provides food for bodily sustenance, and skins of beasts for apparel^c.

- c NOTWITHSTANDING this profession and belief of the most intelligent *Hottentots*, who celebrate every signal event of life with previous offerings and solemnities, there is no festival or institution of worship amongst them, directly regarding the true God.

THE moon, named *Gounja*, an inferior and visible god, the subject and representative of the High and Invisible, is constantly adored and invoked at the full and change. Milk and flesh are offered to this deity, and the whole night is spent in alternate prostrations, dancing, singing, and loud exclamations of *Muffoke Atze*, or I salute you, you are welcome; and *Choraquâ Kakâ choriounquâ*, or grant us fodder enough for our cattle, and milk in abundance.

- d THEY adore likewise, and honour with the highest veneration, a small winged insect; with two horns upon the head, peculiar to *Hottentot* countries, with a green back and belly, speckled with red and white. Upon the arrival of this winged animal, or benign deity, regarded as the lord of the universe, the whole *Kraal* is covered with buchu, two fat sheep are killed in thanksgiving, and the inhabitants, believing all past offences purged, and buried in oblivion, resolve, as a new people, on a reformation of life; who believing the immortality of the soul, though strangers to a preparation for death, in a spiritual sense, offer prayers and praises to good persons deceased; leaving, in the removal of *Kraals*, for the quiet of departed spirits, their huts standing, and their furniture and apparel untouched, in the persuasion of their return to the places where they died, and that they are never troublesome to the *Kraal* unless their property is stolen or carried off.

- e THE person of either sex, on whom this insect accidentally falls, is ever afterwards distinguished and respected as sacred, and a favourite of this deity: the neighbours glory, and proclaim the honour done to the *Kraal*; the fattest ox is killed, as a thanksgiving offering; and the favourite, to whom the entrails are presented, is obliged to wear about his neck the caul, twisted like a rope, and powdered with buchu, till it rots off, and to anoint his body with the fat only of that ox till consumed.

- f THESE people, who perpetuate a religious veneration of their sacred and renowned companions, by consecrating woods, mountains, fields, and rivers, to their memory, who stop, and, veiling their heads, contemplate, in these places, the virtues, and implore for themselves and cattle the protection, of departed spirits, worship an evil deity, the father of mischief, called *Touquon*, an inferior and crabbed captain, in their opinion, mischievously restless in regard to *Hottentots*, the source of plagues, and author of witchcraft, arbitrary in declaring offences, and, on that account, honoured of *Hottentots*, who, in continual apprehension of his designs, yet ignorant of having offended, sacrifice a fat ox or sheep, believing him appeased and reconciled, when they have regaled themselves with the flesh, and anointed their bodies with the fat of the sheep or slain ox.

- g ANOTHER custom of sprinkling their bodies with sea or river water, when they intend to pass or enter either, is punctually observed and performed, with great sedateness and composure of mind, by *Hottentots*, who have adapted, since the arrival of the *Dutch*, and appropriated the term *Andersmaken*, or alter for the better, to all religious ceremonies and acts; and the *Dutch* word *Andersmaken* is the only answer given by *Hottentots* to *European* enquirers into the origin and sense of their institutions; who, wrapped in sullen silence, and deaf to reason on the important point of religion, remain the most obstinate, prejudiced, and infatuated.

^a Ibid. p. 261, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 92, 93, & seq.

tuated people, knowing but little of God, and having less inclination to serve him; who, a the most sensible amongst them say, cursed their first parents, who had grievously sinned and offended, and all their posterity, with hardness of heart; who, according to another tradition which prevails, and is carefully preserved throughout the different nations, were sent by God himself, and came into their country through a window; that the man's name was *Nób*, and the woman's *Hingnób*, who taught their descendants to do many things, and keep cattle.

Funeral ceremonies.

RELATIONS and friends surround the dying *Hottentots*, clapping their hands, crying, screaming, and roaring, in a hideous manner. The corpse of the deceased is immediately wrapped in a Krosse, and, within six hours, buried in a hole, made by a wild beast, in the ground, or in a cleft of a rock. The men and women of the Kraal assemble, and b squat in different circles, crying out and repeating, *Bo, Bo, Bo*, or father, in a mournful strain. When the corpse is brought out through the side of the hut, which is always uncovered in funeral solemnities, the captain of the Kraal, or the relations, name the bearers, who carry the deceased in their arms, and both circles rising, the men and the women, making grimaces, clapping hands, distorting their bodies, and incessantly repeating *Bo, Bo, Bo*, march in two bodies, and attend the corpse to the grave; which is immediately filled up, after the corpse is laid down, with the mould of ant-hills, stones, and pieces of wood.

THE grave being filled, the company returns to the Kraal, and again squat down; both circles renew, and again cry out *Bo, Bo, Bo, Bororo Rbodo Atscha*, frequently calling the c deceased by his name, and an hour is consumed in alternate startings, grimaces, distorted postures, and clapping of hands. Silence proclaimed, two ancients, friends to the deceased, piss upon the company, who receive the urine with great veneration. The ancients afterwards enter the hut by the door, and, each taking a handful of ashes, return by the passage opened for the corpse, and strew it upon the company, which are held in great esteem. After this ceremony, the circles rise and retire.

IN funerals of persons of rank or esteem in the Kraal, the lamentations continue seven or eight days. The *Hottentots* piss by way of ceremony, and scatter ashes, to remind the company of their future estate; who, without distinction of age or wealth, must all be d reduced to dust and ashes.

THE cauls of sheep, killed at *Andersmakens*, and powdered with buchu, are worn as mourning, by the heirs and relations of rich *Hottentots*, till they rot off, however offensive; and the poor mourn their deceased friends by shaving part of their heads, which they cover with buchu.

S E C T. II.

War between the *Hottentots* and Dutch.

THE *Gunjeman* or *Goringhaiquan* nation, who had consented to the introduction, and e given the *Dutch* possession of the *Cape*, upon their division of the lands for tillage, and erection of buildings for their dwellings and defence, grew jealous of future encroachments; and having called the neighbouring nations to their assistance, made war against the *Dutch*, who had refused to desist. The *Dutch* gained many victories during the war, which the *Hottentots* supported with great resolution; but the terror of their arms having spread through the *Hottentot* nations, dismayed by the vast effusion of blood, the *Gunjemans* and confederates sued for peace, and a solemn convention was entered into by both parties, whereby the first bargain was confirmed, and the unoccupied lands of all the confederates were surrendered and assigned to the *Dutch*, with this salvo to the confederacy, that the whole f should be at liberty to settle on what ground, and in what part of the country, they pleased, that should be found unemployed; and most of the *Hottentot* nations came into an offensive and defensive alliance with the *Dutch* against all enemies whatever; which, though made by words only, has subsisted ever since, and been religiously observed on both sides; the *Dutch* governors continuing, as instructed, to cultivate all possible friendship with their allies, and the *Hottentot* chiefs waiting on the governors with presents for the renewal of peace.

Hottentots make war and distress the Dutch.

Doman and *Garabinga*.

A FURIOUS war broke out in 1659, between the proprietors of the *Cape*, or *Goringhaiquan* nation, assisted by the *Gorachobuan*, and the *Dutch*, who were greatly annoyed and distressed; the *Hottentots* making their attacks in foggy and rainy weather, on account of their fire-arms. A *Hottentot*, named *Doman* by the *Dutch*, who had lived four or five years g at *Batavia*, and some time at the *Cape*, where he dressed in the *European* manner, having returned to his countrymen, perfectly instructed in *European* customs, appeared with a companion, whose name was *Garabinga*, or flat nose, the most animating, resolute, and courageous amongst the *Hottentots*, the many contrivances and attempts to surprize them,

^a Ibid. p. 57, 58, 59.

- a proved vain and ineffectual; *Doman* escaped being taken, by swimming cross a river, after a smart engagement, which happened between five *Hottentots* and an equal number of *Europeans*; but *Eycamma* being wounded, and his leg broke, was made prisoner. This *Hottentot*, to whom the utmost civility had been shewn, and the greatest care taken of his wounds, answered the *Dutch* in great wrath, who had asked the motives of the war, *Who desired you, Dutchmen, to grub up our lands, and sow corn in our pastures? By what right do you seize the inheritance of our fathers, our country that has belonged to us time immemorial? You, who were permitted to land only for your refreshment in your necessity, dispose of our property, as sovereigns, and daily prohibit our approach to the lands you think proper: Would you suffer the like treatment in your own country?* The *Dutch*, by advice of *Eycamma*, who, just before
- b his death, had declared himself a private person, sent four deputies to propose a conference, and to endeavour to bring the chief to the fort; but the chief, whose name was *Gogoso*, an extremely corpulent man, according to an account published in 1662, and an hundred years old, who had two sons, *Osinghaicanna* and *Otegnoa*, refused the proposal, and the war was vigorously carried on near a year, when a most fortunate accident put an end to the slaughter and ravage made by the *Hottentots* ^b.

- CAMCEMOUA*, called *Horri* by the *Dutch*, a man of understanding, who spoke *Flemish*, *Camcemoua*, and some *English*, which he had learned at *Bentam*, had made his escape from *Rabbit Island*, where he had been three months confined. This *Hottentot* unexpectedly arrived with *Choré*, the *Gorachouquan* chief, with a hundred attendants, who presenting the *Dutch* with thirteen
- c fat cattle, as a pledge and in token of friendship, granted the lands within three leagues round the *Cape*, upon condition they should not advance nor penetrate farther. The *Dutch*, who ardently wished for peace, accepted and received the terms with the greatest joy. As soon as the agreement was published, three or four hundred *Hottentots* ran to the fort; the *Goringhaiquan* nation following the example. *Gogoso* came in person at their head, and *Gogoso*, demanded to be included in the treaty. The *Hottentots* were liberally entertained, and the chiefs returned home, well satisfied and pleased with their entertainment and presents.

- THE same author, in his account of the *Hottentot* nations, of which there is no mention *Brigoudis and* in *Kolben*, takes notice of the *Brigoudis*, a powerful and rich people in cattle, known to the *Hassaquan* *Dutch* only by the report of the *Namanquams*; and of the *Hassaquan* nation, whose country ^{nations.}
- d has never been entered by *Europeans*, that three only had been seen, who came upon the coast with the *Gchainouquam* chief to traffick in cattle. These people, like other *Hottentots*, are shepherds, but given to agriculture, and expert in taking of lions, which they afterwards are said to tame, and to train to war; that they let them loose in the heat of battle, and, by this means, easily rout and vanquish their enemies.

- THE *Cape of Good Hope*, the boundary of the *East* and *West Indies*, resembling a peninsula, ^{Cape of Good Hope} the point and sides being washed by the sea, the longest, the most dangerous, and most ^{first discovered} celebrated in the universe, was first discovered and named in 1493, *Cabo dos Tormentos*, or the ^{by Dias.} Stormy Cape*, by the admiral *Bartholomew Dias*, in the reign of *John II.* king of *Portugal*. But this name was changed into that of *Good Hope*, by the king's saying, when made
- e acquainted with the discovery, that there were now Good Hopes of future prosperous voyages to the *East Indies*.

- ADMIRAL *Dias*, who never landed, pleased the king and kingdom with his observations on the geography, bays, and anchorings of the *Cape*; and *Vasco de Gama*, his successor in command of the next *East India* fleet, confirmed the observations of *Dias*. Admiral *Rio d'Infante*, who went ashore in his voyage to *India*, in 1498, enlarged, at his return, the account already given, by pointing out the advantages the *Cape* might furnish to the trade to *Portugal*†. *Emanuel*, who had ascended the throne, pleased with the report of his discoveries, ordered the immediate departure of a fleet, with express command to attempt a settlement; but the enterprise failed, the courage of the fleet not being proof against the
- f reports received in the way, of the natives being cannibals; and the expedition ended in taking in water at *Robin Island* near the *Cape*. In this island is a cave, wherein the *Portuguese* took shelter in the tempestuous season, known at present by the name of *Portugal*. *Fran-* ^{D'Almeida} *cisco d'Almeida*, viceroy of *Brasil*, in his return to *Europe* by the *Cape*, some time afterwards, ^{lands, and is} sent a party on shore to negotiate for provisions: the party was drove back to the ships; ^{slain.} and himself, who was prevailed upon, though seventy years of age, to head a reinforcement, was shot through the throat with a poisoned arrow, and seventy-five men were killed upon the spot; the remainder fled to the ships, and the fleet weighed anchor immediately. The *Portuguese* are said to have revenged this disgrace in a severe and extraordinary manner; ^{Portuguese} they fastened two long ropes round the mouth of a large brass cannon, which they loaded ^{revenged on} with balls, and landed as a present to the *Hottentots*, who, being naturally fond of brass, ^{the Hotten-} were extremely satisfied; and, admiring the weight of their favourite metal, ran in transport ^{tots.}
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^b LA CROIX, vol. iv. p. 25.
hoc, vid. vol. iv. p. 113, & 119.

* De hoc, vid. sup. vol. iv. p. 495, (G). & auct. ibid. citat.

† De

to seize the ropes, with which they had been instructed to draw off the cannon : the *Hottentots* were extended in two lines all the length of the ropes, and full in the range of the shot, when the cannon was suddenly discharged, and made a most terrible slaughter. Those who escaped fled in the wildest confusion ; and the *Portuguese*, who in this manner took their leave of the *Cape*, were left to embark at their leisure.

The Cape frequented by the Dutch.

THERE are no accounts of *Europeans* having frequented the *Cape* from this time till the *Dutch* company of merchant-adventurers, then called the *Far-trading*, and since the *East India* company, in 1600, touched and began to trade at the *Cape* for provisions, and erected a fort, whose remains are yet to be seen, to protect themselves, and their purchases ; but, however acquainted with the advantages, they made no other use of the *Cape*, than providing every captain of a ship bound for *India* with a square stone, on which the ship's, the captain's, and the names of the principal officers, with the day of their departure from the *Cape*, were ordered to be cut, and buried in a particular place near the fort, with a tin box underneath, containing letters, to be conveyed to *Europe* by the first ship that touched at the *Cape*, in her return from *India*. In 1650 *Van Riebeck*, surgeon of a ship, that put into the *Cape* for the usual purposes, observing the richness of the soil, the great plenty of cattle, disposition of the natives, and importance of the situation and harbour, judged a settlement adviseable, to facilitate, improve, and secure the *East India* trade.

Van Riebeck meditates a settlement.

A fleet sent by the Dutch to make a settlement.

VAN RIEBECK, on his return, laid before the directors what he had digested for the purpose ; who resolved on a settlement, and immediately ordered four ships to be properly equipped for such an expedition. *Van Riebeck* was appointed admiral and governor in chief on his arrival at the *Cape*, with full power to establish a settlement in what manner he should judge expedient.

VAN RIEBECK arrived safe at the *Cape*, and no sooner proposed than concluded a treaty. The natives, charmed with the brass toys, beads, tobacco, and brandy, with which he presented them, stipulated and agreed, that the *Dutch* should have full liberty to settle in the valley of *Table-Hill*, upon the delivery of a quantity of those toys and commodities, amounting in value to 50,000 guilders. This was performed without delay, and the *Dutch* took immediate possession of the *Cape*, which was surrendered to them with great solemnity. *Van Riebeck* erected a square fort, containing lodgings, warehouses, and an hospital for the sick, and raised outworks and batteries to secure the settlement from all attacks.

THE company, informed of their success, published placards for the encouragement of settlers : the conditions being advantageous, numbers embarked for the *Cape*, and the settlement soon made a considerable figure, continually extending new colonies along the coast, as it increased in number by new settlers arriving from *Europe* ; and there are at present four principal colonies. The first is at the *Cape*, where are the great forts and capital city, called the *Cape* ; the second is called the *Hellen bogijsb* ; the third, the *Drakensten* ; and the fourth, the *Waverijsb*. The whole tract of land called *Terra do Natal*, has been since purchased, for a future increase, by the company, for fifty thousand guilders, to be paid in toys and other commodities. By this addition the province is become of great extent, and the government considerable.

Terra do Natal purchased by the company.

The Cape colony.

THE *Dutch* soon extended themselves beyond the valley of *Table-Hill*, purchased great numbers of cattle from the *Hottentots*, and erected a wooden fort near the *Salt* river ; a continual guard was appointed to prevent strays or intermixture with the *Hottentot* herds, and a guard-house was built for entertaining a hundred and ninety horsemen, to be ready to mount in pursuit of run-away cattle, and to oppose any hostile attempt on the part of the *Hottentots*. The fort became useless, and soon decayed, when the colony extended beyond the *Salt* river ; part of the guard-house still remains, and is converted into a prison for criminals in the *Indian* settlements. There were several *Indian* princes confined therein, who had been banished by the government of *Batavia*. And our author relates, that these princes were obliged to support themselves by their own labour, during an exile of five years.

GOVERNOR *Simon Vander Stel* * attempted, for the security of shipping, a canal, four *German* miles long, to be cut from the *Salt* river to the bay *Falso*, and a great progress was made ; but, finding that both monsoons must choak it with sand, the works were discontinued, and the remains are now called *The new Salt River*.

New castle built by Bax.

THE fortrefs called *Good Hope*, and the *Cape Town*, are situated in the *Table Valley* ; the fort built by *Van Riebeck* stood a considerable time in the government of *Bax*, when this governor apprehending, from the great increase of settlers, and improvement in trade, that some *European* power might attack the settlement ; and, judging a new castle and stronger garrison necessary for the defence, and that the old warehouses were too small for the growing trade, transmitted to the directors in *Europe* the state of the *Cape*, who, approving of the representation and proposal for fortifying the *Cape*, dispatched full powers for erecting a new fort, in such place and model as *Bax* should judge expedient. *Bax*, in three years,

* De hoc, vol. iv. p. 497.

a finished a spacious, commodious, and strong fortress; governor *Adrian Vander Stel* made several additions to it, and it is at present an exceeding strong and stately building, of large compass, and provided with necessary accommodations for a numerous garrison, completely covering the harbour, and of great defence towards the land: the governor and chief officers have magnificent apartments, and the company's warehouses are large, handsome, and commodious.

b CAPE TOWN is large and regularly built, with spacious streets, and contains upwards of Cape Town; two hundred houses, many are stately and magnificent, with large courts before, and gardens behind; most one, and none above two stories high; built with stone, and plentifully supplied with water, by a stream that falls from *Table Hill*, which turning a mill at the foot of the hill, runs through large pipes into a square, and from thence, between the town and fortress, into the sea. There is a row of houses on the river, with beautiful gardens, vineyards, and corn fields, farmed by the chief burgomasters at 1500 florins a year, payable to the town treasury. Building is greatly encouraged contiguous to the town, and in the country; the company gives gratis, sufficient land for house, court-yard, out-houses, and gardens. All houses that are sold are charged with a ground-rent, proportioned to the rent they would let at; if new, the 10th or 20th penny is paid, and if old, the 40th. Officers are appointed with salaries, to inspect chimneys, in order to prevent fire; neglect of duty is severely punished, and sailors and *Hottentots* are prohibited smoking in the streets.

c THE present government of *Cape Town* and this extended settlement, stands upon eight Government of the town and colony. establishments, instituted by *Riebeck* and succeeding governors: the Grand Council, Court of Justice, Petty Court, Marriage Court, Orphan Chamber, and Ecclesiastical Council, a Common Council, and Board of Militia.

THE Grand Council consists of the governor, who is president, with a double vote, and Grand eight principal officers in the company's service. This college of policy is the company's Council. representative, and the interest of the settlement is their province. They direct trade and navigation, make war and peace with the *Hottentots*, and correspond with the directors in *Holland*, and the governors of *Batavia* and *Ceylon*. Registers of transactions, with all letters and copies of dispatches, are kept by the secretary. The garrison pays martial salutes to the members of this council at their entering or going out of the fort.

d THE Court of Justice, generally composed of the members of the grand council, hear Court of and determine all civil and criminal causes of moment. Where one party is servant to the Justice. company, to avoid partiality, three regent burgomasters, magistrates at the *Cape*, have seats, and assist the court; these are annually chosen amongst the inhabitants not in the service. Appeals lie in the first instance to the court at *Batavia*, and from thence to the supreme court in *Holland*, the last resource. Appellants are obliged to a deposit of one hundred florins, to be lodged where directed by the court, till final judgment is obtained; which is then paid or returned, as the judgment is affirmed or reversed.

e THE Petty Court, at present dependent on the court of justice, takes cognizance of Petty Court. breaches of the peace, trespasses, and small debts, and is composed of a member of the grand council, who presides, and reports the proceedings to the council, of three burghers, and four immediate servants to the company. A burgher is vice-president, and the clerk of the court one of the servants. The president and members are chosen biennially by the grand council, two or three of the sitting members being always re-chosen, for the instruction of the new-elected in the practice of, and proceedings before, the court. Copies of all proceedings, sentences, and decrees, of this and the court of justice, are transmitted by the grand council to *Holland*.

f THE Marriage Court inspects the legality, before celebration of marriage contracts, and Marriage issues warrants to the pastors, authorising the publication of banns. This court is generally Court. held at the castle. Previous to any examination in this court, the parties are obliged to a personal joint appearance, to ask the consent of the governor; who gives to the man his mandate to the court, directing proper inquiries to be made concerning the parties, and signifying therein his conditional assent, provided the court finds no cause to the contrary.

SEVEN persons administer the affairs and interests of the Court of Orphans, the vice-president of the grand council presiding in this chamber; three of the company's servants, and three burghers are chosen biennially into this trust. A burgher is generally vice-president; the secretary, who takes the minutes of the proceedings, and registers the transactions, is always in the company's service, with a salary and perquisites. No orphan can marry at the *Cape* under the age of twenty-five years, without the consent of this chamber. Orphan Court.

g THE Ecclesiastical Council, instituted for the government of the reformed churches at the Ecclesiastical Cape, is composed of the pastors, elders, and overseers of the poor, in each parish, who Court. finally decree the temporal and spiritual concerns of the three churches; and the offices and ceremonies in the worship of God are altered, diminished, and augmented, by the decrees of this council. The surplus of collections is applied to charitable uses, repairs of the church, and maintenance of schools. The debates and resolutions of this council are registered, and

at all times may be perused by any persons. There are occasional church councils held in each parish. These councils consist of a considerable parishioner, the pastor, elders, and overseers of the parish; half of the members are burghers, half servants to the company, and the pastor is always reckoned one of the last.

Court of Common Council.

UPON the great increase of the colony by *French* refugees, governor *Simon Vander Stel* established a court of Common Council in each colony, to be chosen biennially by the grand council, out of lists to be prepared and presented by the burghers. This council has no authority at *Cape Town*, the whole business being transacted by the civil courts above-named. Petitions are indeed presented by them in behalf of, and they collect the taxes laid upon, the burghers, by the grand council. The three regent burghers, who have seats in the council of justice, are magistrates of weight and respect; and the common council is of great authority in the courts of other colonies: the *Landroft*, or lieutenant of each colony, presides in the assemblies wherein debts, trespasses, and all matters not exceeding 150 florins, are heard and determined: most crimes are punished by the councils in whose jurisdiction they were committed.

Horse and foot militia instituted.

SIMON VANDER STEL, upon the arrival of the refugees, instituted a horse and foot militia; and for their government erected two boards, each with two commissioners and secretary. A member of the grand council presides at the board for and in *Cape Town*. The other members are the principal military officers of the *Cape* colony. The *Landroft* of *Stellenbosch* is president of this board, and the other members are the principal officers of the united militia of *Stellenbosch* and *Drakenstein* colonies. The militia is employed in the pursuit of run-away slaves, or on hostile appearances from the *Hottentots*, and annually mustered.

Table Hill, its situation and height.

THE three hills which form the *Table Valley* are called the *Table Hill*, *Lion Hill*, and *Wind or Devil's Hill*. The *Table Hill*, called by the *Portuguese* *Taboa do Cabo*, or the *Cape Table*, bearing south from the center of the valley, and extending something to south-west, is 1857 feet high: on the top are several springs of water, clear as crystal, and of a delightful taste. The summit, resembling the leaf of a table, appears at a distance level and smooth, but is uneven and craggy. In the middle is a large chasm, or rent, observed to increase in rainy seasons, and believed to have been made by the violent currents from the top, which wash down great quantities of earth. Stately trees grow in this chasm; and the hill, in appearance rough and barren, is extremely fruitful. There are two gardens, called *Paradise* and *Hell*, between which a silver mine was discovered; but the ore transported to *Holland* not yielding sufficient silver to answer the working, the mine was closed and neglected. A white cloud hovers over this hill during the dry season, from *September* to *March*, and frequently in other months: from this cloud issue the south-east winds with incredible fury, shattering houses, endangering shipping, and greatly damaging the fruits of the earth. Upon discovering this cloud, the sailors instantly cry out, *the table is covered, prepare for the storm*, and work with as much activity as if it was begun^d.

Silver mine.

Lion Hill.

THE *Lion Hill*, contiguous to the sea, extending northward, and bearing west from the center of the valley, is separated from the *Table Hill* by a small chasm, called *Kloof* by the *Dutch*. In this *Kloof* two centinels are placed, to give notice of shipping making into the harbour; the smallest vessel may be discovered from the top of this steep hill, which is partly ascended by rope ladders, at the distance of twelve leagues. Upon the discovery of a sail the centinel in the head makes a signal to his comrade to set out immediately and inform the officers: if more appear, the flag is dropped, and a gun fired for every sail, which is accordingly reported. The proper officers are always prepared by this method to receive the approaching vessels^e.

THE republic or prince's flag is always hoisted to *Dutch* ships on their voyage to *India*, and two flags with devices to all ships returning to *Holland*. These flags for returning ships are annually changed by the directors in *Holland*, and sent to the *Cape*, with exact copies drawn upon paper for the governor general of *Batavia*, who distributes them to the commanders of returning ships. These commanders are to conclude, in case the devices at the *Cape* disagree with their copies, or if no flag should appear, that the *Cape* is possessed by an enemy, to steer away immediately, and make the best of their way to *Holland*. The prince's flag is hoisted, and a gun fired, at *Robin Eylan*, at the mouth of the harbour, for every ship sailing by, or standing in.

Not far from the *Kloof* is a large tract of fine meadows, and another beyond the hill, at present common pastures for the neighbouring cattle, but capable of great improvement, the soil being extremely rich, and no scarcity of water.

SIMON VANDER STEL erected upon a creek at the foot of this hill a small fort of four guns, to prevent clandestine trade, and for the better security of the harbour against enemies; who under cover of the fogs, which are frequent in the months of *June* and *July*,

^d LA CROIX, vol. iv. p. 86. KOLBEN, vol. ii. p. 12. vid. & RAMUS, vel Viagii, vol. i. third edit. p. 119. & seq. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. plur. ^e LA CROIX, ib. p. 28. KOLBEN, ib. p. 14. & al. sup. citat. might

- a might land in small boats undiscovered. *Adrian Vander Stel*, his son and successor, judging this precaution unnecessary, the guns were remanded to the fortress, and the fort left to decay.

THE *Wind Hill*, so named in wills, conveyances, and records, and vulgarly *Devil's Hill*, Wind Hill. extending, like the *Lion Hill*, to the sea, is lower and narrower than the *Table*, or *Lion Hill*, abounds in excellent pastures, with an extensive view over seats, gardens, and vineyards, as far as the *Salt River*, *Tyger Hills*, and adjacent deserts ^f.

- b THERE are several beautiful seats, vineyards, and gardens, on every side of *Table Hill*, Round Bush and Newland Gardens which surpasses all in number and delicacy of springs. *Round Bush* and *Newland Gardens* belong to the company; a magnificent pleasure-house for the governor was erected in the first, at the company's expence; both are well watered, and yield a considerable revenue. Most sorts of *European*, *Persian*, and vines from other countries, the *Japan* apple, with the most esteemed fruits, have been transplanted into these gardens, which the *Cape* soil and climate brings to the highest perfection. Between these gardens is an estate, called, for its fertility, *Bread and wine*; and a brewhouse in the neighbourhood, well supplied with water, erected by *Jacob Lonwen*, who was transported with his family, at the company's expence, to introduce the *Deventer* method of brewing. The several currents of springs on the *Salt River* side, uniting at the bottom of the hill, run in a strong stream into that river.

- c NEAR this hill stands a delightful seat erected by *Simon Vander Stel*, called *Constantia*, in honour of his lady's name, commanding the most extensive prospect over this improved Constantia built by Simon Vander Stel. country, and *Table Bay*. In the way to *Constantia* is a rough stony road, leading over high and craggy mountains to *Wood Bay*: this wood is never cut down but in times of necessity; wood being scarce and valuable at the *Cape*. The company had several settlements in this country for raising cattle, which, being too expensive, were all sold; and all their demands have been supplied ever since by four licensed slaughter houses. In this quarter is a large tract of land, three days journey round, which governor *Vander Stel* had appropriated to himself and family, and erected a magnificent seat and elegant stabling.

- d THE adjacent hills called *Tyger Hills*, from a coloured appearance, and spotted like the Tyger Hills. skins of those animals, are the most fertile about the *Cape*; the lands are all cultivated, excepting one small tract, in which is a spring, which, in dry seasons, supplies with water the neighbouring planters, and therefore not granted out by the company. These hills, formerly the haunts of deer, are said to owe their fertility to the droppings of those animals; and it is remarkable that all places frequented by deer surpass all others in fertility. There are twenty-two seats and estates, divided into corn-fields, vineyards, gardens, and meadow grounds, on these hills; the settlers are esteemed but middling, whose stocks consist of no more than 600 sheep and 100 large cattle; to be denominated considerable requires a stock of 1000 sheep, and two or three hundred large cattle; and there are settlers who are possessed of 1000 sheep and 1000 large cattle. The *Cape* settlement was supplied in the beginning with horses from *Persia*, whose breed is extremely increased, and the price greatly reduced, three beautiful strong horses being sold at an auction for eighteen *Dutch* schellings. The farthest of these hills, which are eight leagues in circumference, is four leagues distant from the *Cape*.

e THE *Cow Hill*, about six leagues from the *Cape*, beyond the *Tyger Hills*, was next cultivated. There is no good water, the soil is poor, and the inhabitants but few. Cow Hill.

THE *Blue Mountain*, so called from a bluish appearance at a distance, is about eight Blue Mountain. leagues from the *Cape*, and was next settled. The soil is equally fertile with those of the *Tyger Hills*, but, through scarcity of water, thinly inhabited. Elephants and deer furnish the settlers with wholesome and delicious provisions, and they gain considerably by their hides and skins.

- f IN the year 1712 this colony, divided from *Stellenbosch* settlement by a large desert bordering on *Cape Town*, was extended by the grand council as far as *Musshellbank River*, a conflux only of rain water, forming a stream by the currents of adjacent mountains, uniting in this chanel, which run into *Salt Water River*, and thence into the sea. The source of this river, Salt Water River. which receives several rivulets, and waters in its course many gardens and vineyards, and particularly *Round Bush Garden*, belonging to the company, is on the summit of *Table Hill*: the water is clear and wholesome, and brackish only by the mixture of the sea-water at high tides, which gives it the name of *Salt Water River*.

- g THE waters of the *Table*, *Lion*, and *Wind Hills*, and adjacent vallies, have different colours Different colours and tastes of waters. and tastes, are cold and warm, heavy and light. Those whose springs are on the summits of mountains, are white and clear; the brightness increases in the rapid descents over flints and pebbles; and are extremely sweet and wholesome. Those whose descent is less rapid, and run over pebbles and flints more contracted, are of a dark red, the colour of iron stones. The waters of the rivulet flowing from the stone hills, through *Buffalo Valley*, into the *Sand Valley*, and from thence into *Table Bay*, are of this colour. Many are blackish, from the

^f LA CROIX, vol. iv. p. 37. KOLBEN, vol. ii. p. 19. RAMUS. & al. sup. citat.

earth and mud through which they run ; such are the waters of a rivulet flowing by *Stellenbosch*, a and of another running beyond *Stellenbosch*, out of *Mottergate* into *Stellenbosch River*.

MOST river waters preserve the sweetness of the spring throughout their course ; others lose the spring sweetness, whiteness, clearness, and become brackish, and some their liquidity. The remains of these waters are the finest salt. Some are brackish, yet palatable, at their sources, which, by standing, become too brackish for drinking ; the springs of the *Tyger* hills and vallies are of this kind. The waters that fall rapidly from hills, and run through chanel's never penetrated by the sun-beams, are extremely cold, and retain the coldness though kept in vessels. There are other waters that are warm and sometimes hot, and two warm baths about thirty miles from the *Cape*.

Cape waters
excellent.

Sent to Den-
mark.

THE waters about the *Cape* are esteemed beneficial in every case ; *European* physicians b recommend them preferably to wine, brandy, and all strong liquors ; and their credit is so high at the court of *Denmark*, where they are esteemed the brightest, sweetest, and most wholesome in the world, that every *Danish* royal ship, returning to *Europe*, is ordered to touch at the *Cape* for a large cask of spring water for his *Danish* majesty.

BEYOND the *Stone Hills* are several springs that water the adjacent country. In one of these hills is a stone quarry, discovered by *Vander Stel*, little inferior to marble, and made use of for stair-cases and floors.

Stellenbosch
colony settled
by Simon
Vander Stel.

STELLENBOSH colony, so called from *Bosch*, or *Bush*, and *Stel*, the name of the governor, was settled in the time and by the direction of *Simon Vander Stel*. The *Dutch* called this colony the *Wild Forest*, whilst covered with shrubs and bushes. In the principal valley, c named *Stellenbosch*, stood a beautiful church and council-house, which were destroyed in 1710 by an accidental fire : the village was handsomely rebuilt in four years, but the church and council-house remain in their ruins.

THERE are large barren sandy tracts between the *Cape* and this colony, whose four divisions are named *Stellenbosch*, *Mottergate*, *Hottentot Holland*, and *Bottelarg*.

ON the *Stellenbosch* head or eminence, in the road between the two colonies, were formerly planted a cannon and a flag-staff, to give notice of *European* or *Hottentot* approaches ; but the *Dutch* soon becoming too populous and strong for any hostile attempts, the cannon was carried to the fortrefs. There are two roads from the *Cape* to *Hottentot Holland*, over the sandy down into the *Tyger Valley* ; through the part called *Stellenbosch* is the most commodious ; d the most pleasant is through the *Kloof*, and over mountains, commanding fine prospects of the bays and country, with views of *Mottergate*, *Hottentot Holland*, and *Falso Bay*.

Falso Bay.

FALSO BAY is formed by a chain of mountains ; the mountains on the east side are called *Hottentot Holland* ; one only, on the west side, contiguous to *Stone Hill*, has obtained the name *Norwegen*, from its extending six leagues in the sea, and running to a point, like the mountains on the coast of *Norway*. Those of *Hottentot Holland* are much higher, and like the *Table Hill*, covered with a white cloud, during the reign of the south-east winds : the mountain terminating the bay, from its appearance at sea in the manner of a lip hanging over the chin, is denominated *Hang-lips*. This bay is ten leagues in circumference, and called *Falso*, from a false report that the bottom was covered with stones, and no safe lodg- e ment for anchors. The bay was inspected, and the bottom tried in 1702, by order of the governor *Lewis Van Assenburgh*, when the ground was found to be no-where stony. There is a large rock in the middle of the bay, which has been since believed to have been the foundation of that groundless report. No ship can ride with safety in this bay, during the high south-east winds ; many, moored with the strongest cables, having been torn from their anchors, stranded, and dashed to pieces against the rocks. The bay abounds in various kinds of exquisite fish, and there is great store at the mouths of *Stellenbosch* and *Hottentot Holland* rivers ; but the greatest quantity is taken at the *Fish Huik*, under the rock named *Hang-lips*. The colonies might, with good management, be supplied by this fishery alone.

Hang lips
mountain.

Hurricane in
1710.

IN November 1710, a terrible hurricane at south-east, blew the waters in floods up the f country ; several thousand bushels of fish remained on the land, on the retreat of the waters, and the sea frequently overflows the *Sea Cow Valley*, leaving infinite numbers of fish behind. This valley was formerly the haunts of sea cows, amphibious animals of prodigious size, that made frequent sallies up the country to feed on the grass. None are seen now, being driven to more distant retreats, by the great destruction made amongst them by the first settlers, and other *Europeans*.

Sea Cow
Valley, why
so called.

IN the center of *Hottentot Holland*, so called from being the place appointed for raising the company's cattle, stands the *Sheep Mountain*, always covered with grass, and sheep constantly feeding thereon. The soil throughout this division is extremely rich, yielding abundant returns for what is sown or planted ; and by much the most fertile and pleasant part of *Stel- g lenbosch* colony. In the infancy of the settlement, a square fort was erected near the sea-side, mounted with four cannon, to protect the settlement on that side from the *Hottentots*, and to give notice of any appearance of enemies in *Bay Falso* ; but the cannon have been carried to the fortrefs, nor are there any traces remaining of the fort or ruins.

THE

- a THE division was formerly haunted by lions, tigers, leopards, elephants, the rhinoceros and elk, which have been for the most part killed, or frightened into more remote quarters by fire and ball; no animal now appearing but deer and goats. Three rivers, whose springs are in the adjacent mountains, run thro' this division; the source of the principal river is in the mountains contiguous to *Turn-again Hill*, so called from a way over it to *Drakenstein* colony, which, to avoid precipices, appears, by several turnings, to lead back again. This river overflowing, in rainy seasons, the adjacent lands, *Adrian Vander Stel* erected a large and deep basin, capable of containing the rain-water descending from the mountains; the lands, by this contrivance, were prevented from being overflowed in rainy seasons, and supplied in dry with sufficient water. This, and other rivers without names, whose springs are also in the mountains, having watered many improved estates in their course, discharge themselves into *Bay Falso*.

MOTTERGATE division lies north of, and is surrounded by, *Hottentot Holland* and *Stellenbosch* division and river. The soil is fertile, the houses numerous, and the whole equally improved with other colonies. In rainy seasons the lands are overflowed, and all intercourse cut off amongst the inhabitants, the *Stellenbosch River* and other rivulets becoming impassable. Bridges would effectually remedy the great inconvenience and losses sustained by these floods; yet the inhabitants, who neither want money nor wood, could never be induced to think even of proper relief. *Soil fertile.*

- c STELLENBOSCH division, of equal circumference with *Hottentot Holland*, is fertile and pleasant. The mountains which surround this division are named *Stellenbosch*, resembling in height and size, and like the *Table Mountain*, are covered each with a white cloud, during the south-east winds. These winds blow here in a different manner, no contrary winds opposing; the fury ceases from evening to midnight; whereas an hour at noon and midnight, are the only quiet time, during the whole season at the *Cape*. The cliffs of these mountains are woody; and various kinds of curious and uncommon herbs, whose properties are unknown, and abundance of beautiful flowers, grow on the summits. The vallies abound in corn-lands, vineyards, and gardens: the houses are well and commodiously built: there are several large ones on *Stellenbosch River*; and the whole division is in a most flourishing condition. This river, rising in *Stellenbosch* mountains, and become considerable by the streams in *Mottergate*, runs at length into *Bay Falso*. The bridge erected by the colony over this river being too narrow and dangerous, a more stately and commodious one was built at the expence of a private gentleman, who obtained leave, and, for the public good, submitted to the restraint imposed by the grand council, that no toll should be paid for passing over, or through roads made on his own estate, for the service and use of the public. This bridge still remains in good condition. *Stellenbosch division. A bridge built by a private gentleman.*

- BOTTELARY division, the most northern part of *Stellenbosch* colony, borders on the south on *Stellenbosch*, on the east and west on *Drakenstein*, and on the north on *Musbell Bank*, and exceeds all the *Cape* colonies in the great quantities of hay; the grass in other parts being consumed by cattle on the grounds. The mountain, formerly the haunt of wild horses, which separates this division from *Drakenstein*, is called the *Horse Mountain*; and *Jossen Mountain*, named from *Jost* the first inhabitant, is covered with pastures, fertile fields, vineyards, and gardens, even to the summit. *Bottelary division.*

- f THE company, being defrauded, sold the several nurseries for cattle, which they had intrusted to the care of the neighbouring inhabitants of this division, who are greatly distressed for wood and water, the settlers being frequently obliged to make use of rain water, collected into small lakes and ditches, that in summer becomes brackish. Lands granted by the company are subject to be forfeited, on neglect of planting with trees a certain number of acres; yet this condition has never been observed by the planters, though the company has planted numbers of oaks that have succeeded; and the punishment for cutting the least branch, being whipping by the common executioner.

DRAKENSTEIN settlement, so named in honour of baron *Van Rbeede*, lord of *Drakenstein* in *European Guelderland*, was first begun in 1675, in the government of *Simon Vander Stel*. Many artificers and others, whose times in the company's service had expired, had planted several tracts of land, when the company, to whose protection the States General had recommended the *French* protestants who fled into *Holland*, transported, at their own expence, numbers of families to the *Cape*, who, upon lands being granted by the governors, settled in *Drakenstein*, where some inhabitants are of *German*, but most of refugee extraction. *Drakenstein settlement. Inhabited by refugees.*

- g DRAKENSTEIN is as extensive as the *European Low Countries*, bordering on the south on *Turn-again Mountain*, on the east on a long chain of mountains named *Drakenstein*, on the north on *Saldanha Bay*, and on the west on the *Horse Mountain*, which divides it from *Bottelary*. This large country has neither village nor council-house: the burgomasters elected in this, repair to *Stellenbosch* for the dispatch of public business, and act in conjunction with the burgomasters of that colony: the church and water-mill are the only public buildings; and the church, about fourteen *German* leagues from the *Cape*, in the center of the colony, is

the meanest and most sordid building imaginable, covered with reeds, with walls not exceeding four feet in height, the inside bare walls and reeds, with a most shocking pulpit and desk, only a few plain forms to sit on, and these brought by the poorest people.

THERE are numbers of farms; and some, but few, sumptuous houses: the refugees, beginning the world under great incumbrances, the debts at first contracted remain still undischarged; and though some, whose success has been great, have erected superior buildings, the generality of their descendants remain in cots, requiring no more than room and shelter from the weather.

THE *Mountain River*, so called from its spring rising in the mountains, receiving several rivulets in its course, is considerable near the church, with large farms on both sides, about half an hour's distance from each other; yet the inhabitants complain of the contiguity for want of sufficient pasturage between the plantations, and grass growing in plenty on both sides of the river. This fertile part, producing every growth of the *Cape*, is mountainous and stony, and the mountains, like all about the *Cape*, in the depth of winter, are covered with snow, and often from *June* to *September*.

Turn-again Mountain.

FROM *Turn-again Mountain* to the church is a road on the left, leading to *Stellenbosch*, truly named by the inhabitants *Bange Hunk*, or fearful, being narrow, stony and steep, leading on edges of precipices, and pits of water, and infested with lions, tigers, and other wild animals. Many have perished by their horses starting into these precipices and pits, upon the approach of these animals; yet the most elegant seats of the *Landroft* or *Stellenbosch* and *Drakenstein* colonies, and several others of note, are situated in this dangerous road.

Simon's Valley.

SIMON'S *Valley*, so named in honour of *Simon Vander Stel*, who granted it to *Blesius*, the *Cap* fiscal independant, is laid out in corn-fields, vineyards, and gardens. Upon an ordinance published in 1707, that burghers only should trade in corn, wine, and cattle, *Blesius* sold this estate to a favourite servant for 24,000 florins, to be paid by yearly payments of 2,000 florins. Near *Simon's Valley* is a high mountain, named the *Babylonian Tower*, extremely plentiful in corn and wine.

The market.

A MARKET is held near the church, for the sale of grocery and other small wares necessary for domestic use, bought at the *Cape*, and sold here at an advanced price. On both sides of the church, and road to *Mountain River*, lie several well cultivated and improved estates; and from thence to *Waggon-makers Valley*, and farther on to *Pearl Mountain*, so

Pearl Mountain.

called from a large stone on the top, imagined by the common people to resemble a pearl. This mountain is rocky; the stone is proper for mill-stones; and many were hewn out by order of *Vander Stel*, and used in the mills of the colonies. The *Mountain River* passes thro' *Waggon-makers Valley*, so called from an *European* waggon-maker, the first inhabitant, in a serpentine manner, and runs above an hundred *German* miles from its source, thro' several *Hottentot* countries, into *St. Hellen's Bay*. This river, fordable in summer, when swelled by winter torrents running down the hills, overflows a considerable part of the adjacent country. Numbers of men and horses have been lost in attempting to pass it; and scarce a winter passes without some terrible catastrophe. The inhabitants are deprived of church service, and the benefit of the mill at the foot of *Pearl Mountain*; yet the intelligent inhabitants, provided long ago with sufficient cash to be laid out for the public good, have never thought of a bridge; the only thing wanting in the colony.

Riebeck's Castle.

NUMBERS of *Hottentots*, who lately dwelt in this valley, abandoned their *Kraals*, and retreated farther up the country, upon the appearance of *European* planters. The plantation and buildings of these new settlers were not brought to perfection in 1731.

RIEBECK'S *Castle*, so named from *Van Riebeck*, first governor of the *Cape*, is an extreme high and steep mountain. The plantations on and near it would be greatly increased but for the scarcity of water; one well only being dug at the expence of *Vander Bal*, a planter, for the relief of the neighbourhood, who enjoyed in common this advantage, till a *Tyger* planter obtaining from the government the sole property, the inhabitants are obliged at present, as formerly, to make use of rain water.

IN the beginning of the *Cape* settlement, barracks were erected here by the company for an hundred men, and as many horses; and a cannon was planted on an eminence near this post, to be fired on any hostile appearance from the *Hottentots*, as a signal to the next, and from thence continued to the *Cape*. The *Hottentots* afterwards desirous of friendship, and concluding a treaty of alliance with the *Dutch*, this guard was abolished, the cannon carried to the fortrefs, and the barracks and stabling went to decay.

Twenty-four Rivers.

THE *Twenty-four Rivers*, about a day's journey north of *Riebeck's Castle*, and thus called from the many streams with which it is watered, belongs to *Drakenstein* colony. The soil is extremely fertile, producing corn from 25 to more than 30 fold, with great plenty of grass and water throughout. No lands are granted here in propriety; on which account huts only, and not houses of expence, are erected in this part.

To

a To this colony appertain the *Honey Mountains*, so called from the great quantity of honey made by the bees in the cliffs. The *Hottentots* climb extremely high, in great danger, in quest of honey and wax; which they afterwards barter with *Europeans*, for tobacco, brandy, and glass or brass trinkets.

THE *European* inhabitants of these mountains, who are but few, and tenders of cattle only, like those of the *Twenty-four Rivers*, are settlers by licence; who, restrained from tilling more ground than what is thought necessary to yield sufficient corn for their support, make no use of that liberty; but, living without bread, eat meat with meat, as beef or mutton with smoked or dried venison; are extremely healthful, and strangers almost to disorders; their drink is water, milk, and honey beer.

b ABOUT a day's journey from the *Honey* lie the *Picquet Mountains*, so called from the game of picquet being played the whole day the *Europeans* first inspected this settlement: the inhabitants are feeders of cattle, who, with the people of *Honey Mountain*, drive their cattle to the *Cape* market. The *Hottentots* and these people live friendly together.

VAN *Waveren* colony, so called by governor *Vander Stel*, in compliment to the *Van Waveren* family of *Amsterdam*, to which he was related, was begun 1701, is the youngest and most eastern settlement, about 25 or 30 *German* miles distant from the *Cape*, and separated from *Drakenstein* by the *Red Sand Mountain*; the boundaries are hitherto unfetled.

c THE *Red Sand Mountain*, whose top is a cone, is extremely difficult to pass, being high and steep, and the road across narrow and stony, with thick wood in many places on both sides. Waggoners are generally unloaded and taken to pieces, and, together with the goods, carried over in small parcels by the cattle and waggoners: the black land near this mountain is included in this colony: the soil is extremely fertile, yielding a vast increase of all sorts of grain that hath been hitherto sown, and promises equal fertility with the best lands about the *Cape*. No lands are granted in property, but are held by licence from the government from six months to six months: on this account the lands are hitherto made use of as pasturage; nor are there any buildings superior to shepherd's huts. There are no places for public worship: the inhabitants frequent *Drakenstein*, and sometimes the *Cape* churches, to which they are obliged to repair for marriages and christenings, being under the *Cape* jurisdiction. All civil and criminal causes are determined by the magistrates of *Stellenbosch*. The country is well watered, and provided with two hot baths: the hot water of one becomes in two hours proper for bathing; yet the healing virtues of these waters are quite neglected for another bath at a small distance. The hot bath behind the *Hottentot Holland* mountains is most frequented, and most justly recommended. This bath, and a large tract of fertile land, were granted by governor *Lewis Van Assembourg* to *Appel* and his heirs, who make a considerable profit.

IN speaking of the living creatures of the *Cape*, we shall omit, as much as possible, describing those which are in common with other parts of *Africa*, and take notice only of such as have something remarkably particular, as different either in their nature or shape, &c.

e THE *Hottentot* countries abound, from the lion to the monkey, in the greatest variety of the animal creation. The lion, the first in dignity, and the most noble beast, is extremely strong, the flesh has no ill taste, and eats like venison.

THE leopard, or panther, and the tiger, beasts of a like nature, differing in nothing but the size and manner of the spots, are extremely fierce and ravenous; their flesh, which is exceeding white and tender, surpasses in taste the finest veal.

THE *Cape* elephants are the largest, and, in proportion, the strongest in the world; their teeth weigh from 60 to 120 pounds; their flesh is coarse, and never eaten by *Europeans* but in great necessity; they make great expedition in travelling, and sleep lying upon the ground.

f THE skin of a *Cape* rhinceros, whose sense of smelling is remarkably wonderful, and in constant enmity with the elephant, is almost impenetrable by the sharpest knife: the horn in the snout, with which he rips up the belly of a surprized elephant, is known not to endure poison; the fresh blood is hung up in the guts by *Europeans*, to dry in the sun, and taken afterwards in wine, coffee, or tea, to open obstructions, and for inward sores. *Kolben* eat the flesh with great satisfaction.

BESIDES the different kinds of *European* and *Cape* domestics, there are wild dogs, that, like the *Kongo* *Mabian*, are mortal enemies of every quadruped species, that range in bodies of thirty, forty, and upwards, encountering lions, &c. and always conquering by numbers. Both *Europeans* and *Hottentots* follow and rob these dogs of their prey after the chase. The *Europeans* salt for their slaves, and the *Hottentots* eat, what they get.

g THERE are the common *European* and tiger wolves, of the size of an ordinary sheep, with broad heads like bull-dogs; their jaws, nose, and eyes, are large, their teeth edged, with frizzled hair, short tails, and spotted like a tiger. The lion, tiger, and leopard, that know and pursue by the howl, are great enemies to the tiger wolf.

- Buffalos.* THE *Cape* buffalos are larger than the *European*, and hard to be killed without fire-arms; a their flesh is neither tender nor fat, like that of an ox.
- Elks.* THE *Cape* elks, about 400 pounds weight, are much larger than *European* or *American* elks; their flesh tastes like good beef, either boiled or roasted.
- Wild asses.* THE wild ass is spotted and streaked in that beautiful manner as has been described in other places, with white, chestnut, or brown, and surpasses a horse in swiftness, and therefore extremely difficult to be taken.
- Wild horses.* THERE are wild horses in the *Cape* countries, but none in the *European* colonies; the settlement having been supplied, in the beginning, with horses from *Persia*.
- Sea horses.* THE sea-horse, as has been already described in a former chapter, is here in great plenty and request. The flesh, boiled or roasted, being esteemed delicious food, and sold at 12 *d.* b and 15 *d.* per pound; the fat, likewise bearing the same price, is used in most sorts of victuals, and sometimes spread upon bread like butter.
- Different kinds of goats.* THERE are tame blue and spotted goats; the blue goats are shaped like the tame *European*, of the size of a hart, and of a delicate blue colour; the flesh, though seldom fat, is well tasted, and the skins equal in goodness to those of the deer. The flesh of the spotted goats tastes like venison; and that of another beautiful sort of goats, without name, far surpasses the best: there are yet diving and rock goats, whose flesh, tho' lean and tough, is esteemed a dainty at the *Cape*.
- Stinkbingssem and other wild animals.* THERE are at the *Cape*, besides the stinkbingssem, a most stinking and offensive animal, like a ferret in make, and of the size of a middling dog, baboons, mountain cats, moles, c *Indian* mice as large as cats, rattle mice, that sometimes make a rattling noise with their tails; ermins, whose flesh is wholesome, and agreeable to the palate; the fox, hares, harts, rabbits, cats, and *European* rats, carried by shipping.
- Eagles.* FOUR sorts of eagles are seen in the *Hottentot* countries: the bird simply called eagle, of the ignoble kind, according to *Gesnar* and *Ludolphus*, from their feeding upon fish and dead animals; the duck-eagle, or *Aquila Anatoria*, whose prey are ducks; the *Ossifrage*, or bone-breaking eagle, that carry up and let the land tortoises fall from a great height in the air, to break their shells; and the *Haliæetus*, so called by naturalists, or sea eagle.
- Phœnicopterus, or Flamingos.* THE *Phœnicopterus*, so named by Mr. Ray, called by the *Dutch* *Flamingos*, and by the *French* *Flammant*, is the most beautiful bird at the *Cape*, larger, and the neck much longer, d than that of a swan. Both head and neck are as white as snow; the bill extremely broad, the upper mandible crooked, and longer than the nether, which is thicker and hollow, and filled with a large and fat tongue, that eats like marrow; the bill of a dark blue, black at the point, and furnished with short sharp teeth; the lower part of the wing feathers are black, and the upper of a high flame colour, the feet like those of a goose, and the legs half as long as the legs of a stork, of an orange colour; their flesh is wholesome, and well-tasted.
- Wild geese.* BESIDES the tame, there are three sorts of wild geese, the hill, or mountain, the crop, and the water goose, which differ in size and colour. The hill or mountain goose, whose feathers on the head and wings are of a bright shining green, are larger than the *European*; the crop goose is a large bird; and the water goose, of the same size, is distinguished from e the *European* tame by a brown streak, intermixed with green, on the back: their flesh is esteemed extremely delicate.
- Knorhans.* THE knorhan, upon discovering a man, gives warning to other birds, by making and continuing a loud noise, to the great disappointment of sportsmen: the flesh has an agreeable taste.
- Sea crows.* THE flesh of a sea crow is delicate food, much esteemed at the *Cape*, where their feathers, which are exceeding soft, are used in bedding and cushions.
- Pelicans.* THE spoon-bill, or pelican, and the *Malagos*, are larger than geese: the sea-gulls are numerous, and their eggs, as large as duck eggs, are most delicate food, whose white never hardens by boiling, but remains like a jelly. The penguin, or pinguin, of the f size of a goose, is an extreme fat bird; the flesh, being of a fishy taste, is of no value; but their eggs, which are likewise the most delicious food, are always esteemed and looked upon as fine presents.
- Ravens.* ONE sort of ravens is totally black, another totally grey, and a third sort has the belly feathers white, the feathers on the head black and white, and the rest quite black.
- Ostriches, and other birds.* OSTRICHES are numerous at the *Cape*; their eggs are reckoned good eating, and one a tolerable meal for three or four persons. These large birds are equally careful in hatching, the male and female alternately sitting on the eggs, and diligent in feeding their young as other birds. There are several sorts of falcons; and the pheasants are the same as the *Europeans*: owls are of the same size, but of a different colour; the feathers are red and black, g intermixed with grey spots, which make a beautiful appearance. There are tame, and several sorts of wild ducks; the yellow-hammer, lark, the chloris, or greenfinch, of the size of a nightingale, with long and pleasant notes; and a bird, called *Edolio* by the *Europeans*, resembling

a resembling in size, make, and colour, the *European* cuckow; this bird, which keeps in thick bushes, and on high trees, cries and repeats often, in fine weather, in a low and melancholy tone, *edolio, edolio*.

THERE is a blue bird, whose flesh is delicious food, described by *Raphael Seuler*, of the *Blue birds*. size of a starling, with blue feathers; those on the neck and thighs of a sky blue, but somewhat darker than those of a king's-fisher; the beak and wing feathers of a dark blue, with a pointed bill about four inches long, and the nether mandible of a dark red. Several sorts of birds, tho' of different colours, having the same notes, are called by *Europeans* black- *Black birds*. birds: the wagtails, finches, and bats, are the same as *European*.

BESIDES all kinds of *European* finches, there is a sort peculiar to the *Cape*, larger than a *A bird peculiar to the Cape*. chaffinch, whose feathers are of an ash colour in winter, to which succeed a new plumage in summer: the feathers on the head, belly, wings, and tail, are black, on the neck and back of a high scarlet, and the bill, which is short, strait, and pointed, is yellow. The nest of this bird is of peculiar contrivance, made impenetrable by any weather, of small twigs, interwoven with cotton, in the closest and tightest manner, with two apartments, and but one entrance; the upper is the apartment for the male, and the female lodges in the undermost.

THERE are gnat-snappers, and a bird called long-tongue, *Canary* birds, and the *Serinus*, *Gnat-snappers*. so called by *Heuslines*, extremely destructive to seed plants: they are much shot, and their flesh is greatly esteemed by the *Cape Europeans*, who relish it more than their notes.

c THE ægithus, hawfinches, or grosbeaks, the upupa, or hoopoe, the stone-pecker, and *Ægithus, and other birds*. starling, are numerous about the *Cape*. There are tame and wild pigeons, called the hill, or mount, the bush, and sea pigeons; with three sorts of swallows, the prey, house, and sea-swallow, named *Apus* by naturalists.

THE asp, of an ash colour, and speckled with red and yellow, and several yards long, and many kinds of serpents, are seen at the *Cape*: the eye serpent, called the dart and shoot *Different kinds of serpents*. serpent, from darting fiercely at, and shooting from, an enemy, with wonderful speed; the tree serpent, being generally in and about the branches of trees; the blind slow-worm, with black scales, speckled with brown, white, and red; the *Dipsas*, or thirst serpent, about three quarters of a yard long, with a broad neck and black beak, whose bite inflames the blood, and causes a painful thirst; the hair serpent, called by the *Portuguese* *Cobras do Cabello*, about a yard long, and three quarters of an inch thick, whose poison is the most malignant, causing, unless an antidote is instantly applied, immediate death. House serpents, about an ell long, and an inch and half thick, whose bite has no ill consequence; the *Ceraftes*, or horned serpents, with many others.

MOST *Europeans* have artificial serpent stones, made by *Indian* Brachmans, who alone *The serpent stone*. possess, and remain inflexible in preserving the secret of the composition; these artificial stones, shaped like a bean, the matter in the middle being white, and the rest of a sky-blue colour, have admirable virtues, and are esteemed the most effectual remedy against poison.

THERE are sea, river, and land insects; the sea flea, of the size, shape, and scaled like a *Sea, river, and land insects*. young shrimp, is provided with a sting; the sea louse is covered with a hard shell, and having many legs, ending in hooks, are great plagues in stinging and sucking of fish. Among the several sorts of worms that keep continually in the sea, is a worm that might be properly called the sea-horse; the head, mouth, neck, and breast, are shaped exactly like those of a horse; the hind part runs to a point, about six inches long; the body is flat, and with ribs; the back is yellow, and the belly white. There are leaches of a dark red, speckled with black; and water snakes, about six inches long, and as thick as a swan's quill.

THE land insects are numerous in the *Cape* countries, where there are various sorts of *Ants*. ants, some like *European*; the vallies are covered with their hills: others differ in size, being much larger, whose hills likewise are larger: there is a sort about half an inch long, whose heads are red, with brown backs, and ash-coloured belly and legs; and another with red wings, that frequently fly up the highest hills, extremely nimble and industrious.

f BEES abound throughout these countries, and are the same, in every respect, with *Euro- Bees*. *pean*: they lay their honey in hollow trees, in cliffs, and on the tops of high rocks; the rock honey has a finer flavour than that of the hives, which are but few, the *Hottentots* supplying the colonies with that commodity. Amongst the many kinds of flies is one that raises a blister like *Spanish* flies, which the *Cape* surgeons, who get great quantities, make *Flies*. use of.

THERE are fleas, nits, earth-flies, beetles, lice, bugs, snails, and grasshoppers, of several *Fleas, nits, &c.* sorts; that in great hosts damage gardens, orchards, and corn-fields. There are as many sorts of butterflies as caterpillars, both with beautiful and lively colours. Scorpions are also numerous, between two and three inches long, of a dark green, speckled with black, *Scorpions*. resembling the cray-fish in every part but the tail, which is longer and narrower; their sting is exceeding painful and dangerous.

- Moths, wasps, &c.* THERE are moths, wasps, rainworms, woodlice, weazels, toads, spiders, and millepedes, or thousand legs: the spiders differ in size, shape, colour, and in webs; some are poisonous; the *Cape Europeans* are extremely cautious in regard to the smallest sort, no bigger than a white pea; this little spider is black and active, the bite is poisonous, and causes death, unless antidotes are used immediately; a serpent-stone extracts the poison. The *Cape* millepedes are red and white, about half as thick, and a finger in length, downy like the caterpillar, with two moving horns on the head; but no eyes have been discovered in this insect, whose bite is as dangerous as that of the scorpion; the serpent-stone is an effectual remedy, and roasted onions.
- Blower.* THE sea and rivers abound in great plenty and variety of fish; the blower, so called from blowing itself up in a globular form, is smooth, without scales, with a dark yellow back, b and white belly, a small mouth, with four broad teeth; is reckoned pernicious, and here avoided.
- Bennet.* THE bennet, about the length and thickness of a man's arm, and from six to eight pounds weight, is dry, but an agreeable food, and easy of digestion.
- Brown-fish.* THE brown-fish, a great devourer of the flying-fish, is 15 or 16 feet long; the body is as thick as an ox, and the back is somewhat raised.
- Cabeliau.* THE flesh of cabeliau, of which there are several sorts, is tender, delicate, and nourishing.
- Dolphins.* THERE are several kinds of dolphins, whose flesh is good, and the tongues and livers are esteemed delicious eating at the *Cape*.
- Elst.* THE spawn of the elst, a bony fish, and whose flesh is dry, is in high esteem. c
- Flying-fish.* THE different kinds of flying-fish are of the size and shape of a herring, excepting the wings: some have two large wings only, others with two large and two small wings, like those of a bat. These fish, whose flesh exceeds in taste the freshest herrings, are greatly pursued and harrassed by numbers of enemies: they are always in shoals, and fly extremely swift in numbers out of the water.
- Gold-fish.* THE *Cape* gold-fish, about a pound weight, are a foot and a half long; their meat is exceeding wholesome, of a delicate taste, and a great cleanser of the blood.
- Sharks.* THERE are two sorts of sharks, from 12 to 16 feet long; both sorts are extremely ravenous, and are said to hanker after human flesh more than any other food. The *Cape* pikes, d
- Pike.* boiled or broiled, are greatly esteemed, and found only in salt water.
- Brasems.* BRASEMS, called *Hottentot*-fish by *Europeans*, about a pound in weight, are reckoned wholesome and well tasted.
- Red stone brasems.* THE red-stone brasem, equally wholesome and nourishing, has a most delicate taste.
- Pilot-fish.* THE pilot-fish, so called from being the pilot or guide to the shark, of a dark brown colour, spotted with blue, and a black streak along the ridge of the back, with several others running down to the belly, with gold colour about the eyes, and lower jaw like a saw, is extremely difficult to take. This fish is said to master the shark, and to smell land, and when in scent, to turn about and make off to sea.
- Sea-lions.* A SEA-LION was killed in *Table Bay* in 1707: this animal was 15 feet long, and the same in circumference; his head was like that of a lion, but without hair or scale upon e any part; the tongue, of 50 pounds weight, was all fat; the skin was of a yellowish colour, with two short fore legs, ending in feet like those of a goose, with two broad thick fins, each of eighteen inches long, in the place of hind legs; the body was taper to the tail, which ended in the shape of a half moon.
- Porpoisses and whales.* THERE are porpoisses, or sea-hogs, and whales; the lesser, called grampus, is frequently seen in the *Cape* sea; two dead grampusses were drove ashore in stormy weather, in 1707, and 1709; one was 50 feet long, 24 broad, and 12 high; the other was 45 feet in length, and 12 feet in breadth, and in height 18. The tongues of each weighed 600 pounds weight.
- Silver-fish.* THE silver-fish, of the size, make, and taste of a carp, about a pound in weight, keeps f mostly in the sea, but sometimes comes in shoals into the rivers.
- Cramp fish.* THE cramp-fish is a curiosity at the *Cape*, of the cartilaginous kind, and small, about a quarter of a pound in weight, with small eyes, whose irides are a mixture of black and white; the mouth, though small, is furnished with teeth, and is shaped like a half-moon; above the mouth are two little holes, or nostrils; the back is of an orange colour, and the belly white; the tail like that of a turbot, and the skin is extremely smooth, without scales; the brains are seen when the fish is opened; the gall is large, and the liver white and tender.
- THE *Cape* fishermen decline touching the cramp-fish; and most authors justly agree, that whoever touches this fish is affected with smart pains, cramped, and convulsed; but the duration is not lasting, the convulsion being at the height in a minute or two, when it gradually abates, and in half an hour goes quite off. g
- Barbels, carps, &c.* THE barbels, carps, eels, gudgeons, lobsters, crabs, and oysters, are in every respect the same as *European*; and the rock-fish taken in holes of sea rocks, about six inches in length, and two round, are of the most agreeable taste, and much valued.

THERE

a THERE are two sorts of water-snails, the porcupine and sea-porcupine; the shells of both *Water-snails* are variously and beautifully coloured, but lose the colour when the snail dies.

THERE are kegel, or ninepin snails, klip, kousen or nabel snails, pearl snails, screw snails, and shell-fish called sea-funs, and sea-stars; their shells, which are extremely beautiful, are chiefly gathered for presents to strangers, and preserved in many cabinets of curiosities.

THE sea-spout is a strange and surprising production of nature, resembling a sponge or *Sea-spout*. lump of moss, sticking to sea rocks, unmoved by winds or waves; of a greenish colour, with water or humour continually dropping from a fleshy substance within, not unlike a gizzard; there is no life perceivable in this creature, but, when touched, fine streams of water spout out from two or three small holes, which is repeated as often as touched, till

b the stock is exhausted.

THE muscle crabs are like, but smaller than, lobsters, and inhabit another besides the *Muscle-crabs*. coat-shell, from which they go in and out, never separating themselves quite from the shell, with great ease.

THERE are land, sea, and river, or fresh water, tortoises, four-legged, whose bodies are guarded with the strongest and hardest shells. The sea and river tortoises lay and leave *Land, sea, and river tortoises*. their eggs, of the size between the pigeon and hen egg, in the sand, to be hatched by the heat of the sun; they are found at *St. Jago* and *Mauritius*; 200, and sometimes 300, eggs are laid in one nest, which, with the flesh, are agreeable to the palate. The land tortoises are plentiful at the *Cape*; their flesh is fine and white as snow, and their eggs are of an exquisite and delightful taste; the land tortoise feeds upon roots, herbs, corn, &c.⁸

c THE vegetables of the natural growth of the *Cape* countries, whose virtues are topical, *Vegetables of the natural growth*. and many of no use in medicine, are too numerous to be inserted: in *Kolben's* account there are 28 sorts of aloës, many of them being planted in the company's garden; their flowers are of different colours, some white, others red, and many curiously speckled, are very delightful to the eye; five sorts of *African alaternoides*, and eight of *African* dogs-bane; ten of *Aster Africanus*, or *African* starwort; seven sorts of bell-flowers; twenty of *African* broom; and twenty-one of cranesbill: sixteen of ragwort; eleven of *Thymaloe Africana*, or *African* spurge laurel; and six and thirty sorts of *Ficoides*, or *African* fig marygolds: the *Argyroden-dros Africana*, or silver tree, whose fruit is conical like the pine-apple, grows both in vallies and on hills: the *Spiraea Africana* is called by the *Hottentots* *Buchu*, who gather and dry the withered leaves in the sun, then beat them to powder for use: this powder is of a gold colour. There are trees of the size of an oak, called stink-wood by *Europeans*, from a filthy and nauseous scent while under the tool, and hardly to be endured by workmen, whose smell goes off in some time; and the wood, which is beautifully clouded, makes useful and ornamental pieces of furniture, and enters likewise into the *Cape materia medica*, being given with success in many cases.

THE exotics are also numerous: fir plants were carried from *Europe* in 1690, for orna- *Exotic vegeta-* ment, and to supply the colonies with wood, and are now from 36 to 40 feet high. *tables*.

e GARDEN sorrel was planted chiefly for the advantage of mariners, being good against the scurvy. There is abundance of garden garlic, common alder, and *China* rose; the green leaves of the *China* rose, whisked in water, make a lather which the *Cape Europeans* prefer to soap for washing the face and hands,

THERE are large tracts of land planted with almond trees, of which there are four sorts, yielding a considerable profit.

THE pine-trees, originally from *America*, were transplanted from *East-India*: there are *Pine-trees*, three sorts, *Fajama*, *Bonjama*, and *Fajagna*: the *Fajama* apple is the largest and best, from 6 to six to eight inches long, and thick; the outside colour is red and dark yellow, the inside near a perfect yellow; the inside colour of the *Bonjama* and *Fajagna*, is white; that of *Fajagna* tastes like rhenish wine.

f GARDEN parsley, asparagus, red and white beetwort, were carried from *Holland*, and grow in great plenty. There are abundance of red and white cabbages, of 40 pounds weight and upwards, and cauliflowers, of which great quantities are sent to *Ceylon* and *Batavia*.

THERE are four sorts of camphire trees, one transplanted from *Borneo* island, the others from *Sumatra*, *Sunda*, *China*, and *Japan*.

GARDEN asparagus, wild and garden hemp, and *carduus benedictus*, of great medicinal use, grow in the *Cape* countries.

THE cinnamon-tree grows as high as a *Spanish* olive-tree. Clove-gilliflowers, horse-chestnuts, common onions, and garden chervil, and artichokes, were carried from *Holland*; white and grey pease from *Germany* and *Holland*; and the filberd-tree from *Germany*.

g THERE are several sorts of cherry-trees, the trumpet-flower, flower-fence, and common cucumbers in great plenty, surpassing *European* in goodness.

⁸ Id. ibid. p. 186.

THE *American* passion-flower bears a fruit like the golden-ruffetin, and of an agreeable a taste.

GOURDS were brought to the *Cape* from *Europe* and the *Indies*; there are several forts, and great numbers are disposed among the shipping, being extremely serviceable in long voyages.

THE male cyprus-trees were carried from *Europe* into *India*.

CORN-BOTTLES were brought to the *Cape* with the first corn; they are of white, blue, and carnation colours; the flower of one sort, in the company's gardens, is extremely fragrant and beautiful.

THE *Cape* is supplied yearly with wild *Cytisus* from *Holland*; the crops at the *Cape* never holding the seed against the south-east winds.

THORN-APPLE plants, brought from *India*, were rooted up and destroyed by the govern-
ment; the reason is concealed, as the publication might be attended with bad consequences:

THERE are *European* and *Madagascar* beans, the *Indian* fig-tree, torch-thistle, and common fennel, straw-berry bushes, and *Indian* wheat; *Indian* jessamin, and patfcher-tree, whose flowers are yellowish, and of an agreeable smell; the *Indian* pallet settangan, with a white double flower, like the *Rosa Sinensis*, and jonquils, whose smell is so greatly esteemed by the *European* ladies.

SPARRY, gooseberry bushes, white hyacinth, and the juniper-tree, were brought from *Europe*: there are the *Indian* white guava, and a shrub transplanted from *Madagascar*, called by the *Cape Europeans* *Kezschebyring*, and *Kutchbines* by the *Japanese*, who make a yellow colour of the seed for dyeing.

THE *Indian* gold-tree, about six feet high, with yellow leaves, speckled with red, is extremely beautiful, and is generally ranged in gardens amongst other trees.

THE *Cape Europeans* make pickles of the leaves of *Indian* bay-trees; there are cabbage-lettuces of every *European* sort, common marjoram, stock-gillflowers, and the white crown imperial. Great plenty of apples and quince trees; the *Mæstietz* and *Castietz* of *Batavia*, and other *Indian* parts, make pomado for colouring and curling their hair, of the quince kernels.

THE mastick, pomegranate, citron, sweet and sour limon *China* and *Indian* orange trees are plentiful; these trees are extremely large, and called *Mosban*, or tyger-oranges, by the *East-Indians*, the first being spotted like the skin of that animal.

ROSEMARY, basil, balm, garden mint, sage, garden turnips, oaks, plum and pear trees, were brought from *Europe*; parsnips, medlars, common alder, and walnut-trees, were carried from *Germany*. There are black mulberry, myrtle, peach, pine, and date trees, garden-poppies, netted and musk melons, white daffodils, favine, tulips, violets, tamarisk-trees, and garden-taragon, winter wheat and rye, with grape vine, carried from the *Rhine*, *Persia*, and other places: and the garden-navew, by which the inhabitants make considerable profit.

WE have by this time dwelt long enough on the vast plenty and variety of native and exotic productions of this rich and fertile spot, to raise a desire in our readers to know what share of them these new landlords dispense among their dispossessed vassals, in return for their so readily yielding it to them; and whether they are treated with greater generosity, on all these accounts, in this *African* settlement, than those we have had occasion to mention in some former volumes, in our account of their *Asiatic* conquests†. To all which we can only answer in general, that no country or climate we know of, hath as yet been able to make any any change for the better in the subjects of that ungrateful republic; and that, with respect to those *Hottentots* who live under the dominion of the *Dutch* company here, their condition is the most wretched and miserable, not only of their whole nation, but, we may safely add, of all the *Africans*. They are, says a judicious author*, reduced to such an abject degree of servitude and indigence, as to be glad, for the sake of a little tobacco, a piece of bread, or a glass of brandy, to submit to the lowest and basest offices; and happy do they think themselves, who live near their towns and settlements, as most at hand to be employed in that servile druggery for so small an encouragement; whilst the rest of their compatriots, who live more at large, and enjoy a greater share of liberty, detest and abhor them for their base subjection and abject meanness. The author above-quoted hath interlarded his account with many other curious and useful remarks, which there is less need for us to dwell upon, as his book is in our own tongue, and in every curious reader's possession.

ON the other hand, if our readers would know what high account the rest of the *Hottentot* nation make of these new masters, or rather, as they stile them, invaders and interlopers, in the midst of their vast affluence, their luxury, and outward grandeur, they look upon them as a band of poor indigent vagabonds, whom mere necessity had forced out of their native country, to seek their bread, which it could not afford them at home, and for the sake

† De his, vid. int. al. vol. iv. p. 420, & seq. 436, & seq. 487, & seq. & al. plur.
vol. ii. p. 212, & seq.

* DAMPIER'S Voyag.

- a of which they are content, nay glad, to cross the widest seas, wander in the most distant countries, expose themselves to the greatest dangers and fatigues, the most opposite and inhospitable climates, and intrude themselves upon every nation and government that will grant them admittance, upon any specious pretence, though so much afraid and mistrustful of all the rest of mankind, that they cannot think themselves and their effects in any safety, unless both are secured by high walls, and strong bolts and bars. How much freer, happier, and nobler, is our race, who can range at will under the whole cope of heaven, wherever our wants or inclinations lead us, and find every-where a rich supply ready prepared for us by the kind hand of nature, without our care or labour, who want neither storehouses nor magazines to secure our provisions and properties, nor castles and high walls to protect us
- b and our families; but can live and sleep safe and fearless in our low huts or caves, or even under the open canopy of the skies, eat, drink, smok, sing, and dance, race, hunt, and pursue every pleasure of life unrestrained and uncontrouled, whilst even our superfluities, and what would otherwise lie neglected and despised by us, are more than sufficient to attract those mercenary and indigent slaves to come so far to purchase them from us, and bring us, in exchange for them, all that their country, art, or industry, produces, that may contribute to our use, our ornament, or delight †. And if, whilst we here roam at large, enjoying all the blessings and sweets of our happy land in peace and plenty, those *Would-be Lords* are glad to bring us such variety of additional conveniences and delights, through so many hazards and fatigues, for so small a return as we make to them, who are greater, happier, and more to be envied than we? who are more base, despicable, and more to be pitied than they ‡? Thus they think, and thus they balance the account between them and their masters; which, however strange and rhapsodical it may appear to us, we are assured, from a multitude of authentic witnesses, is the common language, not only of the *Hottentots*, but of the generality of the *Africans*, even of those, who, through the tyranny of the government they live under, are doomed to a still worse state of slavery and misery, and without those real advantages and comforts which this *Hottentot* nation enjoys, to countenance their fond conceit, that they are the happiest and noblest, and the *Europeans* the most miserable and abject people that the sun shines upon. Some instances of which we shall have occasion to shew in the subsequent chapters.
- d WE shall leave it to our readers to make their own remarks on their uncommon notion of happiness, compared with that of their *Dutch* masters, and which would receive an additional degree, if what *Tachard* and other writers relate of them were true; viz. that they expect no after-reckonings in another world. But as we have lately shewn, from surer evidence, this to be a mistake, and that they really believe a future life and retribution*, we hope we need not tell our readers, by this time, which of the two nations seems to act most conformably to it, or to reap the greatest gain from the contrary one. Yet we cannot dispense subjoining some singular instances of moral virtue in the one, which as plainly spring from a persuasion of the former, as the contrary vices do from the latter. The *Hottentots* are trusty and faithful to the highest degree; insomuch, that even the *Dutch* give them free admission
- e into their houses and warehouses, and trust them with any business or important affair, without fear or danger of being wronged or defrauded. They are of an hospitable and beneficent temper, and ever ready to assist one-another; and so generous in their low state, that if any thing be given to any one of them, whether it be of eatables, apparel, tobacco, or brandy, which they are most fond of, they readily divide it amongst their friends and compatriots, even to the reserving the least share to themselves; and when obliged to any high degree, never cease expressing, upon all occasions, sentiments of suitable gratitude, as long as they live. It must be owned that this character is very different from that which the *Dutch* writers have given us of them, who have as generally as unjustly confounded them with the savage and inhuman nation of the *Caffers* lately described §, and probably with no other
- f view than to palliate their ill treatment of, and tyrannizing over, them.

WE shall now conclude this chapter, with a short estimate of the charges which the *Dutch* company is at, for the maintenance of this important settlement, and of the revenues out of which they are raised.

- THE revenues for defraying the vast expence of this settlement, the most flourishing in *Africa*, whose interest and safety have engrossed the care and application of the *Dutch East-India* company, and stood them in a million of florins yearly, for the first twenty years after its establishment, and the present annual expences of which amount to 400,000 florins, arise from the tenth of the produce of lands possessed by *Europeans*, from ground-rents; from duties on wines and beer, produced at the *Cape*, or imported; on tobacco and distilled liquors, on mum, of which there is great consumption, by other means, and from the profits of trade.
- g

† De his, vid. sup. p. 392, & alib. passim.
* See before, p. 393, & seq.

‡ TACHARD'S voyage to Siam, p. 94, & seq. of the Paris edition.
§ See before, p. 382, & seq.

THE tenths of the produce of lands, and ground-rents, are computed at 14,000 florins *a per annum*. The duties are farmed at 70,000 florins *per annum*, and punctually paid by the farmers; and the neat produce of 30,000 florins, laid out annually in merchandize for the Cape, at a profit of 75 *per cent.* is 225,000 florins.

THOUGH the revenue and profits are not hitherto brought to a par, the company is at present near reimbursed the expence; and has a prospect of enjoying shortly an immense clear revenue from the settlement, the colonies improving and increasing daily, by the taking in of new lands for culture and tillage.

A GREAT number of fine *Persian*, and horses from other countries, are kept in a range of stables, at *Cape Town*, capable of containing several hundreds, for the use of the company and parade of the governor; whose train is magnificent, having a master and under master ^b of horse, a body and other coachmen, fadler, &c. in his retinue.

Number of the
company's ser-
vants.

THE company's servants are about 600 in number: all officers in the administration are called qualified, and the soldiers, artificers, and common servants unqualified; great part of these and the petty officers are lodged in the town in different buildings, belonging to the company; the governor and chief officers reside in the castle, as has been related, whose garrison consists of 200 soldiers.

C H A P. IX.

Of the principal kingdoms and nations lying along the western coast of Africa, and of those which are contiguous to them on the inland.

The western
coast described.

Its extent.

Kingdoms lying
upon it.

That of Mata-
man not ima-
ginary, but
misplaced.

THIS western and extensive coast, which stretches itself in an almost direct line north-^c wards, from *Cape Negro*, the boundary of the *Hottentots*, last spoken of, to the *Crab* river, or, as the *Portuguese* call it, *Rio dos Comarons*, that is, from the 16th degree south lat. to the 4th degree north, in all 20 degrees, or 1600 miles, contains the following principal kingdoms; viz. *Benguela*, *Angola*, *Kongo*, *Loango*, and *Pombo*; and in the inland those of *Meaman*, or *Metamba*, *Macocco*, or *Anfiko*, and *Mulak*, together with sundry other nations, known only to the *Europeans* by their names, and the traffick they carry on with the maritime kingdoms, of which we shall also give the best account we meet with in our most authentic geographers, whilst we pass by many others, which less accurate writers and map-makers have interspersed amongst them, both on the coast and inland, of which we find little more than their names, if even these may be worthy of credit. Tho' here it may not ^d be amiss to observe, that some of our later geographers have carried their incredulity too far, and pronounced some kingdoms and countries in it to be imaginary, because they have not found them in the place which the old maps assigned them, or under the exact names which these give them.

OF this nature we take the kingdom of *Mataman*, alias *Climbe*, to be, which is placed by them on the southermost part of this coast, between *Benguela* and *Cape Negro*, the first of which names we are told, is that of its monarchs, and the other that of the country; and, as we are farther told, extends itself eastward as far as *Monomotapa*, where the river *Bagamidri* divides it from it^a. Yet hath this kingdom, tho' distinctly spoken of by our countryman *Andrew Battel*^b, for its frequent wars with those of *Kongo* and *Angola*, and since, by the good capuchin father *Gavasi*, who resided in those parts twelve whole years, and was thoroughly acquainted with the barbarous manners of its inhabitants, been peremptorily pronounced an imaginary one, by some of our latest geographers^c; tho' for no other reason, that we can see, but because it is not to be found any-where on this coast, but lies farther both in the inland, and perhaps some hundred miles more northward than the old maps had placed it. We shall, however, find a more proper place, where to treat more fully of it, and of its famed, or rather infamous, queen *Zingha*, who, by the help of her *Zagas*, or *Giagas*, a warlike but inhuman nation, found means to seize on that kingdom, and, during a reign of near twenty years, to prove a most dreadful enemy to the *Portuguese* of *Angola*, and to blacken her reign with the most horrid and execrable inhumanities, beyond what any ^e other history affords of that kind. But of this, and other particulars of that kingdom, we shall forbear saying any thing farther, till they come in due course, and begin our description of this coast with the most considerable country, to that of the *Hottentots*, whence we set out.

^a BARROS Decad. lib. i. PURCH. Pilgr. part. ii. p. 974. DAPPER, & al. ^b BATTEL, ap. Purch. Pilgr. part ii. lib. vii. c. 16. GAVASI, Congo, vol. i. c. 4. ^c See D'ANVILLE's map of Afric. LA MARTINIERE, sub voc.

C H A P. X.

S E C T. I.

The history of the kingdom of Benguela.

- a **T**HIS kingdom was, by the generality of geographers, supposed to extend itself along this coast from *Cabo Negro*, the *Hottentots* boundary, to the river of *Coanza*, or *Benguela*. *Quansa*, which divides it on that side from *Angola*, at about 10 degrees, 5 minutes, south latitude. But Mr. *De Lisle* hath since corrected that error, and extends it no farther north than the *Benguela vekkia*, or *Old Benguela*^d, in 9 degrees, 54 minutes; it being probable the *Portuguese* have conquered so much of that coast, since they became masters of *Angola*, in which he places the country called *Sowa fuchi Canbari*, and the river *Cubegi*. It is bounded, according to him, on the east by the *Jaga Casangi*, or *Jagan Chief*, who over-ran that tract in the time when our countryman *Battel* was among them^e; and probably, from a wandering life, which he and his savages had led till then, plundering, ravaging, and putting all to fire and sword, where-ever he came, was at length invited to fix his abode there. On the south, our author places the province of *Obila*, between the *Hottentots* and *Benguelas*, which tract is mostly inhabited by much such savage nations as the *Cassers* and *Jagas*^f. *Extent and boundaries.*
- b THE chief bays, towns, and rivers, on this coast, from the *Cape Negro* to the river *Coanza*, are those that follow: *Coast, bays and rivers.*
- c THE bay of *Maisotto*, about five leagues south of the *Coanza* above-mentioned, at the mouth of which are some small rocks and shelves, even with the water; five leagues farther to the south is *Capo Ledo*, and eight farther that called *the Cape of the three Points*; thence to *Cape falso* four; from thence to that of *St. Bras* eleven; and from that to the *Chicken* or *Heender's Bay*, so called by the *Dutch*, from the vast quantities which are bred there, the coast runs low for the space of ten leagues. The country is fertile, and goes by the name of *Viella Benguela*, or *Old Benguela*: it hath a considerable bay, about two leagues in length, half a league broad, and between ten and twelve fathom deep; the bottom a slimy mud. *Bay of Maisotto.*
- d ON the south side of the bay is a town, or large village, situated on a high mountain, where one meets with large beeves, sheep, poultry, and other provisions, to be sold in great plenty, together with elephants teeth; all which the inhabitants barter for muskets, and and other fire-arms, which are here in great request^g. And it is this small territory which Mr. *De Lisle* comprehends under the name of *Old Benguela*^h, but the *Dutch* maps extend quite from cape *St. Bras* to the *Chicken's Bay*. Five leagues further southward is the *Rio Longo*, called also the river *Moreno*, whose mouth is under the 11th degree of south lat. but is so very shallow, that small boats can hardly sail on it; and yet the natives have found out a way of navigating on it in flat-bottom'd vessels, which they call pangales. The *Portuguese*, we are told, have likewise often attempted the same expedient, in order to bring their slaves from *Massingan* to this coast, but have not been able to compass it, by reason of its many sandy banks, and the rapidity of its courseⁱ. *Old Benguela described.*
- e ABOUT eight leagues from that river is the town of *Makikongo*, where the *Portuguese* have their magazines of cloaths, fire-arms, powder, &c. which they exchange with the inhabitants for beeves, hogs, ivory, and other wares. About 15 leagues farther southward from that town is the mouth of the river *Katon bella*, formed by two or three arms which re-unite there. It is spacious and convenient, 15 or 16 feet deep, and sheltered from every wind, and fit for the largest vessels to ride in. The water of it is salt, and round the haven are deep ditches, digged to receive it, and harden it into salt. On the north side of the river the sea forms another kind of bay, large and safe for mariners to lie at anchor, on which account the *Dutch* have given it the name of *The good or fair Bay*. About two leagues south of it is another river, whose waters are fresh and sweet, but which discharges them into the sea only after a rainy reason^k. *Fair Katon bay.*
- f SAILING still farther southward, one comes to the large bay of *Benguela*, which is two full leagues long from angle to angle, and about a league in breadth; on the north corner of it stands the town of its name, and a fort built by the *Portuguese*. Before the town is a large sandy bank, which hinders the vessels from anchoring nearer it than at a full league's distance: the fort is inclosed with palisadoes, and surrounded with houses, all finely sheltered with bananas, orange and lemon trees, pomegranates and bancovas. Behind it is digged a well of fresh water, and at some distance round *Benguela* are seven other villages depending upon it; viz. *Motonda* and *Peringa*, distant about a mile and an half from the fort, and about a mile *Bay of Benguela.*

^d See his map of Kongo and Cafraria.^e DAPPER, Afric.^h Map of Kongo.^g See PURCH. ubi sup. p. 974.ⁱ DAPPER, ubi sup.^f DE LISLE, ubi sup.^k Idem ibid.

from each other; *Mam Kifomba*, a large settlement which can raise 3000 men; *Mani-nomma*, a *Mani-Kifomba*, *Pikena*, and *Mani-kilonda*; to which one may add the *Mondombas* and *Montondos*, two vassal nations to *Benguela*. The *Portuguese* were once settled in these towns; but fearing lest the natives should surround and fall upon them, retired to *Maffingua*; but, in their flight, were closely pursued, and a great number destroyed by them.

The mountain
of Sombriera.

ON the west side of the bay of *Benguela* stands a high mountain, flat on the top, and called by the *Portuguese* *Sombriera*, and by the *Flemings* *Klop-Mets*, from its resemblance to a priest's angular cap. At the bottom of this mountain is another bay of the same name, whose water, though clear, is not fit to drink. All the shore to the southward appears like a spacious sandy plain, at the end of which is a deep and fruitful valley¹.

THIS is all we meet with most remarkable on the *Benguela* coast; our geographers have added a list of the provinces which are in the inland, without mentioning any cities, towns, or other things remarkable, in any of them; their names are as follow.

Its inland pro-
vinces.

1. *S. Namboa Angonga*. 2. *Gengt*, al. *Quillenga*. 3. *Zemba Katira*. 4. *Zowa Quillembe*. 5. *Bembe*, or *Dos Quimbandos*. 6. *Zowa Angola Gimbo*. 7. *Zamba-gando*. 8. *Little Bemba* m. 9. *Soua*, al. *Zowa*. 10. *Pallanca*. 11. *Jaga Cabica*. 12. *Sowa Girata*. 13. *Casanni Laquilendele*. 14. *Jaga Kalemba*. 15. *Jaga Kakonda*. 16. The province or country of the *Mufumbas*.

ON the coasts are those of *Liboto* and *Ango*, *Sowa Karia*, *Sowa Calemba grande*, the country of the *Sumbis* and *Quimbondos*.

Cities, sea-
ports, rivers,
and bays.
Baya das
Vaccas.

THE chief ports and bays are those of *Benguela viella*, *Old Benguela*, *Mankikondo*, the fort of *Cabuto*, *St. Philip*, or *New Benguela*, *St. Maria Baya falsa*, or *The false Bay*, *Baya Tortuga*, *Angra de Negros*, and *Great Wiffers Bay*, and that stiled by the *Portuguese* *Baya das Vaccas*, or *Cow's Bay*, on account of the great number of those creatures which are bred in its neighbourhood. This last, though not large, is fit to receive ships of burden; and the country abounding with provisions of other kinds, makes it a place of resort for commerce; some mines of several metals, and particularly of silver, are said to be found near the bayⁿ (A).

THE chief rivers on this coast are the *Rio Longo*, *Niea*, *Katon bella*, *Gubororo*, al. river of *St. Francis*, the *Clabenia*, and *Cutembo*^o.

MOST parts of this kingdom were once populous and fertile, but suffered so much by the invasion of the *Jagas*, a cursed wandering savage nation of canibals, of whom we shall give a fuller account in the conclusion of this chapter, as well as by the frequent wars which the *Benguelans* have been engaged in against the kings of *Kongo*, and the *Portuguese* of *Angola*, that the whole country was nearly ruined by the former, and in part subdued by the latter, in our countryman *Battel's* time; since which that coast hath been so little frequented by any other *Europeans*, that we can give but little account of its late or present state.

WHAT its ancient government was, we are not told; but in all likelihood monarchical, since it is stiled a kingdom; but we are told by *Odo* and *Lopez*, that, in the time of his being there, in 1589, the greater part was divided into a vast number of petty-lordships, and all subject to the government of *Angola*[†]; which is to us a sufficient demonstration of its poverty, that being the common lot of all those people who are doomed to that heavy yoke, as we shall see when we come to the history of that kingdom, and its wretched vassals. The air of the country, the same author tells us, is so very unhealthy, that it infects the very ground, and causes its produce, as well as the water of it, to be most unwholesome to the natives, and almost poisonous to the *Europeans*; so that they are forced to have all that they eat or drink brought from abroad; and, even with all this precaution, those few that hold out against the badness of the air and climate, look more like shadows, or men dug out of their graves, than human creatures; and their voice is so broken, that they seem, when they speak, as if they held their breath between their teeth. And hence it is that few *Europeans* care to venture on shore, much less to stay long enough to inform themselves about the state or nature of the country, or of its inhabitants.

Town of New
Benguela.

WE are told, however, that there was a *Portuguese* governor in the new city of *Benguela*, or fort *St. Philip*, in the year 1666, when *Carli* was there; he adds, that there were then about 200 white inhabitants, and a great number of blacks; that the houses are built of

¹ DE LISLE, DAPPER, & al.
^o DE LISLE's map of Kongo

^m Idem ibid.
[†] Voy. lib. i. c. 5.

^a De his, vid. CARLI ANGELO, & MEROLL's voy.

(A) This bay is also called *Baya de Torre*, from a rock in it like a tower. *Battel* says, that ships may safely ride into it, the coast being smooth; and is commonly resorted to by vessels homeward bound from *India* to refresh at. The *Portuguese* caraccas often pass along this coast in their way to *Loango* (1).

It is on this bay that the *Portuguese* have built the fort of *St. Philip*, there being none to guard it before, nor indeed any settlement. They also gave it the name of *New Benguela*, to distinguish it from the *Old* lately mentioned (2).

(1) Vid. *Purch. Pilgr.* vol. ii. p. 973.

(2) Idem ibid. *Lopez, Carli, & al.*

nothing

- a nothing better than mud and straw; these being the materials of which even the church and fort consist^p. The people who live about this bay, and are called *Endal Albondos*, are a ^{Natives de-} ^{scribed.} brutish and lawless people, living without any government, and by no means to be trusted by those who traffick with them; tho' in other respects so simple and cowardly, that thirty or forty men may boldly go up thro' their country, and bring down whole herds of cattle from thence. They traffick for no other money than a sort of glass beads, an inch long, and of various colours, which they also use as ornaments about their necks, arms, &c. sixteen of ^{Their money.} which will purchase a good fat cow from them^q. The men wear skins round their middles, and collars about their necks; they use the bow and arrows, and carry darts fenced with iron; they allow themselves a plurality of women; and, which is still worse, keep some
- b males in women's apparel among their wives. The women wear a copper collar about their necks, said to weigh at least fifteen pounds; they likewise adorn their arms with bells and bracelets, reaching up to their elbows, and cover their middles with a kind of cloth, made of the bark of the infanda tree, neither spun nor woven; their legs are likewise embellished with copper rings, reaching up to the calf.

THE province to which this quarter belongs is called *Dambe*, and is noted for a ridge of ^{Mountains and} ^{mines all cop-} ^{per.} sierras, or high mountains, which extend themselves to those of *Combambas*, where are the mines lately mentioned. These stretch themselves along the coast south and west, and abound with fine copper, if the natives had but the industry to work them; but their indolence will not suffer them to use more of it than will serve them for ornaments^r. Our author,

c who is the only one who hath travelled thro' most of this country, as appears by the account he gives of himself, and the occasion of his being first brought a prisoner from the *West-Indies* to *Angola*, by the *Portuguese*, from whom he made his escape into this of *Benguela*, adds, that he saw many large towns in it, the most considerable of which he calls *Kashil*, and describes as a very large one, and so overgrown with alikondie trees (B), cedars, and palms, ^{The town of} ^{Kashil de-} ^{scribed.} that the streets are quite darkened with them. In the middle of the town is the image of a man, standing on a pedestal twelve feet high, the foot of which is surrounded with a circle ^{Streets.} of elephants teeth, stuck into the ground; on the top of which are fastened the skulls of such ^{Its chief idol.} men as have been killed in the wars, or offered to that idol. On such occasions they pour palm wine, mixed with the blood of goats, at the feet of it. This mokisso or image they

d call *Queffono*, and pay a great veneration to it. He saw a great number of other smaller idols, ^{Idols.} scattered in several parts of the town, the streets of which are paved with palm canes placed in regular order. Each of those images hath heaps of elephants teeth piled around them; and at the south end of the town stood another idol, which had above three tons of these teeth laid over it. The houses are here built of mud and straw, and of a round figure, like ^{Houses:} that of a hive; the insides of the mare covered with curious mats, and the outsides of some of them, especially of those which belong to the whites, are of timber and clay interwoven, and so well covered over with mortar, as to look like squarestone^s. There is one sea-port on this coast, if it be not the only one, in which the inhabitants make use of a base and ensnaring stratagem to make slaves, by permitting their women to allure men to their embraces, and

e then accusing them to their husbands; who, feigning to be in the utmost rage for the affront, ^{A base way of} ^{making slaves} immediately imprison the gallant, and keep him there till they have an opportunity of selling him to the next stranger that trafficks in that way, and are never called to an account for it.

^p See his voyage, p. 560. ^q BATTTEL ap. Purch. ubi sup. ^r PURCHAS. Pilgr. ubi sup. ^s BATTTEL ubi sup. MEROL. Voy. p. 607, & seq.

(B) We find this extraordinary tree thus pleasantly described by *Purchas*, from the report of the above-mentioned *Battel* (3). "The aliconda or eliconde tree is tall, and of a prodigious thickness, some of them being said to be as thick as twelve men can fathom. They spread like an oak, and some of them are hollow, and receive such plenty of water from the liberal skies, as to be able to allay the thirst of a thousand natives of these parched regions. Once have I known four thousand men draw water from one of them four and twenty hours, yet was it not exhausted.

"The negroes climb up by pegs of hard wood (which that softer one easily receiveth, its smoothness not admitting of any other way of climbing it) and I think that some of them hold forty tuns of water.

"The tree affords a no less bountiful hospitality to the back and to the belly, yielding (as her belly to their bellies), so her back to their backs; excepting that this is better from the younger trees, whose ten-

der backs, being more seasonable for discipline, are soundly beaten (for man's fault, whence came the first nakedness), whereby one fathom cut from the tree is extended into twenty, and is presently fit for wearing, tho' not so fine as that which the infanda tree yields."

Dapper, who calls the above-mentioned tree liconda, adds, that the natives of this and other kingdoms along this coast, labouring under a great scarcity of wholesome water, make them serve instead of cisterns, to preserve the rain water for their use, which they do with such privacy, that those of one village are sworn not to discover them to those of another, and they would punish a man with the utmost severity that should be guilty of it (4), and the *Benguelans* are the more strict in this respect, as their country hardly yields any but what looks like lye, and is of a poisonous nature (5), excepting that which falls from the clouds, and is thus preserved in those large hollow trees.

(3) *Pilgrim*, part ii. lib. vii. p. 985. *Meroll. Voy.* p. 605.

(4) *Afric. sub Congo & Angola.*

(5) *Angelo, Voy.* p. 260.

thro' this
whole coast.

With the money they buy other female slaves, whom they send upon the same ensnaring errand: but this is far from being the worst method the inhuman natives of this coast have of making and selling slaves: there are villains that will go up into the country, with a pretence of jurisdiction, and seize upon men for the slightest offence, and condemn them to be sold away for slaves; on which account our author thinks it unlawful to buy any on this coast^a. The misfortune is, that as, on the one hand, all the natives of this coast are so void of humanity, that they will betray their nearest relations, and even sell their own children into slavery, not only thro' misery and want, but wantonness, and in exchange for a few *European* trinkets; or a gallon or two of brandy, as we shall have occasion to shew in the sequel; so, on the other, there want not a sufficient number of those, who, tho' professed christians, make no scruple to encourage that inhuman traffick, and buy all that are offered under that name, without farther enquiry. ^b

The abada a
strange crea-
ture described.

We have now gone thro' every thing that we could find remarkable concerning this kingdom, excepting only the describing of a singular animal, said to be peculiar to it, and called by our geographer *abada*^u. It is of the wild kind, very shy and swift-footed, and of the size of an half-grown colt; but what singularizes it most, is a horn which grows on its forehead, and another on the nape of its neck, the former round, smooth, and hard, and about two or three feet in length, sharp at the point, but near the root about the bigness of a man's leg, and bending downwards; that on the nape of the neck is flatter and shorter, and of a blackish or dark brown hue, tho' white when scraped, and the hair about it more thick and harsh. Its head is not so long in proportion as that of a horse, but shorter and more flat, like that of an ox, only more hairy, and the hair more harsh. Its tail is like that of an ox, tho' not quite so long, and the hair more like that of the horse; its feet are cloven, like those of a stag, but much thicker. They tell us, when the creature is young, its front horn is strait, but that it bends gradually up, like the tusk of an elephant, as it grows older. The natives, who hunt it for the sake of that, and esteem it an excellent antidote, imagine that when it goes to the water to drink, it first dips the tip into it, in order to expel the poison that is in it. They look upon the virtue of it to be greater or less, as the creature is younger or older when it is killed; and the *Portuguese*, we are told, have a strange way of making trial of its goodness, which is done, it seems, by setting it upright upon the ground, and suspending a naked sword over it, point against point; if the horn be good and hard, the point of the sword only turns round it, without fixing itself into it; whereas, when the horn is soft and young, the sword quickly sinks into it; which shews its virtue not to be come to its full perfection, and lowers the value of it accordingly. They make, moreover, a pultice of the pulverized bones of this creature, mixed with water, which they pretend to be a sovereign remedy against all aches and pains in any part of the body, by drawing away all the peccant humours from the part affected, as well as from the whole mass of the blood^x (C). ^c ^d

Its horn esteem-
ed an antidote.

Goodness of it
how tried.

Pultices made
of its bones.

S E C T. II.

An account of the savage nation of the Giagas; their first discovery by the Europeans; invasion of Benguela; wars, ravages, barbarous customs, &c.

An account of
the Giagas,
and their ra-
vages and con-
quests in this
kingdom.

THIS savage and cannibal nation, which hath spread itself over the greatest part of ^e Lower Ethiopia, is indifferently called by the *Europeans*, *Gagas*, *Giagas*, *Giaquas*, *Jagos* or *Jagas*, and is, like that of the *Arabs*, divided into wandering and fixed; for tho' they seem to have been originally of the former kind, and to have lived altogether upon ravaging and plundering of other countries, yet when they had once enriched themselves by them, they naturally sought out for a place of rest; and where-ever they met with any fertile and well cultivated provinces, they quickly made them their own, and settled themselves in them, contenting themselves with making excursions on every side, and returning to their families laden with spoil. And hence it is that we find them numerous and powerful in the kingdoms of *Matamba*, *Anfiko*, *Fungueno*, and other parts, and particularly in this of *Benguela*; where, having first over-run and almost ruined a great part of it, under their warlike chief stiled *Giaga Kazangi*, they at length fixed their habitation in one of the most commodious cantons of it, in which that chief kept his court, in the time of our country- ^f

^a MEROLL. ubi sup. p. 607.
sup. PIGAFET Kongo, lib. ii. c. 5.

^u DAPPER, Afric. LA CROIX, & al.

^x PURCH. Pilgr. & relat. ubi

sup. cit. GAVASI Kongo, vol. i. p. 56, & seq. & al. sup. cit.

(C) We shall omit the rest of the animals of this kingdom, they being much the same that we have seen in our general account of *Afric*, as elephants, rhinoceros, zebra, or wild ass; and only observe, on the whole,

from the few *Europeans* who have visited this country, that both the wild and tame kind are here of an extraordinary size, more particularly the crocodile and sea-horse, and are most fierce and dangerous (6).

(6) See Battel in Purchas Pilgr. part ii. p. 687, & alib. pass.

a man *Battel*, if we may call by that noble title a monstrous heap of sorry huts of dirt and straw, covering a vast spacious spot of ground, and surrounded with a thick thorny hedge; for such was the place of his residence, and that of his successors, under the 7th degree and a half of south latitude.

THIS kingdom of *Benguela*, being the first in which these *Giagas* were seen by the *Europeans*, *Battel's traf-* and particularly by our countryman *Battel*, who lived and trafficked a considerable time *fick and ac-* with them, whilst they were conquering and ravaging some of its richest provinces, we judge *quaintance* this so much the more proper place to give our readers the sum and substance of what he *with them.* knew of that most cursed race from his own report ^a (tho' we shall find them in many other places, within our course along this coast) as he had all proper opportunities of informing himself in many particulars relating to them, which no other *European* ever had besides, as well as because *Benguela* was the unfortunate scene of the horrid depredations and conquests they made during his abode with them. His account, so far as relates to them (for we shall, for brevity's sake, omit what concerns his own history before, as foreign to our subject, and refer our reader to the two sections preceding that we are upon) is as follows:

IT was on a second trading voyage from *Angola* to this kingdom, in company with a fri- *His first arri-* gate manned by 60 *Portuguese*, that, upon their coming towards the shore at the cliff of *New* *val among* *Benguela*, lately described ^b, in 12 degrees of south latitude, they observed a numerous camp *them.* on the south side of the river *Cova*, and upon their landing were accosted by about 500 of them, who came to enquire who they were, and what they came for. Being answered that they came thither to traffick, they told them in their turn, that they were *Jagas*, or *Ginges*, who came from *Sierra de Leone*, and had passed thro' the city of *Kongo*, and travelled eastward of the capital of *Angola* called *Dongo*. They were soon after followed by their chief or general, whose curiosity brought him also to the water-side; having never seen any white men before, they welcomed and invited them to bring their commodities on shore. They did so, and loaded their ship with slaves, whom they bought at a cheaper rate than they had ever done on that coast; and being ready to depart, were desired by the chief to let their boat ferry his men over the *Cova*; his design being to invade *Benguela*, which bordered on the other side of that river. This being complied with, they were conducted to his camp, where they were furnished with plenty of palm wine, cows, goats, flour, and other provisions, and houses where to lie for that night. On the next morning, before day-break, he ordered his gongo, a martial instrument, sounding like a bell, to call his troops together; to whom he declared, in a haughty speech, his resolution to destroy the kingdom of *Benguela*; upon *Reception at* which they all appeared in arms, and prepared to pass the *Cova*; in the doing of which they *their camp.* met with no small opposition from the enemy, and great numbers were killed on both sides. But this did not hinder the *Giagas* from getting to the other side by noon-time. The onset immediately followed at the sound of a great variety of martial instruments; but the *Benguelans*, unable to withstand the fury of the enemy, were soon either slaughtered or dispersed. Vast numbers of men, women, and children, were brought prisoners to the great *Giaga*; *They invade* and, amongst the former, was found the prince *Hombiam Gymba*, who was the chief monarch *Benguela;* of that country, with above one hundred of his lords, whose heads were brought and thrown *make a horrid* at the feet of the general; and after that, their bodies, and those of the slain, in order to be *slaughter of* dressed and eat by those inhuman cannibals, who prefer that flesh before any other. Here they settled themselves after their victory, and continued about 5 months; till the want of palm wine (of which they are very fond, but was now quite exhausted, there being no palm trees in that part of this kingdom) obliged them to remove their camp to the province of *Bambela*, about five days journey up into the land.

HERE it was that our countryman *Battel*, who, during these five months had made some advantageous trading journies to and from the town of *Santo Paulo*, found them incamped, at a place called *Calicansanba*, after they had ravaged and burned every place they had passed thro'. On his arrival at this new encampment, he met with a fresh welcome from the great *Giaga*; his camp was plentifully stored with corn, palm wine, oil, cattle, and all manner of provisions, and his *Giagas* wholly taken up with feasting, drinking, dancing, and other diversions. In this state of banquetting and jollity they continued another four months, making *Horrid ravages* now and then some new excursions round about, to supply them with fresh plunder and provisions; which excursions became so much the longer, as the terror of their arms had spread *in the province of Bam-* itself far and wide over the country; insomuch that the natives, at the least appearance of their approach, abandoned their habitations, and left nothing behind but empty houses, which they, in revenge, set every-where on fire, destroyed all their plantations, and left the most dreadful tokens of their savage fierceness where-ever they came. Some of the petty princes, our ^c author tells us, attempted indeed to oppose their fury; but with such ill success, that

^a PURCHAS Pilgr. lib. vii. c. 3. §. 3. PIGAFET, & al. seq. PIGAFET, &c.

^b Before p. 412.

^c PURCHAS, p. 975, &c.

Remove their
camp farther
towards the
east.

On the river
Coanza.

Battel conti-
nues with
them.
Is in great
esteem among
them;
and full ac-
quaintance
with their cus-
toms.

Battel's design
of leaving
them.

Their method of
consulting their
mokisso.

Grand Gi-
aga's dress.

others, terrified by it, chose to submit, and become tributary to their chief, to avoid a worse fate. At length, after a four months stay in this place, and having probably exhausted the whole country about it of provisions, they resolved to remove to the sierras, or mountains, of *Cashincabar*, which are of a vast height, and abound with mines of copper, burning and ravaging all the way they went. From thence they marched to the river *Longo*, and having crossed it, settled themselves in the town of *Calango*, where they continued about six months, and thence marched into the province of *Tondo*, and came to the river *Gonza*, where the lord of that canton was uncle to the king of *Angola*, whose capital, a place of great beauty, they took and burned, and in the center of which they found the tomb of the deceased lord, *Shit-lambansa*, covered over with great store of copper, cloth, and other valuable things, according to the custom of the country; and, what was still more remarkable, a hundred peacocks, which were kept over it alive and tame, and were esteemed, on that account, holy birds. From thence they continued their course and horrid depredations so far northward as *Coanza*, without meeting with any farther opposition, and advanced as far as the mountains of *Cambamba*, where, our author tells us, is a great perpendicular water-fall of that river, whose noise is heard thirty miles off. From this place they were driven by one of the lords named *Longere*, who was now a vassal to the grand *Giaga*, to the territory of a powerful and warlike prince, who seven years before had given a signal overthrow to the *Portuguese*, killed 800 of them, and 40,000 of their negro soldiers and allies. This brave lord strenuously opposed the *Giaga*, and had a most furious engagement with them, in which, however, failing of a complete victory, the enemy thought fit to fortify themselves in their camp, with a strong pallisado of trees, behind the fence of which they tarried some months, not without making frequent sallies against him, and committing many hostilities in his territory. All this while *Battel* had continued with them, and was in such high favour with the grand *Giaga*, particularly on account of the frequent services he did him with his musket against an enemy (for neither his men, nor any of the natives, knew any thing of the use of fire-arms) that, upon every engagement, he gave special charge to his best soldiers to take all possible care of him; who accordingly saved him from many imminent dangers, by carrying him away in their arms. It was by means of this long abode with those savages, and the confidence and friendship of their chief, that he became so much better acquainted with their manners and customs than any other *European*^a. The only thing he was excluded from observing, was when the great *Giaga* was consulting his *mokisso*, or devil, about any new enterprize or expedition; at which time his conjurers obliged him to withdraw; telling him, that his presence was displeasing to that spirit: tho' even of this conjuring he found means to learn some of the chief ceremonies from the other *Giagas*, the substance of which, and other particulars relating to their religion, martial discipline, barbarous customs, &c. we shall now subjoin, in the same order in which our author had it from him^c; for being tired now with his long abode with these canibals, he resolved at all hazards to give them the slip; which he accordingly did, tho' not without great difficulties and dangers, and got safe at length into the kingdom of *Loango*, where we shall find him again in the sequel.

THE camp or army of this great *Giaga*, whom *Battel* calls *Imba Calandala*, consisted of 20,000 men, commanded by twelve captains under him, each of which hath the charge of one of the gates of the camp, whilst he keeps his pavilion or residence, well entrenched in the center. He was a man of great courage, but undertook nothing without previous enchantments, and consulting his devil by sacrifices; by which means he pretended to fore-know the event of his enterprizes, and that he should never die but in the wars. On such occasions he rises before day-break, and sets himself on a stool, attended by two of his conjurers, one on each side, and about forty or fifty women standing in a circle around him, waving and flourishing a zovarus, or horse's tail, and singing. In the center is kindled a great fire, and an earthen pot set over it, with some white powder or paint, wherewith his conjurers dawb his forehead, temples, breast and belly, with long winded ceremonies and enchanting terms, which continue till sun-set; at which time they bring him his *casengala*, or hatchet, and put it into his hands, bidding him be strong against his enemies, for the *mokisso* is with him. A male child is then brought to him, which he immediately kills; next to that four men are brought to him in the same manner; two of whom he slays, and orders the other two to be killed without the camp. In like manner he orders ten cows to be killed, five within, and five without the camp, with the same number of goats and dogs; their blood is sprinkled in the fire, and their flesh eaten, with great festivity and triumph. The same ceremonies are likewise used by the inferior captains of the army, upon the like account; but neither they nor their chief make use of idols on these or any other occasions, but pretend that the *mokisso* frequently appears and speaks to them.

THE great *Giaga Calango*, in *Battel's* time, wore his hair very long, braided with many knots full of bambas, a kind of sea-shells, of great value among them; he wore a collar

^a Idem ibid.

^c PURCHAS, ubi sup. §. iii. p. 976, & seq. PICAFET, & al.

- a about his neck of masoes, another sort of shell found upon that coast, and of great price likewise, our author says, twenty shillings each. About his waist he had a girdle made of ostrich's eggs, and round his middle a palm-cloth as fine as silk. His body was carved and cut with various figures, and every day anointed with human fat. He had a piece of copper two inches long, which hung across his nose, and at both his ears; and his body was painted with red and white. He had about thirty wives, who followed him when he went abroad; one of whom carried his bow and arrows, and four of them his cups and drinking utensils; and whenever he drank, they all kneeled down, and clapped their hands, and sang. He kept his men under the strictest discipline, and if any of them turned their back to the enemy, he was condemned to death, and his body eaten; and, the more effectually to deter
- b them from cowardice, he used to make an oration to them, from a kind of scaffold, every night, in dispraise of it, and commendation of intrepidity^f.

THEIR constant method was to stay no longer in one place than it could supply them with all kinds of provisions, corn, cattle, palm-wine, fruits, &c. ready to their hands; for they neither sowed nor bred, but lived wholly on the plunder of the country, and abandoned it as soon as it was exhausted; and, what was still worse, destroyed all they could not carry away, particularly the noble and excellent palm-trees, with which this kingdom abounds, by greedily draining them, as long as they had any liquor left in them, so that they withered and perished soon after. Whereas the natives always take care to leave such a quantity of it to keep them alive, and in a condition to furnish them with a fresh supply, both of that, and

c of its most beneficial fruit, from one season to another.

- THESE horrid devastations, joined to their other inhuman treatment of all their captives, they knew had rendered them so detested to the *Benguelans*, that they dared not venture to tarry in any place, tho' but for one night, without fortifying their camp after their manner, that is, by surrounding it with a strong palisade of the stoutest trees they could get; and for this they had always a sufficient number of stout men appointed, who completed it with surprising dexterity and expedition; and, if the time would permit, as when they resolved to make a longer stay in it, they never failed of lining their cincture, at least on the outside and top, with a thick hedge of thorns, to guard them from lions and other wild beasts. This precinct had commonly twelve gates, each commanded by one of their twelve chiefs, and
- d guarded by a sufficient number of men; their tents or houses were regularly pitched, and pretty close to each other; at the entrance of which each fighting man left his zarabhe, bow and arrows, and other weapons, so that the whole camp was ready, on the least alarm, to fall out completely armed. On these, and all other occasions, they fall on and fight with the most desperate bravery; knowing, as we lately hinted, that it is certain death to turn their backs to the enemy, and that a still more dreadful fate attends those that fall into their hands. They have another effectual way of breeding up their young soldiery to this height of martial intrepidity; these not being their own offspring, but that of such captives as they make in their excursions: for tho' they allow themselves to have many women, and these no less fertile than those of other *African* nations, yet they never suffer any of them to rear up
- e their children, but order them to be buried alive as soon as born; and, in lieu of them, make choice of such as are the most promising, from among those of their prisoners, to be trained up to arms, and to the plundering trade, to supply the mortality of their men. Infomuch that in *Battel's* time, which was but a little after their departure from *Sierra Leona*, they had not above twelve natural or original *Giagas* left alive in their whole camp; the rest being all the offspring of their captives of both sexes. These they commonly chose at about the age of 12 or 13 years, the females for procreation, and the males for war; and these last were no sooner inrolled, than they had a collar hung about their necks, in token of slavery, which was to be worn by them till they had brought home the head of an enemy, when it was publicly taken off, and they declared freemen of the canibal commonwealth, by whom the
- f unhappy remains of the captive train of both sexes were inhumanly reserved to be killed and eaten, not in time of scarcity of cattle and other provisions, but out of cruel wantonness, and in preference to all other flesh. This privilege of being accounted men, and freed from the badge of slavery, seldom failed of inspiring youths so chosen with an uncommon ambition to attain it at all hazards, and to face the greatest dangers with an intrepid boldness for the sake of it; and it was by this method that they kept up their number complete, and the fierce savage nature of the *Giagan* republic from degenerating into humanity and compassion.

THEIR manner of burying their dead, especially those of the male kind, is not without some manifest tokens of their savage cruelty. The deceased is not only washed, anointed, and bedecked with all his most valuable finery, but accompanied into the other world by two of his most beloved women, who are conveyed with him to his grave, with their arms broken. The body is carried to the grave in a chair, between two men, and placed in it

^f Idem ibid.

Among the
Benzuelans.

Long obsequies
to the dead.

Inhumanity to
the sick.

Gold found on
the shore.

as if still alive, and the two women, one on each side of it. As soon as they are thus deposited, a the grave, which is commonly a deep vault, is covered on the top with earth; and the relations, who are there present, sprinkle it with the blood of slain goats and palm wine, and make a funeral lamentation over it, after their manner. Those of higher rank are interred with more pomp, and the ceremonies and libations reiterated a longer or shorter number of days, weeks, &c. according to their quality. The natives of *Benguela* bury their dead much after the same manner; and those of the richer sort, with their most valuable goods, weapons, utensils, apparel, &c. performing many more superstitious ceremonies over their graves, than are in use even among the *Giagas*^b. They think it the greatest happiness to leave behind them many relations, to repeat and prolong those funeral rites; and, on that account, none are reckoned so miserable, or think themselves really so, as those who leave b no kindred behind them, to perform that office for them, which some of the near survivors among them think themselves bound to continue, at proper seasons, as long as they live. But what is still more surprising is, that though they pay such a singular regard to their deceased friends, yet none of them will shew the least pity or concern for them in their sickness, but abandon and flee from them as from a plague, and leave them to expire in that miserable and destitute condition: an unnatural custom this, which reigns more or less thro' the whole eastern, as we have seen it do thro' the whole western coast^b.

ALL that we have to add, with relation to the *Giagas*, is, that in this encampment, which was but three days journey from *Mofangano*, where the *Portuguese* have a fort, they met, in their excursions, with a river, a little to the southward of the *Baya das Vaccas*, in which they c found great store of gold, which they gathered up in large grains, which were washed down by the stream, and lay scattered on the sand; of which, however, they made no other use, than to grave or inlay on the handles of their hatchets, in the same manner as others were done with copper, which they look upon as the most valuable metal of the two^d.

THUS far goes our countryman's account of the savage *Giagas*, whom he left in this encampment, to go over to the *Portuguese*. How long they tarried in this unhappy country after his departure, and what farther depredations they committed in it, no one has been able to tell us; tho', by their moving still northwards to *Angola*, and the rencounters they had afterwards with the *Portuguese* in that part, we may be induced to believe that they abandoned this of *Benguela*, at least for some time: yet, by their giving their names to some of the pro- d vines of it, as *Giaga Canbuca*, *Giaga Calemba*, and *Cacoconda*, it seems probable to us, either that they left some colonies there, or came back and settled themselves in them, as other tribes of them did in the kingdoms of *Anfiko* and *Metamba*, and in some of the provinces of *Kongo* and *Angola*; and we shall meet with some of them, in the subsequent chapters, more barbarous and diabolical, if possible, than those we have been describing in this.

C H A P. XI.

S E C T. I.

The history of the Western Ethiopia.

The division of
Western Ethi-
opia.

Situation and
extent.

Antient go-
vernment un-
der one sove-
reign.

THIS country is called *Western*, to distinguish it from the *Eastern*, otherwise called e *Abissinia*; of which we have spoken in a former chapter. It is also called *Southern*, because it is situated on the south side, or rather south-west side of it: and, on the same account, some authors likewise give it the epithet of *Exterior*, and *Interior*, in opposition to the other, which is called *Interior* and *Superior Ethiopia*. But it is most commonly known by that of *Southern*, from its lying on the south side of the line, with respect to *Guiney*, and other parts of *Africa*, which lie on the north side. What extent, boundaries, &c. the antient geographers gave to it we have formerly shewn^a: as to its modern state, we can only say that it is much shrunk from its antient; for we do not find our modern authors better agreed about this, than the antients were about that^b. The *Portuguese*, who first discovered this vast tract, extended the coasts of it from cape *Gonzales*, or *De Lopez Gonzales*, in thirty f minutes south latitude, to *Capo Negro*, under sixteen degrees twenty-two minutes of the same; containing near fifteen degrees, or three hundred leagues. They tell us, that all this vast tract, which extended likewise, where broadest, about ten degrees of longitude, or two hundred leagues from east to west, was formerly under one prince or monarch, whom they called *Mani*, who governed many provinces of it by his Sonas, or viceroys, whilst he gave his own name of *Kongo* to the whole realm, and was stiled *Mani Kongo*, sovereign, or, if you please, emperor, of *Kongo*; or, which is much more likely, took that title from it^c.

^a Idem ibid. in fin. § 3.
vol. vii. p. 179, & seq.

^b See before, passim.

^c PURCHAS, ibid. p. 476.
Vid. CORN. BAUDRAND, MARTINIERE, DE LISLE, & al.
LOPEZ, PIGAFET, Descr. Reg. Cong. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

* Anc. Hist.
c Vid. Op.

a In process of time, these viceroys, or governors, grew powerful and wealthy enough to set up for themselves, and became petty tyrants of their own particular governments: after which they began to assume the title and quality of *Mani*; inasmuch that the true and original sovereign found it difficult to preserve that part over which he governed in person, and which was more properly called *Kongo*; whilst, instead of only one *Mani Kongo*, there started up a number of other petty *Manis*, such as the *Mani Dongo*, *Mani Loango*, *Mani Caconda*, *Mani Bengo*, *Mani Sonbo*, and some others, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel; besides several others which bore an inferior title, as of duchy, marquisate, &c. At present we shall confine ourselves to three of the principal of the former; namely, of *Kongo Proper*, *Loango* on the north, and *Angola*, or *Dongo*, on the south of it (D). This division will not only prevent confusion in the following history, and help us to settle the true limits, both of each part and of the whole, but likewise of describing those kingdoms and principalities that have been dismembered from the great empire, as they lie contiguous to them, according to the best accounts we have of each^d. We begin with that of

b *KONGO PROPER*, which is bounded on the north by the famed river *Zair*, or *Zarab*, which divides it from that of *Loango* on that side; on the south by that of *Danda*, which divides it from the kingdom of *Angola*; on the east, by the kingdoms of *Fungono* and *Metamba*, and the burnt mountains of the sun, those of crystal or saltpetre and silver, and by the river *Verbela*, or, according to a modern traveller^e, by those of *Coanza Berbela*, and the great one of *Chilandeia*, or *Aquilonda*. and on the west by the *Ethiopic* sea, called also the sea of *Kongo*^f. According to these limits, *Kongo Proper* extends, on that side, about three degrees from north to south; that is, from the mouth of the *Zair* to that of the *Danda*, or from six to nine degrees south latitude, but widens much in the inland, by the course of the first of those rivers, which runs winding above two degrees more towards the north, as we shall see when we come to describe it. We are more in the dark still about its breadth from east to west, for want of being better acquainted with the true situation and run of the mountains and rivers which bound it on the east. The only person we know of who hath penetrated so far into the inland, and hath given us the largest, and, in all likelihood, the truest account of all the parts of this *Western Ethiopia*, being most defective in this particular; not so much for want of time (E), as of proper instruments, and other helps to make his

Since divided under many.

Kongo Proper, its extent and limits.

Not well known towards the east.

^d See the author quoted under note D. PIGAFET, JARRIC, & al. sup citat.

^e CAVAZZI, ex Vers. LABAT, vol. i. c. 2. ^f OD. LOPEZ,

(D) Some moderns have extended the limits of this country much farther (1); viz. on the north, to the kingdoms of *Gabon* and *Macoco*, more commonly called the *Anfikan* kingdoms; on the east, by *Danut*, and the lake *Zairo*, a lake which our modern maps omit, as being no-where to be found; and on the south, to the kingdom of *Benguela*.

Another modern, and of later date (2), hath given it a still more prodigious extent to the northward, making it reach from the 15th degree north, to the 14th south latitude; according to which, its northern boundaries should reach quite to the country of the *Nigrita*, the eastern ones to *Eastern Ethiopia*, or *Abissinia*, and the southern to *Cafraria*; making a twofold division of the whole kingdom, viz. into *Southern* and *Northern Kongo*; the latter of which contains the kingdoms of *Madra*, *Biasara*, *Calombo*, and, in a word, what we call *Southern Guinea*.

But this *Northern Kongo* is justly rejected as chimerical and absurd; its utmost limits on that side, even taken in the largest sense, that is, including the kingdom of *Loango*, being far enough from reaching to the equinoxial line, and the most distant limits of *Western Ethiopia* beginning, as hath been observed above, at the cape *Lobo de Gonzales*, according to the most exact moderns, and that being situate under the first degree south of the said line (3).

(E) The author we mean is father *John Antony Cavazzi de Monte Cucullo*, a capuchin friar, a native of the duchy of *Modena*, who was sent missionary into those parts, by the congregation *de propaganda fide*, in the year 1654, and arrived at *Kongo* in the same year. During his stay there, his zeal to make converts made him travel through all those different kingdoms; and

the credit he gained, as well as the great employments he was entrusted with, gave him an opportunity of informing himself of every thing relating to them, with great exactness; particularly with respect to the religion, customs, manners, history, wars, product, commerce, &c. of those various kingdoms and provinces through which he passed; their towns, rivers, mountains, mines, animals, and other curious particulars, till then very little known to us.

The great hardships he suffered in those hot climates, the difficulties he was forced to undergo, in travelling through those barren deserts, dreadful mountains, forests, &c. joined to the variety and multitude of business attending his mission, and other employments, had at length so far impaired his constitution, that he was obliged to return to *Rome*, an. 1668, to recover his health; and there it was that he presented that congregation with a full account of all that he had observed in those vast tracts, during the space of fourteen years.

The native simplicity and sincerity that reigns thro' his whole relation, in which he asserted nothing but what he had either been an eye-witness of, or had been informed of by very good hands, gained it the universal approbation of all that read it, and was in such high esteem, as to be thought worthy of being made public to the world. The misfortune was, that the many languages he had been obliged to learn, and the constant use he had made of the *Portuguese*, in conversing with *Europeans*, had so far marred his own native *Italian*, that the congregation thought it a great pity so valuable a piece should suffer for want of being couched in a suitable language: upon which they desired the general of his order to appoint a proper person to put it in a more *Italic* dress; which was accordingly done, with the con-

(1) Rob. Method. d' apprendre la geograph. tom. ii. p. 218. Paris edit.

(2) Fresnoy Method. &c. tom. iii. p. 74. Cavaz. ex vers. J. B. Labat, 1732, vol. i. c. 1, & seq.

(3) Vid. Baudrand, La Martiniere, Pigafet, Linschot. Od. Lopez, Davity, Dapper, J. Ant.

his observation by. The public were in hopes that this defect might have been supplied by a him, in his second voyage into those parts, or by some other of the brotherhood since his time. But we must be content with the singular discoveries he hath made in those parts, till then little known, except along the coasts, and so far as the *Portuguese* had penetrated into the inlands, which was inconsiderable in comparison of what our author hath seen of it, during his fourteen years residence in those parts^g.

Congo Proper
shrunken from its
ancient extent
since the in-
troduction of
Christianity.

ACCORDING to him, the dominions of the kings of *Kongo* extended a great deal farther eastward and southward, before the Christian religion was introduced thither, than it hath since; a great number of those estates that were under its monarchs, either as subjects, or tributary, having withdrawn their allegiance, out of dislike to them upon that account. Most of them, especially towards the east, being of a wild and untractable nature, and living in woody and rocky mountains, difficult of access, refused not only to exchange their old superstitions and idolatry for so pure a religion, but likewise to pay any farther allegiance or tribute to a prince, who had embraced it out of complaisance to strangers, and wanted to force it upon them. Not content to oppose his officers and troops that came annually to raise the usual tribute, they made such frequent and powerful incursions into his dominions, both from the east and south, as obliged him to draw his forces nearer the center of his kingdom of *Kongo*, to prevent its being invaded by them; by which means it was, that so many of the remote provinces were dismembered from it, that itself was reduced, from an extent of above six hundred leagues in circuit, to less than one half of that extent.

Excessive hot
climate.

KONGO PROPER, being situate under the torrid zone, and so near the equinoxial line, is of course subject to the same excessive heats that all those countries are liable to; intolerable indeed to strangers, but tolerable to the inhabitants, by the precautions they take against them, by the winds and breezes, rains and constant dews, which greatly abate their violence. We shall not therefore dwell longer upon that point, having said so much of it in our history of *Abissinia*, and other countries under the same latitude. Neither need we apprise our readers here, that these regions, being situate on the other side of the line, their seasons are

Their seasons.

Equal days and
nights.

Summer and
winter.

Other division
of the seasons.

The first or
spring.

The second fol-
lowed by har-
vest and new
sowing.

opposite to those on this side; that their summer, for instance, begins when our winter doth, and so of the rest; only those that are nearer the line having theirs much longer. They commonly begin in *October*, and continue till *February* and *March*; during which time, the sun's rays dart with such force, that the atmosphere appears to an *European* as it were in a flame. But it is likewise mitigated by the equal length of their days and nights; which would be intolerable, were that luminary to continue longer than twelve hours upon it, and not be refreshed by an equal number of hours of the night^h.

As their summer lasts six whole months, tho' with some difference of the degrees of heat, according as the sun is more or less vertical over their heads, so their winter is reckoned by them the other part of the year, with a proportionable difference of cold, or what they call so; tho' it is what an *European*, especially a northern one, would style warm or hot. These

two seasons of winter and summer, which make up their year, they divide into six less considerable ones, which they call *Massanza*, *Neasu*, *Ecundi*, *Quitombo*, *Quibiso*, and *Quimbangala*.

MASSANZA enters in with the month *October*, which is the beginning of their spring, when the rains begin to fall, and continue during the two, and sometimes the three next months. When they do so, the low lands are commonly overflowed by the extraordinary floods, and all their seeding swept away and destroyed; this is commonly followed by a famine, which carries off great numbers of the lazy and indolent inhabitants, who take no care to lay up any provisions against such disasters, tho' they happen so frequently. This first season they reckon commences at the time the plants begin to pullulate.

THE second, called *Neasu*, begins about the end of *January*, when the green fields and lands have shot their product to their full height, and want but a few days to ripen them fit for harvest; which they have no sooner gathered in, than they begin immediately to sow them a-fresh for a second crop; their lands commonly yielding them two harvestsⁱ.

^g LABAT ex Cavazzi, vol. i. c. 1 & 2. Vid. PAGAFET, DAVITY, LINSCHOT. & al. sup. citat. ^h OD. LOPEZ, PAGAFET, JARRIC, DAVITY, LABAT ex Cavazzi Ethiop. vol. i. c. 2, & seq. ⁱ Idem ibid.

sent of the author, and to his and the congregation's satisfaction.

He was not long after sent thither a second time by that learned body, with the title of prefect of all these missions, and probably, with a view to supply, by new observations, what was wanting in the geography, and other parts of his relation; which, notwithstanding those important chasms, met with a general approbation in all other respects. As we have not heard since

that he hath published any thing farther on that subject, another author of the *Dominican* order hath endeavoured to supply some of these deficiencies, in a *French* version the hath given us of his book from other writers (1). But as to what relates to the true situation and distances of places, and other geographical points, they cannot be attained to but by nice observations made upon the spot; and this is what few missionaries, except those of the *Jesuitic* order, ever trouble themselves with.

(1) See Labat's Preface to the version above mentioned at the beginning of vol. i.

^a THE third and fourth seasons, called *Ecundi* and *Quitombo*, are frequently blended towards *The third or* the beginning of *March*, when the more gentle rains begin to fall, and continue so to do, *fourth autumn.* till the month of *May*. It is the greater or lesser quantity of rain that falls during that interval, that distinguishes those two seasons: during the rest of the time, the air is either very clear, dry, and hot to a high degree; or, if the clouds are over-charged, they commonly are inflamed, and burst out into the most dreadful lightnings and thunders, without shedding the least drop of rain, tho' they seem loaded with it. These two seasons last till about the beginning, and sometimes till the end of *September*.

THE two last, viz. the *Quibiso* and *Quimbangala*, make up their short winter; this consists *The two last,* not in frost and snow, which are never seen here, nor any-where under these climates, but *or winter.* in dry blasting winds, which strip the earth and all the trees of their verdure, till the next *Massanza*, which is their spring, begins to restore them to their vernal bloom.

THEY divide the year into twelve lunar months, and begin it in *September*, like the *Jews*; *Division of the* and, whether by intercalary days or months, do, like them, bring it to so near an exactness, *year into 12* as not to anticipate or retard the beginning of it, which falls, like ours, on the autumnal *months* equinox. One might imagine from it, that they had this calculation from the eastern *whence.* *Ethiopians* or *Abissinians*, as these probably received it from the *Jews*¹, had they had formerly any relation or commerce with them, which they do not seem to have had; for, in other cases, they appear to be so unskilled in, and negligent of, all chronology, that it is next to impossible for the ablest chronologist to fix the epocha of any event they relate, unless they

^c tack to it, by dint of memory, which with them is commonly very tenacious, some circumstance or event that is known to have happened about the same time.

BUT if they had received this division of the year from either the *Abissinians* or *Jews*, it is *Of the week* more than probable they would likewise have followed that of the months and weeks, and *into four days.* made this last to consist of seven days, whereas their week contains but four days; three of which are appointed for work, and the fourth for rest and religious exercises. Unless we should suppose, that either their devotion, or, which is more probable, their laziness, induced them to retrench two days from the former, that they might have more frequent opportunities of indulging themselves on the latter. For our author assures us they are very careful to abstain from all sorts of work on the fourth, which is their sabbath day².

^d IT is to this shameful indolence that we may ascribe the small product which the inhabitants reap from their lands; which, were they better cultivated, and fenced from inunda- *Fertility and* tions, might be made capable of yielding them more plentiful harvests, and a much greater *product.* variety of grain, pulse, fruits, and other nourishment. The vast and regular rains which constantly fall in their due season, and the mud which is produced by the gentle overflows of their rivers, were they properly improved by industry, would not fail of enriching their low lands, naturally fat and deep, and commonly yield a double, and sometimes a triple *Extreme indolence.* crop yearly. This plainly appears from the plenty and variety usually produced by those lands which are in the possession of the *Portuguese*; but the negroes had much rather run the risk of a most pinching dearth, than be at the tenth part of the pains which they see

^e them take: to speak more truly, they seem to think it below them to use any exercises but those of dancing, leaping, hunting, shooting, and such-like; the rest of their time they spend in smoking, and downright idleness, and commit the laborious part of their household affairs, such as digging, sowing, reaping, cutting of wood, grinding of corn, fetching of water, &c. to their slaves, or, for want of such, to their wives. Nothing is more common *The heavy* than to see these poor creatures thus toiling in the fields and woods, with a child tied to *slavery of* their backs, and fainting under their excessive labour and heavy burdens; and, which is *their wives.* still worse, with hunger and thirst³. What is yet more surprisingly shameful is, that tho' they have plenty of domestic animals, which they might easily make use of, both for cultivating their grounds, and other laborious services, and see the *Portuguese* do it to great

^f advantage, yet their stupid indolence is such, that they will rather see their tender females sink under their toil and labour, than be at the trouble of breeding up any of these useful creatures to their assistance.

THEIR ground produces variety of grain, tho' no corn or rice but what is cultivated by *Divers sorts of* the *Portuguese*. We begin with their maize, otherwise called *Turkey* or *Indian* wheat, which *grain.* grows very strong and well laden: of this the natives make their bread; and as it takes little *Indian wheat,* more from its sowing to its full perfection than three months, they seldom fail of two crops of it; and some of those which are ever so little cultivated, will, with industry and forecast, yield even a third crop. This grain, being well ground, is made into a kind of coarse bread, or is boiled in water into a pap. They likewise cultivate another sort not unlike to *a second sort* it, which they call *massambola*, or *maubella*, and which the *Portuguese* stile *Saracen* wheat or *of it.*

^g bread; they never fail of two crops of it every year, as it will thrive in a dry season better

¹ See before, p. 235, & seq.² LABAT, ex Cavazzi, t. i. ch. 6. Vid. & auct. sup. citat.³ Id. ibid.

A third grain, of a windy nature. than the former sort. A third kind they sow which they call massingo, whose grain is not much unlike our millet, but larger and plumper, and hath a more agreeable taste and flavour; but is attended with this inconveniency, that it is apt to give the cholic to those who have not been used to it, either by reason of some inherent windiness, or, as they pretend, by its being too nourishing, and hard of digestion. But this ill quality seldom affects any but *Europeans*, the natives having stomachs of ostriches, able to digest the hardest food.

A triangular sort.

They have still a fourth sort of grain, which they call luno, which is of a triangular form, something like what the *Dutch* call buck, and we *French* wheat: it is smaller than the *Indians*, but much more strengthening and nourishing. Their country yields plenty of it, which makes some amends for their want of industry.

Various kinds of pulse.
The red bean.

Brasil bean.

THEY also cultivate variety of pulse, as beans and pease, which likewise constitute part of their food; among the bean sort, they have a small kind, of a reddish hue, which they call npalla, and are very fond of; it is of a very good flavour and taste, when dressed a little more elegantly than these poor natives generally do. They have another sort which they call nitanza, and which is commonly known by the name of the *Brasil* bean, because it was probably brought hither from thence by the *Portuguese*. It is reckoned very good at the first, but is apt to degenerate in time; however, the curious know how to prevent that defect; but there are so few of that sort among the natives, that this kind bears little or no value among them, and is only in use among the *Portuguese*, who can have a fresh supply of it from year to year.

Variety of pease.

Of the pease kind, that which is called ouvado is very small, and grows upon a low shrub, which blossoms and yields its fruit all the year round, and will last three whole years. Some of the same kind are to be found in several islands of *America*, which bear seven whole years. That which is called jucuba is likewise small, and of a whitish hue, but difficult to be boiled tender; this kind, it seems, grows under-ground, in a kind of pod or purse. It bears a yellow flower, in scent much like a violet; the pease itself, if boiled soft, hath a fine taste, and sits light upon the stomach. But what the natives of *Kongo* more commonly live upon, and which suits their palate as well as their idle disposition, is a kind of nut like our filberds, which grow of themselves, and are to be found every-where; every nut that falls to the ground, producing a new shrub by the next year.

Fruit-trees brought thither by the Portuguese.

Variety of palm-trees.

THEY have scarcely any fruit-trees but what have been transplanted thither by the *Portuguese*, and multiplied themselves in time; all the rest are wild, without blossom or fruit, or any thing but their leaves, which afford indeed a constant verdure, because the new buds spring up as fast as the old leaves drop off. The palm-trees grow here in great number and variety; they reckon no less than eight sorts of them, all of excellent use in their kind. But as most of them are exotic, and brought thither from *America*, we shall postpone what we have to say of them, till we have given an account of those which are natural to the country.

The aliconda tree.

WE begin with that which they call aliconda, a tree of such monstrous bulk that ten men cannot fathom it round; the natives, who call it bondo, say that it is fit only to kill men and beasts, its wood being easy to rot, and becoming so exceedingly brittle, that a hard blast of wind will throw them down; for which reason they never build their huts near them, lest their fall should crush them to death, or their fruit, which is of the bigness of a large gourd, and easily broken from the tree, should knock them down. They nevertheless make some advantage of both; the bark of this tree, being well beaten and macerated, yields a coarse thread, of which they make their strong-ropes; and if it is macerated in water some days, and, when dried again, beaten with iron bars, or large clubs of hard wood, it becomes like a large piece of cloth, with which, tho' coarse, and of no duration, the natives cover their middle from the girdle to the knee. The shell or rind of the fruit, which is hard and tough, like that of a gourd, or calabash, being cleared of its pulp (which when dried yields an insipid meal, and may, in time of scarcity, be made into a thick and nourishing pap) serves for vessels of several uses, and proper to preserve water in, to which it gives a pleasant aromatic taste. The small leaves are often eat likewise in time of scarcity, and the large ones serve to cover their houses, or, being burned, to make good soap.

The insanda tree.

THE insanda resembles, in many respects, our laurel; and its bark, being beaten and macerated like that of the aliconda, is also made into a kind of stuff or cloth, but much finer, and is in greater esteem among them. Persons of the highest rank, and even monarchs, wear it about their shoulders like cloaks, and use it for girdles about their middle. Even the women of all degrees are fond of wearing them in the same manner, and embellish their heads with it, adding other ornaments and trinkets, more or less rich, according to their condition.

^u LABAT's voy. into the American Isles. vid. sup. p. 413, & (B).

^v Ibid. ibid.

^w Id. ex Cavaz. tom. i. c. 7. & al. sup. citat.

^x De hoc,

- a THE mulemba is not unlike to it, nor to what we call the royal laurel; its leaves are ever-green, and from its bark is made a cloth or stuff, which excels the former in beauty. *The mulemba.*
- THE manglos commonly thrive best along the *Coanza, Danda*, and other rivers, and even by the sea-side, and in marshy grounds. Some filaments shoot downwards from their branches, and taking fresh root in the earth, grow up again into new trees; infomuch that one single trunk may in time become a forest, like many others of a like and even different kind, which grow in *Asia* and *America* in great quantities (F). The *mesica* grows as large as our walnut-trees, and out of its wood drops a medicinal gum, of a warm nature. The *colleva* is likewise very large, and bears a fruit like a citron, but much bigger, whose kernels, about the size of a small nut, are reckoned to strengthen the stomach, they being so bitter, that the negroes are obliged to soak them in water before they can eat them. *Manglos multiply into forests.*
- b The *zaffo* is tall and large like our oaks, and produces a fruit not unlike some of our largest plums, and of the colour of fire, which being roasted in hot embers, yields an aromatic scent, and is a very delightful strengthener of the brain. The *cassanevo's* leaves which are like those of our laurel, and green all the year round, yield a kind of resin of an exquisite smell; its fruit, like our wild crabs, yields a very sour verjuice, disagreeable to the taste, but an excellent remedy against fluxes and catarrhs, and against a kind of disease very common in *Kongo*, which covers the whole body with ulcers. From this tree, instead of blossoms, issues a yellow gum, which, when roasted, is eaten with pleasure and safety, but when raw is very prejudicial to the stomach, being of such a caustic nature, that it will raise a blister or an ulcer where-ever it touches the naked flesh. *The mesica.*
- c The *gegera* is a fine stout tree, whose fruit, not unlike a ripe orange, but of an oblong shape, yields a liquor very agreeable to the taste, and good for the stomach. The *niceffo*, called by the natives of *Angola*, *The niceffo.* *maongio-acamburi*, is about six feet high, and produces a very large fruit, not unlike a pine-apple, whose rind incloses from 100 to 200 oblong ones, like a small lemon, but of an exquisite taste, exceeding that of the finest melon; it begins to appear laden with it a few months after it hath sprung out of the earth, and keeps bearing it successively all the year round, so that one sees them in all their different degrees of maturity, some quite, some half ripe, some green, and some just budding. The *cola*, or as the negroes call it, the *toglow*, is a fruit of such fine relish, and so much admired in this country, that the natives are seldom without some of it in their mouths, and chew it as the *Indians* do their betel. *Its gum.*
- d THE last native plant we shall mention, is that which they call *purgera*, of the height of a filberd-tree, from whose nuts they press an excellent medicinal oil, which, burned in a lamp, yields a most agreeable scent.

WE come now to give an account of their various sorts of palm-trees, which having been in a great measure described in other parts of this work², we shall just mention what is most peculiar in those of *Kongo*. We hinted above that they reckoned eight or nine sorts of them; the most common of them is that whose fruit, like our pine-apples, contains a vast number of kernels, of the breadth of a filberd, and of an exquisite taste when full ripe; the oil that is extracted out of them is likewise very pleasant, and used in cookery instead of butter; about the trunk of the tree grows a soft downy kind of moss, with which the rich commonly fill their pillows. The *Giagas*, a neighbouring nation, apply it to their wounds, as we do a cobweb on a cut, with good success. Most of the *Moors* cover their houses with the leaves of this palm-tree, as being very broad, strong, and lasting; its wood would be no less useful for building, if the negroes had but the art of sawing it for that purpose. They draw from these trees, by incision, a pleasant liquor, not unlike wine, but which, for want of knowing how to keep it, will turn sour in five or six days³. *Various kinds of palm-trees.*

- e THE second, which is not so tall, grows best in watery grounds, and produces much such a liquor as the former, though not quite so good: from between the foot of its branches its fruit grows downwards, whose kernel is delicious, and rind hard and smooth, and fit to be made into tobacco-boxes, and other such trinkets. The third is the coco palm-tree, too well known in the *East* and *West Indies* to need a farther description. 4. That which they call *jamata* bears excellent dates, and might produce very good wine, but the incision is apt to hurt the tree. 5. The *matoba* which yields a pleasant wine, but it is apt to spoil the stomach and blood, by reason of its acidity. 6. The smaller palm-tree, which yields much the same kind of pleasant, tho' unwholesome liquor, hurtful to the *Europeans*, tho' not to the natives who are accustomed to it. 7. The *coccata*, the fruit of which is of the bigness
- f *Second sort.* *Third sort.* *Fourth sort.* *Fifth sort.* *Sixth sort.* *Seventh, or coccata.*

¹ LINSCHOT, PIGAFET, LOPEZ, DAVITY, DAPPER, LABAT, & al. LOPEZ, & al. sup. citat.

² See before, passim.

³ O.

(F) It was of this kind of trees, that a princess of the royal blood of *Portugal*, to whom this property had been related, said, with more wit than truth, "That the territories which produced them did not appear to her over proper to produce chaste women (2)." : "

(2) Vide Labat, vol. i. c. 8.

The liquor
drawn from
it.

Its fruit near
the root.

Oil drawn
from it.

Various
shrubs.

Fig of hell.

The conde, or
count.

First sort.

Second sort.

Aromatic
plants.

And other
product.
Roots.

Wheat sown
yields no grain.

of one of our large melons, and yields a very pleasant food and liquor, and some oil; the pulp, mixed with sugar, may be made into an excellent jelly. 8. The *Kongo* palm-tree, so styled because it thrives better in that country than any of the former sorts; its liquor is reckoned as valuable as the wine which comes from *Europe*, tho' it is rather a kind of milk, sweet and agreeably tart, but will grow sour in three or four days, and is so strong and heady, that a pint of it is sufficient to intoxicate a person. If no incision be made to this tree, to extract the liquor above-mentioned, there will grow at the foot of its root some leaves, and a large fruit big enough to load a man. Its rind is hard and prickly, and the inside not unlike a peeled chestnut, in colour, taste, and substance; and, when roasted, is the common food of the poorer sort, to whom it costs nothing but the trouble of fetching it from the woods. They likewise extract a fat oil by dint of boiling, with which they dress their victuals; but the *Europeans* only use it to burn in their lamps. The last sort is that which they call *maongir* and *macebecco*, and is a kind of banana, which grows in *Kongo* and *Angola* in pretty large quantities, and need not be here described ^b.

THEY have likewise variety of shrubs of different heights, which yield very pleasant fruits, fit for those hot climes, but a detail of them would be too tedious. One of them, which they call *capano*, or the fig of hell, produces a kind of nut, out of which they extract an oil for the lamp, and which they likewise use in the composition of their ointments, plasters, &c. The leaves of the shrub, burnt to ashes, make a good lye, with which the natives wash their whole body. The *conde*, or *count*, a title given in all likelihood to a tree pretty common in *Kongo*, *Angola*, and *Loango*, and hardly any-where also to be found, is of two sorts; the one pushes its branches upwards to a point, and out of their stem grows a fruit of an ash colour, and in figure like a man's fist clenched. The inside is full of partitions like the pine-apple; but, instead of kernels, is filled with a white thickish juice, which, when condensed, is like that of our new cheese in colour and substance, but melts in the mouth, and hath a pleasant taste and flavour, and is refreshing to the stomach and bowels: its seeds, which are of a blackish hue, and in bigness like those of a cucumber, are reckoned great coolers of the blood. The second species of *conde* is not much unlike the first, tho' the substance of its fruit is neither so white nor soft, but exceeds it in lustre and flavour.

BESIDES these, the *Portuguese* have taken care to plant several other fruits, as oranges, lemons, citrons, granates, cedars, and others, which thrive as well as in their natural soil. ^d

VINES have been likewise brought hither from *Candia*, and where they are well cultivated, as in the gardens belonging to the capuchin friars, thrive to admiration, and yield excellent grapes twice a year. It is not so with the rest, which, for want of due care, run into leaves and branches, and the fruit seldom comes to its full ripeness; this neglect is, it seems, common in all their conquered dominions, and is owing partly to the fear of hurting the *Portuguese* wine trade, and partly to prevent the abuse of it among the *Moors*, who are much given to drinking it, and all other strong liquors, to excess ^e.

AMONG those that are of the aromatic kind, we shall only mention the two principal, 1. The *dondo*, a shrub, which is said to have the taste, smell, and every other quality of the cinnamon, and is used by the natives and *Portuguese* here instead of it. 2. The *inquoffo*, a kind of creeping vine, which bears a great multitude of small clusters, whose seeds are of the bigness of the coriander, but have the scent, taste, and strength of pepper, and are used in the stead thereof, in their cookery, as well as in their physical compositions, and are found to have double their warmth and virtue. It were endless to go through the vast variety of other trees, shrubs, plants, herbs, roots, &c. of the medicinal kind, which grow scattered and naturally in this country, some yielding odoriferous gums, others oils, berries, seeds, &c. Among the last, we shall take notice of the manioc, of which they make a good sort of bread, and is the same that is used in other parts of *Asia* and *America*; the potatoes, rambas, juganas, and others of the like kind, which yield a good taste and nourishment. Wheat is the only thing which the ground will not produce; it pushes forth indeed the straw and ear, the former of which grows high enough, we are told, to hide a man on horseback, but the latter is empty, and without one single grain fit for use (G). ^f

THE

^b PIGAFET, DAVITY, DAPPER, CAVAZZI, LABAT, & al. ubi sup.

^d CAVAZZI ap. Labat. t. i. c. 8.

(G) This, at least, is the account which father *Cavazzi*, and other missionaries, give us of the wheat which hath been sown in any of the three provinces of *Loango*, *Kongo*, and *Angola*. But father *Labat*, who had observed the same thing in some of the *American* islands, where he lived a considerable time, tells us farther, that he had the curiosity to examine those ears more carefully, and had found some few grains; and that, having sowed them afresh, they produced very long ears, full of large and heavy grain. Whence he

conjectures, that if the *Portuguese* had tried the same experiment in either of those three countries, it might, perhaps, have had the same effect. He therefore supposes they neglect cultivating that valuable commodity, lest it should affect the great trade of meal which they drive there (3). But here we cannot forbear observing, upon the whole, that they are so very much infected with the *Moors* disease of indolence and incuriousness in other cases, besides that of their vines and wheat, even where less care is required, and their health and pleasure

(3) *Labat Relat. de L'Ethiop. Occident. tom. i. c. 8.*

- a THE grass likewise in their low lands grows so high, thick, and rank, that it becomes one of the most dangerous receptacles for great variety of wild and voracious beasts, and venomous insects. This makes travelling exceedingly hazardous, as they have few beaten roads in the whole country, and travellers are obliged to march over it, thro' vast plains, in continual danger of rousing the former, or being bit to death by the latter; to say nothing of the vast unwholesome dews with which that grass is covered, during some part of the day, which wet both blacks and whites to the skin, and cause colds, cholics, and other grievous disorders in them, especially in the latter, who go almost naked, and are more affected with them. The only way they have of guarding against that nuisance, is to set the grass on fire in the hot weather, when it is quite parched by the heat of the sun; but even this cannot be done without the greatest danger, because both the wild beasts and venomous reptiles, being furiously roused out of their retirement by the flames, will fly at all they meet in their way, tho' in ever such numerous companies; and there is no other way of avoiding their fury, but by climbing up the tallest trees, and defending one's self by fire-arms, or other weapons. In this case the natives have a much better chance, who naturally climb up the highest trees with surprising swiftness, whereas the whites are forced to make use of rope-ladders, which they commonly cause their blacks to carry about them against such emergencies, and to go up and fasten one end of them to some of the branches. But we shall have farther occasion to resume this subject, when we come to speak of their roads and way of travelling^d; we shall conclude this article of the product of these countries (in which we have chosen to join the three above mentioned provinces together, as it is nearly the same in them, to avoid being obliged to repeat the same things over again) with a short account of its flowers, which, tho' wild, and negligently scattered by nature, in almost every field and grove, yet yield a much nobler and more delightful prospect than those which we, with so much care and cost, cultivate in our gardens, not only by the prodigious variety of their colours, but by the vast quantity of heads which grow upon one stalk; they seem indeed here to have lost their natural fragrancy in the day-time, that being in some measure wholly exhaled by the too intense and immoderate heat of the sun; but this is amply compensated after its setting, and more especially a little before its rising, when their sweetness is again condensed, and revived by the coldness and dews of the night, after which they exhale their various refreshing scents in a much higher degree than ours.

Grass grows to a great height. The danger of travelling on that account. Of burning it when dry.

Variety of wild flowers of exquisite beauty; lose their fragrance in the day-time.

- Thus the lilies, which naturally grow in great plenty in the fields, vallies, and woods, excell those of our gardens, not only in their extreme whiteness, but much more in a delightful fragrancy, without offending the head, as those of *Europe* do, by their faintish sweetness. The tulips, which there grow wild, tho' they are generally called *Persic*, but whether because they were brought from thence, or from their near resemblance to them, have something so surprizingly charming in the variety and combination of their colours, that they dazzle the eyes of an intense beholder; neither do their flowers grow singly, but with ten or twelve upon one stalk, and with this double advantage over ours, that they diffuse a very reviving and agreeable sweetness, and continue much longer in their full bloom. Of the same nature are their tuberoses, hyacinths, and other native flowers, which spring up in vast groups of 100 and 200 from one root, tho' somewhat smaller than ours, some of them finely variegated, and all of them yielding an agreeable smell.

Wild lilies. Tulips of exquisite variety; grow by dozens on one stalk. Tuberoses, &c.

- THEIR roses and jessamines, and some other exotics brought thither from *Europe* or *America*, come up likewise in as great perfection, but require a constant supply of water, and diligent attendance, to prevent their degenerating; the *American* jessamine in particular, instead of single flowers, will grow up by dozens in a bunch; some of them of an exquisite white, and others of the colour of the most vivid fire. And thus much shall suffice for the various product of their ground: and if we have not enlarged the catalogue or description of them, as other authors have done^e, it was to avoid repeating what hath been already said in other volumes of this extensive work, and to confine ourselves to the mentioning those, which are, either in the whole, or in part, peculiar to the three kingdoms of *Kongo*, *Loango*, and *Angola*, where they are found to be much the same.

Roses and jessamines brought from Europe or America.

- WE come now to speak of the most considerable rivers which fertilize that of *Kongo*, properly now so called; the first and most considerable of which is the *Zara*, or *Zair*, which divides it from the province of *Loango* on the north, and is emphatically styled by the natives *the great river*, and *the river of Kongo*. It is indeed the more worthy particular notice, not only on account of its largeness, rapidity, and number of islands, and the vast tract of land

Principal rivers of Kongo Proper. The Zair.

^d LABAT, ex Cavaz. ubi sup. Vid. & auct. sup. citat.

^e FIGAFET, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

sure might naturally inspire them with a little more diligence. This we mean particularly with respect to their culinary and other refreshing herbs, fragrant and delightful flowers, which a small attendance might im-

prove to a greater degree of perfection; yet are they, like the natives, contented to take them in the homely dress in which nature offers both to them.

Various ac-
counts of it.

Its source not
yet known.

Rivers that
fall into it.
The Coango's
spring and
course.

The Vambra.

The Bancaro.

The Zair dan-
gerous and dif-
ficult to navi-
gate.

Islands at the
mouth of it.

it overflows at particular seasons, when it looks more like a sea than a river, but more espe- a
cially because our modern geographers have written so variously about its source, course, and
other particulars relating to it; attributing it to the same origin with the famous river *Nile*,
which we have elsewhere described^f; and, after a long and almost opposite course to that,
making it discharge its rapid torrent into the *Ethiopic*, as the other doth into the *Mediterra-*
nean sea (H). It must be indeed owned, that we know as yet very little, if any thing, of
its real source or course; neither doth it begin to take the name of *Zair*, till about 160
leagues, or 8 degrees, above the place where it falls into the ocean; from whence it flows
with great rapidity in a course westward, bending a little to the south, without receiving any
considerable rivers. b

Those that fall into it before, and which seem to form it, rather than be received into it,
are the *Bancaro*, *Vambra*, *Coango*, and *Barbela* or *Vervel*; all of them pretty considerable, but
especially the *Coango*, which springs from, or rather runs thro', the lake of *Kilanda*, or *Aqui-*
londa, after it hath passed thro' the kingdom of *Metamba*, and continuing its course in an almost
northward direction, joins the two former ones above-mentioned, after having crossed a tract
of above 140 leagues from its supposed spring head, in the territory of *Giaga*, or *Cazzangi*,
to its fall into the *Bancaro*. The *Vambra* or *Umbra* springs out of the mountains, which part
the kingdom of *Fungono* from that of *Numeramai*, al. *Monoemugi*; its course is almost due
west, and is supposed to be about 110 leagues. The *Bancaro* comes down from the territory
of *Macoco*, or *Anfiko*; and its course, before its fall into the *Vambra*, is about 80 leagues west c
and by south, and 20 leagues lower is joined by the *Coango*.

THESE are the chief rivers which form the *Zair*, which runs about 40 leagues lower
before its first cascade, which is the most considerable of all, tho' it hath several lesser ones
before it discharges itself into the ocean. These cascades, joined to its natural rapidity,
the vast number of rocks and islands which lie scattered at small distances, and the sea-horses,
crocodiles, monstrous serpents, and other destructive creatures, which swarm in them, render
the navigation of it exceedingly difficult and dangerous, either upwards or downwards. The
mouth of it, to which some give three, and some five or more leagues in breadth, discharges
such a vast and rapid torrent, that the boldest and most experienced pilots sail into it with
fear and dread; neither is any wind strong enough to force the ships upwards against the d
stream, let them make all the sail they can, or employ ever so many hands at the oar. The
only way they have, is to take the advantage of the repercussion which those rocks and islands
give to the waves, the same which we observe the piers of a bridge to cause in the stream,
whilst the current runs with its usual swiftness thro' arches. But this requires singular care
and industry, and is seldom done without great danger^g.

THE foremost of these islands, between which the *Zair* discharges its waters at seven dif-
ferent large chanel into the sea, are inhabited by *Moors*; and are planted by them, especially
about the coasts, with some of those trees we lately mentioned, of whose leaves they make
a coarse kind of cloth (I): and it is by the recoil which the stream meets with from each of
them,

^f Ancient Hist. vol. i. p. 177, & seq. vii. 187, & seq. See also before, p. 203, & seq.

^g PIGAFET;

DAPPER, DAVITY, CAVAZZI, LABAT, &c.

(H) *Pigafet*, an author otherwise very judicious and exact, is the first who broached this notion (4), in which he hath been followed by many others (5) with such implicitness, that we need the less wonder at the good capuchin father *Cavazzi*'s having taken it for granted (6), notwithstanding his long abode in that country. The natives were not able to undeceive him, and the duty of his mission would not permit him to expatiate so far as to trace it to its origin, so that it was natural for him to follow the general stream of those writers, as they had *Pigafet*, without farther enquiry; especially, as nothing had till then appeared in public in confutation of that error, and other geographers had ventured to assign the same source to the *Niger*, now more commonly known by the name of *Senegal*; which last hath been since clearly exploded by his translator *Labat*, in another work (7).

When we speak of these authors assigning the *Zair* the same source with the *Nile*, we do not mean its real source in the empire of *Abissinia*, formerly described (8), but three different lakes in this *Western Ethiopia*, from which they supposed those two famed rivers to spring; viz the *Zambra*, the *Zaira* from which the *Lelunda*

and *Coanza* flow into the *Zair*, and a third lake which is formed by the *Nile*; but chiefly the first, which is reckoned the center, from which all the rivers of this *Southern Ethiopia* flow. The truth is, the spring head of the *Zair* is not as yet discovered with any tolerable certainty, and we may say the same of its course, till it comes into the kingdom of *Kongo*; or, to speak more properly, till its confluence with the *Bancaro*, which is the first considerable river it receives into its bosom, as we shall see in the sequel.

(I) All these islands, which are numerous, and of various extent, are well inhabited, and the natives are very dexterous in the construction and management of their canoes, which will carry 200 men, and in the conducting them through all the numerous rocks and islands of the river; the wood they build them with is called *licondo*, and is tough, and not easily broke, if it should hit against any of them. The two principal of those islands are *Bommo* and *Quintalla*; but neither they, nor any of the rest, pay tribute to the king of *Kongo*, or much regard him; neither is he very sollicitous about it, so long as they contribute so much, by their dexterity and industry, in carrying on so useful

(4) *Kongo*, lib. i. c. 4.
ex veris. *Labat*, tom. i. c. 3.
before, p. 203, & seq.

(5) *Davity*, *Dapper*, vid. & *Baudrand*, *La Martiniere*, & al.
(7) *Relat. Afric. occident. Paris*, 1728.

(6) *Ethiop. occident.*
(8) *Anc. Hist.* vol. i. p. 177, & seq. and

a them, that vessels are as it were tossed forward against the current, they being set very thick and near to each other all the way up. But a great number of them are wholly desert, and a receptacle for the voracious creatures above-mentioned, which prey indifferently on men, beasts, and fishes, and cause horrid devastations both on the water and the land. We have already hinted that the *Zair* overflows at some seasons vast tracts of ground, and by its rapidity carries almost every thing before it. We shall only add an observation more upon those floods; viz. that they happen here in a quite contrary season to what they do in *Egypt*; that being situate on the opposite side of the line to this: which is an evident proof, that the *Zair* and *Nile* flow from different spring heads, and vastly distant from each other ^h.

THE next in rank is the *Danda*, which parts *Kongo Proper* from the kingdom of *Angola*. This is also a considerable river, and is navigable quite up to the town of *Icoa*; that is, about thirty leagues and upwards. It gives its name to the province of *Danda*, and fertilizes all the countries thro' which it passes, without causing such vast overflows and devastations as the *Zair*; neither is its navigation so difficult or dangerous, unless it be on account of the numerous swarms of crocodiles, sea-horses, and monstrous serpents, which infect it, and make a dreadful havock amongst them that frequent it in canoes and small vessels ⁱ. Its course is from south-east to north-west; during which it receives the *Lucale*, and some other less considerable streams. The shores on each side, from the first entrance into its mouth upwards, appear to be much of the same height; yet in its course, especially when swollen by the fallen rains in *April* and *May*, frequently carries off some of its banks from one side to the other, or carries it into the sea ^k. The *Bengo*, and *Lucale*, and *Danda*, are supposed to spring from a lake among the high mountains on the east. On the northern shore of its mouth is a fort which Mr. *De Lisle* calls *Danda Capitantria*; which serves as a guard of the frontiers between *Kongo* and *Angola*.

OTHER rivers between the *Zair* and *Danda* are the *Lebunda*, *Doce*, *Ambriz*, *Loze*, *Orzo*, and *Lutana*, with a number of others of less note. The *Ambriz*, or *Ambrisi*, springs from the same lake, on the eastern mountains of *Tenda*, and runs westward into the ocean between the mouths of the *Lebunda* and *Loze*. It runs by the town of *Saint Salvador*; its course is rapid, chanel deep and large, its waters sweet but miry. It is only navigable by barges, by reason of the many rocks and islands that stop the mouth of it. About forty leagues up the river is a ford, where passengers are carried over on men's shoulders, on paying a certain duty to the king. The others have nothing remarkable enough to be worth farther notice.

THE kingdom of *Kongo Proper*, as well as those on the three sides of it, were, as was hinted at the beginning of this chapter, divided into several petty monarchies and principalities, dismembred from, and independent of, the antient monarchs. And when the *Portuguese* had once made themselves masters of it, and persuaded the natives to embrace the Christian religion, they thought fit to honour those petty states with some *European* titles, in order to give them a kind of lustre and dignity. At the first they divided the kingdom into six large provinces, to which they gave the titles of duchies, counties, and marquisesates, which were afterwards subdivided into lesser signories or lordships. Those provinces are situate as follows ^l.

ALONG the sea coasts the county of *Sogno*, and the great duchy of *Bamba*.

ON the north, the duchy of *Sundi* and the marquiseate of *Pango*.

ON the west, the duchy of *Batta*.

AND the inland, the marquiseate of *Pemba* (K).

THE duchy of *Bamba* is situate between the rivers of *Ambrisi* and *Loze*; the last of which parts it from the marquiseate of *Pemba* on the east, and the *Ambrisi* from the county of *Sogno* on the north. Along the sea coasts it extends itself still farther; viz. northward, to the river *Lebunda*; and, on the south, to that of *Danda*, which parts it from the kingdom of *Angola*. The governors of this province bear the title of dukes, and are always some of the first princes of the royal family, and as despotic and arbitrary in their government as if they were really kings, notwithstanding the care and pains their monarchs have taken to keep

^h PIGAFET, LA CROIX, AFRIC. DAPPER, DAVITY, BAUDRAND, MARTINIERE, CAVAZZI, LABAT, &c.
ⁱ Ibid. ^k PIGAFET, LA CROIX, & al. ubi sup. ^l PIGAFET, l. i. c. 9. DAVITY, DAPPER, BAUDRAND, LABAT, tom. i. c. 2.

and commodious a commerce along that river, which would otherwise, in all probability, languish or be at an end without them (9).

(K) To these some authors add the following territories; viz. *Dembo Amulaza*, *Dembo Ambula*, *Dembo Quingenga*, and *Dambi Angorga*, together with the small duchy of *Owando*, and the canton of *Sowa Covanga*, concerning which we find little else besides their names,

and cannot tell whether any of them have either town or village in them. M. *De Lisle* adds to them the two marquisesates of *Camga* and *Cundi*, on each side of the river *Coango* and the marquiseate of *Entela*, between the duchy of *Bamba* and that of *Owanda*; all of them of an inferior rank to the six former provinces, and of which we find nothing worthy any further notice (10).

(9) Lopez, Pigafet, Davity, Dapper, & al. sup. citat. (10) De Lisle, Corneille, Baudrand, Martinier, sub Congo.

The viceroys very tyrannic. them within their due bounds. The misfortune is, that those viceroys, by engrossing all the power into their hands, are become too stubborn to be curbed, and might quickly raise themselves to an absolute independency, if the *Portuguese* monarchs should offer to interpose their authority; so that they are in some measure forced to suffer them to fleece and oppress their subjects, and to be contented with such tribute as they think fit, instead of what they ought to pay the crown^m.

Salt a rich commodity. THE duchy of *Bamba* is one of the largest and richest of the whole kingdom; its soil fertile, and able to produce all necessaries of life in great plenty, were but the natives industrious in cultivating and improving of it: but, where they groan under such an oppressive government, what encouragement can there be for them to be so? The sea coasts produce likewise a prodigious quantity of salt, which is easily made, and would yield an extraordinary revenue to the crown, were the duties of it duly paid, a great deal of it being exported into foreign countries, besides what is sold upon the spot for the use of the natives; but these governors have found out means to sink the greatest part of it, with impunity, into their coffers.

The fishery of zimbis, whose shell is the current coin. WHAT would still add more to their revenue, is the fishery of the zimbis, or little sea snail, whose shell is the current coin, not only in this and the two neighbouring kingdoms, but in other distant parts of *Africa*, and is caught along these coasts; so that this alone would be sufficient to enrich this kingdom to a high degree, since the sea itself furnishes them with such plenty of money, without employing any other minters than fishermen (L). To this, several authors have added a third kind of treasure in this province, viz. the mines of gold, silver, quicksilver, copper, tin, and iron, which are to be found in the mountainous parts of them; but there is much reason to doubt of the reality, and much more of the pretended richness of them: one thing is certain, that the iron mines are the only ones that are suffered to be made use of, and that there are very severe laws against meddling with any of the restⁿ. We shall have a more proper occasion to speak on this subject in the sequel.

2. Province of Sogno. THE second province of *Kongo Proper*, is the county, as it is dignified, of *Sogno*, or *Songho*, which extends itself, like the former, westwards to the *Ethiopic* sea, and is bounded on the north by the *Zair*, on the south by the *Lelanda*, which parts it from the duchy of *Bamba* above described, and on the east by the countries of *Pango* and *Sundi*. Its territory is mostly sandy and barren, but yields great quantities of salt along the sea shore; and, on the inland, produces great variety of palm-trees, which thrive best in such lean lands, and on whose fruits the natives chiefly subsist. The capital of this province is called *Banza*, or *Banza Sogno*, and is situate at about three leagues distance from *Cape Padrone*, on the south side of the mouth of the *Zair*. The town is small and thinly inhabited, subsisting chiefly on its commerce on the *Zair*, by which it receives most of its provisions, and those in such small quantity, that the *Europeans* justly wonder how they can subsist with so little, and much more so to see them not only chearful and contented, but singing and dancing under what seems to them a doleful scarcity, as if they enjoyed the greatest plenty.

Old wooden church. THE only thing worth notice in this town, is a church which the capuchin friars found in it, at their first coming into those parts, an. 1645, when the congregation *de propaganda fide* sent them thither to supply the want of regular and secular priests. Neither hath that structure any thing remarkable except its antiquity, being supposed to have been built ever since the coming of the *Portuguese* into that province, about the year 1482, and planting the Christian faith in it; which, if true, is the most surprising, as it is built only of timber, plaistered over on both sides with stiff clay^o.

This province the first converted. THIS province being, as we shall see in the sequel, the very first of this kingdom which received the gospel, and the count of it the first baptized prince, whose example the king followed soon after, it is no wonder there should have been a great number of churches built by those first converts, from the earliest times of their conversion, which have continued ever since; especially as we are told that the natives have preserved the Christian faith in much greater purity than is to be met with thro' the rest of the kingdom. Accordingly, we find no less than three in this small town of *Banza*; the first of them stands within the circumference of the palace belonging to the counts, and is dedicated to the virgin *Mary*; the second stands at some distance from it, and is the burying place of those governors; the third dedicated to St. *Antony* of *Padua*, adjoins to the monastery of the capuchins, and serves them as

Churches.

^m PIGAFET, LABAT, & al. ubi sup. ubi sup. Vid. & auct. sup. citat.

ⁿ CAVAZZI ap. Labat, ubi sup. c. 2.

^o LABAT ex Cavazzi,

(L) This little shell-fish is caught along the coasts of *Kongo*; but the finest and greatest quantity of them, are caught about those of a small island over-against the city of *Loando S. Paolo*, of which we shall speak more in the sequel, and about a quarter of a mile from the shore; these being of a smoother and finer brown, or

grey, are most esteemed in all those parts. The kings of *Portugal* have the sole property, and make the same advantage of them, that other princes make of the richest metals; or, rather, have the power and art of purchasing the most precious metals and merchandizes, with those despicable trifles (2).

(2) Cavazzi ex vers. Labat. tom. i. c. 5. Vid. Davity, Dapper, & al. sup. citat.

a chapel,

a a chapel, as well as a parish church. Besides these three principal churches, there are several other inferior chapels, not only in this capital, but all over the province, every *Sova*, or inferior governor, being obliged to maintain one in the place where he resides (M).

THE third province of *Kongo Proper* is styled the duchy of *Sundi*; it is situate in the inland (N), beginning about 13 or 14 leagues north-east of *S. Salvador*, capital of the whole kingdom, and is bounded all the way north by the *Zair*, yet so as not to prevent the dukes of it encroaching gradually on great tracts of land on the other side of that river. However, it is bounded on the south by the duchy of *Batta*, and marquissate of *Batta*; on the east and north-east, by the kingdom of *Macoco*, and the crystal rocks, at the foot of which the river *Bancaro* falls into the *Zair*. Its capital, which is situated about six leagues south of the great cataract of that last river, is called *Banza Sundi*, to distinguish it from that of *Sogno*; or rather from *Banza*, the capital of the whole kingdom, in the province of *Pemba*, of which we shall speak in its proper place, and which is emphatically so called on that account; the word *Banza*, in the *Ethiopic*, signifying a *Court* or place of residence. But as to this of *Sundi*, we find nothing worth notice said of it.

THIS province, or duchy, is subdivided into several governments, the greater part of which are removed from the capital, and extend themselves a great way into the mountains on the eastern side, which being very difficult of access, the inhabitants pay little regard to their governors, and are often insolent, and raise commotions in the whole kingdom; for tho' they have, like the rest, been converted to christianity, yet they retain so much of their old heathenish customs and superstitions (O), that the missionaries have not been as yet able to make them tolerable Christians, notwithstanding the indefatigable pains they have been at, most times at the hazard, and sometimes the loss of their lives^p; nor hath the civil power ever been able to civilize them, so far as to cultivate their lands, though fertile, and well watered by a great number of rivers. Their mountains are said to have mines of the richest metals, but are not permitted to be opened, except those of iron, which they work into all kinds of instruments, both for agriculture and war. Only one mine of copper, of a most beautiful yellow, which is found among the mountains on the north side, and near the great cataract of the *Zair*, is suffered to be wrought; and thither the inhabitants of the kingdom of *Loango* come to buy it in great quantities.

d THE marquissate of *Pango*, heretofore called *Panga Logos*, had then the title and prerogative dignity of kingdom, but hath lost both ever since the king of *Kongo* subdued and reduced it to the rank of a province. It is bounded on the north by the duchy of *Sundi*, and the river *Vervel* or *Berbela*; on the east by the mountains of the sun, and the country of *Dembo*; on the south by the duchy of *Batta*; and on the west by the same river *Vervel*. Its capital is called *Banza Pango*, and is situated on the banks of the same river, near its conflux with the *Coango*; it hath nothing extraordinary, its territory and inhabitants, as well as those of the whole province, are much the same with those of *Kongo*, of whom we shall speak in the proper place^q.

e THE duchy of *Bata*, or *Batta*, is situated on the south-west of *Pango*, hath *Dembo*, *Amulassa*, and the saltpetre mountains on the east; on the south the marquissate of *Incussu*, and the burnt mountains; and *Kongo* and *Pemba* on the west. It is of a considerable extent, and was heretofore called *Anguirima*, or *Aghirimba*, and was a kingdom of itself, till both king and people submitted to the kings of *Kongo*; on what account our authors could not learn. Some think that of *Sundi* was once subject to it, and that it extended itself on the two sides of the *Zair*; and that the kingdoms of *Lulca* and *Kongo Rbioncango*, as well as the provinces of *Nfonzo* and *Nsongo*, and other territories belonging to the barbarous *Giagas*, on the north

^p PIGAFET, l. ii. c. 3. LABAT ex Cavazzi, tom. i. c. 2. & al. sup. citat. ^q Ibidem ibid.

(M) The counts of this province have a great number of vassals and tributary governors, among whom is the marquis of *Chova*, who holds the first rank under them, and hath a vast territory adjoining to that of *Mombalassi*, or *Mombalassingi*, and pretend to some particular privileges and immunities, on account of their being obliged, in some measure, to be always in arms against them (3).

(N) Hence the mistake of several writers is manifest, who tell us, that this province was the first that was converted by the *Portuguese* to Christianity; for, as they came thither by sea, they must have made their way through the province of *Sogno*, to come at that of *Sundi*, which is near three days journey from the sea. It is therefore more probable, that they converted the first before they ventured into the second. This mistake probably was owing either to the inadvertency of the

writer, or the carelessness of the transcriber, in writing *Sundi* instead of *Sogno* (4).

(O) These mountaineers seem to be descended from, or to have so strongly imbibed the barbarous customs of, the *Giagas*, a savage nation, which we have already spoken of in the preceding chapter, that neither the preaching of the *Portuguese* missionaries, nor the authority of the government, hath hitherto been able to dissuade or deter them from them. They are, in some measure, always up in arms, fierce and cruel in their wars, eat the flesh of their captives, and chuse to live upon plunder and rapine, rather than by industry; and tho' their country be fertile, and able to produce the necessaries of life, yet they prefer a vagrant life, and making excursions on their neighbours, in which they commonly are guilty of the greatest outrages and cruelties.

(3) Labat ex Cavazzi, ubi sup. c. ii. p. 30. MOD. HIST. VOL. VI.

(4) Idem ibid. p. 32, & seq.

Tributary
countries.

Capital.

6. Marquisate
of Pemba.

Rich territo-
ries.
Wealth and
happiness of its
inhabitants.

The capital of
the whole king-
dom of Kongo.

Called by the
Portuguese
St. Salvador.
Its high situa-
tion.

side of the *Zair*, depended on, and were tributary to it^r; however that be, the country is mostly fertile, and plentifully watered by variety of rivers, and produces several sorts of grain: the inhabitants are more civilized and affable than their neighbours, and were more easily converted to christianity, as well as more firmly grounded in it^r.

THE capital city of this duchy, called *Batta*, is not considerable for any thing but the fertility of its territory, and its being the residence of the governors of this province, who are allowed to have a number of arquebusiers in pay, to defend it from the incursions of the wild *Giagas*, or *Jagas*, who inhabit near its eastern frontiers, beyond the mountains of the sun and saltpetre, living chiefly by ravaging their neighbours on all sides, and would do the same by this, were they not over-awed by those troops. The road between this capital and that of the whole kingdom, now called *S. Salvador*, hath, we are told, a great number of houses and hamlets on both sides; a thing uncommon in these parts^r.

THE last province of this kingdom is styled the marquisate of *Pemba*, and is situated almost in the center of it; and tho' of much smaller extent than any of the rest, hath always had this singular advantage, that its capital hath ever been the cradle, throne, and burying place, of all the kings of *Kongo*, whether gentiles or christians, as it hath been since the residence of the viceroys, or, to speak more properly, the chief governors of the marquisate. This city is seated at the foot of a mountain, called by the *Portuguese* the *Burnt Mountain*, tho' different and distant enough from a ridge which bears the same name, and spreads itself along the east side of the county of *Ambuila*. The territory of it is well watered, as is the whole province, not only by the *Lelunda*, which runs quite through it, from east to west, but by the *Kai Ambrisi*, and some others, which equally contribute to its fertility, and the riches and happiness of its inhabitants. For the constant residence of the king and his court, which is very numerous, doth not a little excite the people to industry; whilst the great consumption of all provisions, and other merchandizes, improves their commerce, encourages their diligence, and increases their wealth; the fruits of which they quietly enjoy, without being exposed to the extortions of foreign viceroys, or the excursions of barbarous neighbours, by being so happily situated in the heart of the country^u.

BEFORE we go to other remote provinces within the same dominions, it will be necessary here, according to our promise, to give our readers a short description of the capital of the whole kingdom, known now by the name of *Banza S. Salvador*, and is by *Marmol*^w, or rather his *French* translator *D'Ablancourt*, called *Amâas Kongo*, if he did not really mistake the word *Amâas* for *Banza*. However that be, that of *Salvador* was afterwards given to it, and is the name by which it is known by the *Europeans* (P). It is situate almost in the center of the province of *Pemba*, upon a very high hill, mostly solid rock, about two leagues in compass, and near fifty east from the sea, and on the south-east side of the river *Zair*. It is beautifully shaded with variety of fruit-trees, such as the palm, lemon, and orange-trees, and yields a most delightful prospect all around, whilst it commands all the country about, as far as the sight can go, without being obstructed by wood or mountain; and on the river's side the descent is very steep. The *Portuguese* gave it, on that account, the name of *Oteiro*, that is, a vantage prospect, watch-tower, or singular height^x; and it was chiefly for this reason, that the monarchs of *Kongo* chose it for their residence, being next to inaccessible to an enemy, and consequently neither easy to be surprized or attacked. The common highway that goes up to it is broad but winding, and the ascent of about five miles in length.

ADD to this, that its situation being, as we lately observed, almost in the center of the kingdom, the kings were the more ready at hand to send their orders, or a speedier relief, to any part of the realm; and that the top of the hill having a large plain, well watered and manured, and covered with hamlets, farms, and other houses, containing in our author's time about 100,000 souls, and feeding a great number of cattle, the place could be easily supplied with all manner of provisions. The mountain hath likewise some iron mines of singular use to the inhabitants, who fabricate it into weapons, and instruments of agriculture; so that it was not without great reason and fore-cast, that those monarchs chose this spot for their usual residence.

THE town stands on an angle of the mountain, facing the south-east, and enjoys a serene and healthy air, and being so strongly situate by nature, hath no walls except on the south side; and these were not built till the reign of Don *Alphonso*, the first Christian king of

^r CAVASSI ex vers. Labat, tom. i. ii. & al. sup. cit. & al. ^t Idem ibid. Vid. & LABAT, ubi sup.

* LOPEZ, ap. Pigafet, l. ii. c. 1.

^u DE LISLE, LA CROIX, DAPPER, DAVITY, ^w Idem ibid. ^x Africa, tom. iii. l. 9. c. 24.

(P) We have already observed, that the capital of the kingdom bore the same name with it; being known by the name of *Banza Kongo*, till Christianity was planted among them; since which the name of *Kongo* is still re-

tained by a small town at some distance from *St. Salvador*, on which account the capital of *Batta*, which was also called *Kongo*, is called *Kongo de Batta*, to distinguish it from the other.

- a. *Kongo*, who caused the quarter of the *Portuguese* to be surrounded with them, in order to secure them from insults.

HE likewise caused his palace, and all the royal houses, to be walled round, leaving a wide space within, wherein to build a palace and burying-place. The top of the hill is covered with houses, which stand pretty near to each other, most of them belonging to persons of quality, who join such a number of apartments within one cincture, that they appear like little towns; those which belong to the inferior people run in a strait line, and form very handsome streets; they are mostly spacious, but their walls are all of straw, except some which the *Portuguese* have caused to be built of brick, and covered with stubble or straw.

- b. THE royal palace is a spacious structure, surrounded with a four-square wall, and has the appearance of a little city; but the wall that faces the *Portuguese* quarter is the only one that is built of stone and mortar, the other three sides being only of straw, though neatly enough disposed; the walls of the inner apartments are of the same materials, but covered with hangings, or mats curiously wrought. The inner court contains gardens and orchards, adorned with alleys, arbours, and pavilions, handsome enough for the country, tho' neither grand nor costly. Here are ten or twelve churches, whereof the cathedral and seven others are within the town, and three within the prince's castle. The jesuits have a college, where four of them are constantly employed in teaching the *Latin* and *Portuguese*, and in catechising the people. The town is supplied with plenty of fresh water by two fountains, the one in the street called *St. Jago*, and the other in the palace, without being at the charge of keeping up or repairing the aqueduct. Besides these, there is, on the east side, near the foot of the hill, a spring of excellent water, which is called the *Vese*, and falls into the *Lelunda*, which serves to water the adjacent grounds. They have here few sheep and oxen, but great plenty of goats and hogs, which they inclose in the night in some kind of parks adjacent to their houses; they have a large market on the piazza before the great church, which is furnished with all sorts of provisions. The rest of the square is surrounded with spacious houses, having each a large gate which opens towards it, and are mostly inhabited by noblemen, as are also many others in the suburbs of the city, and in the country round about. That part which is inclosed, and called the *Portuguese* city, is reckoned about a mile in circuit, and the king's palace nearly the same; the walls about each of them are very thick, but the gates of neither of them are either shut, or kept under a guard. It is not easy to ascertain the largeness of the rest of the city, the houses not adjoining so regularly on the out-skirts as in the center, but we are assured that it was very populous in *Lopez's* time.

The royal palace.

Churches.

Jesuits college.

Fountains.

- c. THE adjacent plain, as well as the vallies below it (besides the various fruit trees lately mentioned, which yield a constant verdure, as well as plenty of fruit) produce several sorts of grain, the chief of which is an exotic, brought thither from the banks of the *Nile*, called *leuco*, in shape and bigness like the millet; the meal of it, when ground, makes very good bread, and is preferred by the natives to that of wheat, which last they only use at the mafs. Here groweth also great quantity of maize, called by them *Mazza Kongo*, or corn of *Kongo*, but which they use only to fatten their hogs with; their pasture grounds likewise yield very good grass, with which they feed a greater number of cattle than in any other part of the kingdom. And thus much may suffice for the description of this metropolis.

- d. WE come now to the several other lesser provinces of *Kongo Proper*, which are independent of the six principal ones we have now gone thro', and among which the greater part are barren, and inhabited only by savages, who either lurk in their thick and impenetrable forests, or bleach upon their rugged and inaccessible mountains, and both of them lead a life little different from that of brutes. The names of those provinces, for we know little else concerning them, are *Zuiona*, *Zujamazondo*, *Ndamba*, *Nsuffo*, *Nsellajurva*, *Alombo*, *Nsolo*, *Nzanga*, *Marfinga*, and *Mortonda*; the three last of which confine upon the country of *Ajacoa*, whose nation is more barbarous and inhuman than any of the rest.

Other provinces.

- e. THE duchy of *Ovando*, situate between *Kongo* and *Angola*, and now in the possession of the *Portuguese*, was heretofore subject, or at least tributary to, the kings of *Kongo*; but the people have since withdrawn their obedience, and put themselves under the protection of the *Portuguese* monarchs. Its capital, called *St. Michael*, is situate upon the river *Danda*, but is a place of no great note, though the prince of this province hath some considerable feudatories, and among them the counts of *Ambuila*, who took formerly the title of *Mani*, or princes, tho' then tributary to the kings of *Kongo*. The county of *Dambi*, and some other inferior ones, followed the example of that of *Ovando*, and shook off the yoke of the kings of *Kongo*, to put themselves under the protection of the *Portuguese*, induced to it by the hopes,

Duchy of Ovando puts itself under the protection of the Portuguese.

Dambi and others do the same.

^y CORNEIL. BAUDRAND, LA CROIX, Rel. Afric. tom. iii. l. 9. DAPPER, & al.

^z LABAT ex Cavazzi.

and perhaps the promises, of being less oppressed, and of enjoying more liberty under these, a than they did under their own monarchs.

Other wild
provinces that
pay tribute by
force.

As to the rest of those more distant provinces, especially towards the east, they still acknowledge, in some measure, the authority of the kings of *Kongo*, but pay them no other tribute than what they are forced to by the troops, or small flying armies, which are yearly sent among them to raise it; and then, if they can but have timely notice of their coming, they immediately retire to their inaccessible mountains and forests, with their families, cattle, and effects, and return not till they are well assured those forces are gone far enough from them. It is even dangerous to exasperate them too far by these military executions, which are however very common in most parts of *Afric*, because they are always ready to repay themselves with advantage, by their sudden incursions into the richer provinces adjoining to b them, where they commonly commit dreadful outrages, as well as load themselves with spoil; after which they quickly return to their lurking places, where they know they cannot be come at without great danger and difficulty. However, they all own so far a subjection to the king, that in time of war he may draw what succours he pleases from their respective districts, in proportion to their largeness; and these readily come armed after their manner, tho' probably more from the prospect of plunder, than any affection to him. The worst of it is, that they are but wretchedly armed, and worse clothed, having nothing upon them but a piece of cloth or skin about their middle; and tho' they fall on with great fury, and most hideous outcries, on the enemy, yet, either upon the fall of their leaders in the first onset, or on a slight wound, or even a superstitious omen, will betake c themselves to flight, and can hardly ever be rallied again^a, as we shall see in the sequel.

Send him forces
in time of war.

Living crea-
tures.

Elephants

of a monstrous
size.

Ornaments
made of their
tails.

Not tamed by
the natives.

How hunted
and caught.

Rhinoceros's
not found in
Kongo.

Lions of a mon-
strous size.

THE kingdom of *Kongo*, like most other parts of *Africa*, breeds a prodigious variety of living creatures, both wild and tame, but especially of those of the wild kind; of which we shall have the less to say, as we have already spoken of them in some former volumes. Among the terrestrial, the elephant, justly esteemed the noblest, most useful, and docile, is so well known as to need no farther description than what we have given of it elsewhere^b; these are mostly to be found in the province of *Bamba*, which abounds with woods, pasture, and plenty of water, in which they delight much, and wash and bathe themselves in the heat of the day. They commonly go in troops of an hundred or more, old and young. Some of them are here of such a monstrous bigness, that the print of their hoof hath mea- d sured four, and some of them as far as seven spans in diameter^c. There is commonly found in the ventricle of those that are grown old, a stone of the bigness of a hen's egg, which being hardened in the air or sun, is reckoned an excellent bezoar. From the hair that grows upon their tails, and that of another animal they call *induvro*, the natives, especially the women, weave themselves collars, bracelets, girdles, and other ornaments, with variety of figures and devices, which denote their quality, and are in such esteem, that the hair of two elephants tails is reckoned the price sufficient to buy a slave with; the reason of which is, that the natives have not the art of taming them, but are obliged to send their bravest and stoutest men to hunt them in the woods; which is not done without great labour and danger, they being here exceedingly fierce. The most common way of catching e them is by digging deep holes in the ground, the top of which they cover with branches and leaves, as is practised in most parts of *Asia*. And this it is that makes their hair more scarce and valuable; insomuch that both the men and women take singular delight to attire their heads and other parts of their bodies with it, which they do in a very agreeable manner; and a person must be very indigent indeed, who will not afford to wear some ornament made with it, notwithstanding the dearness of it (Q)^d.

WE do not find that this kingdom breeds any rhinoceros's; but by the quantities of their horns which are brought thither, and the variety of uses made of them, both in physic and otherwise, we are inclined to suppose that they have them from the *Nazichi*, or some other neighbouring countries (R). Lions, leopards, tigers, wolves, and other voracious ani- f

^a PIGAFET, DAVITY, DAPPER, CAVAZZI, LABAT, & al. sup. citat. 184. ^c PIGAFET, l. i. LABAT, c. 9, ex Cavazz. tom. i. c. 9, p. 153. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ubi sup.

^b Vol. v. p. 683, & sup. p. ^d Idem ibid. Vid. &

(Q) This noble and gigantic creature is yet frequently destroyed by the sting of a small insect, which they here call *infondo*, and is not much bigger than an ant; this insect getting into its trunk, causes such a stimulation, that the beast, not being able to bear the pain of it, quickly grows mad, running and beating itself against trees, rocks, or whatever comes in its way, till it falls down dead (5).

(R) One of our authors mentions a horned creature,

which is mostly to be found in those provinces which lie near the center of the kingdom, and which the natives call *abada*, and some *neemba*. He owns he never saw one, but speaks of it only upon their credit, as bearing a resemblance to the rhinoceros, and having a horn just above the nostrils. But as it hath only one, and its hide, instead of being scaled, is smooth, like that of a cow, it may be more properly ranked in that class, than in that of the rhinoceros (6).

(5) Pigafet, Cavazzi, Labat, Ludolph, Dapper, & al. plur.

(6) Labat ex Cavazz. tom. i. c. 9, p. 169. mals,

a mals, are here in great plenty, and do much damage, as they do every-where else; also monkeys of a vast variety of sizes and shapes. The zebra, or, as the *Portuguese* call it, the *The zebra.* zabra, another wild animal, well known for its surprising swiftness, and the extreme beauty and regularity of its streaked skin, is likewise found here, and hunted by the natives, who esteem its flesh as a very dainty food, and its hide a valuable commodity to send into *Europe.*

THEY have here likewise a great abundance of buffalos, and wild asses. The dante seems *Buffalos and wild asses.* peculiar to this country; it is shaped and coloured much like an ox, tho' not so large; its horns are like those of a he-goat, but very smooth and shining, and of a blackish hue, of which the natives make great variety of pretty baubles. The skin of this creature is com- *The dante.* monly bought by the *Portuguese*, and sent into *Germany*, to be tanned and made into targets, which are then called *dantes*. The natives make use of the raw hide dried, to make their *The use of its hide.* shields; which are so tough, that no arrow or dart can go through them, and large enough to cover the whole body. This creature, which they call *impangazza*, hath two horns growing out of the forehead, and in other respects is not unlike the buffalo. It is vastly swift of foot, and, when wounded, will follow the scent or smoke of the gunpowder, with such fury, that the hunter hath no other way to avoid it, but by climbing, with all possible speed, up to some tall tree, by the help of a rope-ladder, which they always carry with them upon such occasions, and take care to fasten to some branch before they venture to fire. The wounded creature, finding its enemy to be out of its reach, stays at the foot of the tree for *The way of hunting it.* him, and stirs not from it till a second, or perhaps a third shot, hath laid it dead under him. Their flesh is very good to eat; upon which account not only the natives, but the lions, *Its flesh excellent.* tygers, and other beasts of prey, wage continual war against them; but nature hath given them such an instinct to guard against the latter, that they commonly go in large droves of *Their method of guarding against lions, &c.* seldom less than an hundred; which, when attacked by them, dispose themselves into a ring, with their horns outward, with which they defend themselves with surprising agility and strength. One sees them here of different colours like our cows, some brown, some grey, and others black. Their marrow is reckoned a warm restorer of paralytic and decayed limbs, and their flesh a wholesome and dainty dish^f. Elks, though commonly supposed to live only in the colder climes, are here in great quantities, and of large size. The natives *Their marrow a medicine. The elk very common.* call them *neocco*, and hunt them for their flesh, horns, and hides, but much more for their hoofs, which, when the creature is killed in a proper attitude, and at a proper season, they reckon an effectual remedy against the epilepsy and apoplexy (S), being worn next to the skin. They make their hides into short boots, to defend their legs and feet from thorns, when they are obliged to go through their thick forests, where the paths are commonly very narrow and full of them. *The supposed virtue of its hoof.*

THE *impalanca* is of the shape and bigness of a mule, and its hide is spotted with divers colours; it hath two horns growing upright upon its head, twisted about from the root, according to the number of its years, and drawing upwards to a sharp point. The flesh of it is white, fat, and tender, and fit to eat at all seasons, except in their rutting time; but it *The impalanca.* is chiefly valuable for the stone that is taken out of its ventricle, which is reckoned an excellent antidote against all poisons, if taken out soon after the beast is killed, and dried either in the air or sun. Stags and others of the deer kind, as well as wild goats, are here very numerous; the former are called by the general name of *golungos*, and the latter by that of *viadi*, or *bambi*. Neither of these two kinds have any horns except by chance, and then scarcely two inches long. It is in the ventricle of these, when they come to be old, that the genuine bezoar is found. Their flesh is delicious, except in rutting time; but many of the superstitious heathens abstain from it, from a notion which their priests have put into their heads, that it infects those that eat it with the leprosy. *Bezoar taken out of its ventricle.*

THE *nsossi* is of the bigness of a cat, and of an ash-colour, and hath two small horns on its head. It is perhaps the most fearful creature that lives, ever in motion, and starting *The nsossi, a fearful creature;*

^f DAVITY, DAPPER, PIGAFET, CAVAZZI, LABAT, & al. ubi sup.

(S) According to them, this noble creature is very subject to the falling sickness, but carries with it its own cure; so that, upon the first warning it feels of its approach, it immediately falls to scratching itself behind the ear with its hinder hoof, and recovers quickly after. This, says our author, is the only proper time to shoot it, and to cut off the foot with which it scratched itself. The difficulty is to find them in this attitude, and yet no other time will have any effect; the hoof receiving its virtue by its friction against the horn. This foot,

according to them, must be cut off when the sun is in *Aries*, for no other season will serve but that. It must be done moreover, before the elk hath coupled with any female; for, after that time, it will have no virtue. And as all these difficulties must of course enhance the price of such an extraordinary medicine, so the buyer of it cannot but run great risk of being cheated, supposing the reality of such a virtue, and much more so if it be only chimerical (7).

(7) Labat ex Cavazzi, ubi sup. p. 159.

or running at the least noise or breath of air; even when it is drinking, it swallows one a single gulp, and runs away, as if pursued, and returns with the like fear, till it hath satiated its thirst; it doth the same when browsing on the grass, at every blade it takes in its mouth. *use of its skin.* Its flesh hath an exquisite taste, and the natives prefer its skin to that of any other creature to make strings for their bows.

Nfima, or civet cat.

Danger in hunting it.

THE *nfima*, or civet cat, is the true creature from which that odoriferous drug is taken, and when genuine, which is what one seldom meets with, is valued at the rate of gold dust; the hunting of it is dangerous, by reason of its strength and nimbleness, and its dreadful biting when it is caught. The *fura* is a kind of land rat, which burrows underground, like our moles, and whose flesh is so exquisite, that a feast among the grandees would be looked upon as defective without it. Yet there are some sects among the gentile natives, who, like the *Jews*, look upon the eating of this creature, and some others of the same kind, as unlawful^g.

The camelion.

What it lives upon.

Several kinds of wild cats. Wild dogs fierce and dangerous.

CAMELIONS swarm in this country: we need not give our readers a description of them, as they are so well known, but shall only observe, that they are so far from living on the air, or on small flies only, that, upon the opening of some of them, their stomach hath been found to contain a variety of other food, such as the flower of the manioc root, the seeds of sundry fruits and herbs. They have several sorts of wild cats, as the *gingi*, *nsossi*, and *maimoni*, whose furs excel those of the finest tygers, in their beauty, variety, regularity of their streaks and spots. The forests also swarm with wild dogs, who, like the wolves, prey upon the tame cattle, and are so fierce, that they will fly upon armed men, and surround whole droves of cows, goats, or sheep, leaping upon them with as much fury as the fiercest lions could do. Their teeth are exceeding keen and sharp; they never bark, but make a dreadful howling when famished, or in pursuit of their prey. We could name a great variety of others, both small and great, and so different in their shapes and sizes, that the natives themselves know not under what class or kind to rank them, nature seeming to sport itself in these hot climates, with such strange variety of productions, as would require a volume to describe them (T). What we have already said, may more than suffice, for such an extensive work as this, concerning the wild beasts of this kingdom^h.

Tame animals neglected.

As to their tame ones, such as oxen, sheep, hogs, horses, mules, asses, &c. though they might easily make them useful and profitable, as they have them here in great numbers, yet such is their pride and indolence, that they rather chuse to let them run wild, and be devoured by the wild kind, than to reap any benefit from them, either by breeding, or breaking them for riding, agriculture, or any other uses. They dare not even get upon a horse that hath been broke by the *Portuguese*; and these make but little use of them in their journies, because they can be more commodiously carried in their palanquins, or hammocks, by their slaves, who are in a great measure the only beasts of burden and labour. How-

Some keep them for their milk.

ever, where they have been more conversant with the *Portuguese*, they have learned of them to inclose cows, sheep, and goats, for their use; especially the grandees, and those of the richer sort. But the chief benefit they reap from them is their milk, of which they are very fond, and drink it by itself, but have not yet learned to make butter or cheese with itⁱ.

Land and sea fowls. Ostriches. Peacocks.

IT would afford matter sufficient for a long chapter or two, to speak of the vast variety of fowl, both of land and sea, which this kingdom affords. Among the former, their ostriches are of a surprizing bigness and beauty, and in great plenty. Their feathers, mixed with those of the peacocks, which are here no less numerous and beautiful, are used instead of ensigns and standards, and made into delightful umbrellas. The king of *Angola*, we are told, keeps vast numbers of the latter in a wood, surrounded with high walls, and suffers none in his dominions to breed or have any of them, because he uses their feathers in his royal ensigns^k.

Poultry. Pheasants.

Pigeons, &c.

TURKIES, geese, hens, and ducks, both wild and tame, are here also in vast plenty; and pheasants are so numerous and familiar, that the boys take them alive in their gins. The same may be said as to the prodigious quantity of pigeons, doves, wood-cocks, and

^g PIGAFET, DAVITY, DAPPER, LABAT ex Cavazzi, & al. ubi sup. LABAT, & al. sup. citat.

^k LOPEZ ap. PIGAFET, l. i. c. 9.

^h Ibidem ibid.

ⁱ PIGAFET,

(T) We cannot pass by a singular kind, which, tho' a quadruped, never sets its feet upon the ground but it dies soon after, but keeps itself constantly upon the trees. It is called *entiengia*, and is very small, and its skin so beautifully spotted, that none but the kings of *Kongo*, the princes of the blood, and such nobles as obtain the privilege from him, have the liberty of wearing it. And even the kings of *Loango*, *Cacongo*, and *Gey*, re-

ceive that extraordinary fur as a considerable present and a particular favour.

The same may be said of the fine beavers, which are chiefly found in the province of *Batta*, near the banks of the *Zair*, whose fur is so exquisitely fine, that none but the king, and such nobles as have obtained that favour from him, are permitted to wear it (7).

- a other smaller birds, which are common in all these countries, and need no farther description. The fongo, or vuichi, so called from the noise it makes when it hath discovered some wild honey, to allure travellers to come and share it with him, has been spoken of in our account of *Abissinia*¹, and they are both here and there so cherished by the people, that it would be dangerous for any stranger to do them any hurt. *The honey-bird.*

- THE next kind of birds in favour among the natives, is the parrot, of which they have the greatest variety, both for size and colour; particularly a small sort, not much bigger than a sparrow, but of a most lovely shape, and the most delightful colours. But the most esteemed of all, are those which they style, by way of excellence, the birds of music. They are somewhat bigger than our canary bird, their bills red, their feathers of the same colour, *Variety of parrots.*
- b some of them green or mixed, and only their bill and feet black; others are grey, others dun, and some all white, or all black; which last sort is the most admired for the sweetness of its note, but much more so for some articulate sounds they give, which would incline one to believe, that they speak as well as sing. This last kind is so much esteemed through the whole kingdom, that persons of rank have, from time immemorial, taken singular delight in keeping them in cages and aviaries, for the sake of their surprising melody^m. *Music birds.*

- ON the other hand, as the *Kongoes* are superstitious to the last degree, there are several kinds of birds which they look upon as ominous, and are so terrified at the sight, or hearing of them, that if they were going upon ever so momentous an expedition, if they were met in council, or were going to engage an enemy, with ever so great an advantage, the flight or cry of such birds would throw them into a general panic, and disperse them in the utmost haste and confusion. The most dreaded of the ominous kind, are the crows, ravens, and such-like ravenous ones; bats, owls, and especially the great owl, which they call, in their tongue, *kariam pamba*, which is the name they give to the devilⁿ. *Ominous birds.*

- BIRDS of prey, such as eagles, vultures, falcons of sundry sorts, sparrow-hawks, and others of the like nature, are here likewise in great quantities, tho' never bred, or used by the natives, for the game. Herons, bitterns, and some others of the like voracious kind, commonly abound in their marshes, lakes, and other washes. Among these, they have a noble one, in shape and size like a crane, with a red bill and feet, and feathers of a most beautiful red and white, intermixed with grey, brown, and other shades; that which the *Portuguese* call the pelican, is of a large size and whitish colour. It will swim a good while under water, and hath such a wide throat, that it will swallow a whole fish at once. Its stomach is reckoned so very hot, and such a strong digester, that the natives wear the skins of it upon their breasts, when their appetites fail them, in hopes to reap the same benefit from it^o. But the most surprising of this kind, is that which they call the fisher, which flies up, and keeps himself still, at a great height in the air, with his head bent downwards, whence it discerns the fish that swims below, whether in the sea, or in rivers; and when he perceives his prey under him, plunges down with great rapidity upon it, and never misses carrying it off, unless, which is often the case, some stronger one of the same kind, snatch it out of his jaws. This creature is most fond of that fish which swims in shallow and sandy waters, in rapid rivers and cataracts, and runs the risk of dashing itself into pieces against rocks, or the hard bottom, by the vehemence of its fall^p. *The great owl called by the devil's name. Birds of prey.*
- d *Portuguese* call the pelican, is of a large size and whitish colour. It will swim a good while under water, and hath such a wide throat, that it will swallow a whole fish at once. Its stomach is reckoned so very hot, and such a strong digester, that the natives wear the skins of it upon their breasts, when their appetites fail them, in hopes to reap the same benefit from it^o. But the most surprising of this kind, is that which they call the fisher, which flies up, and keeps himself still, at a great height in the air, with his head bent downwards, whence it discerns the fish that swims below, whether in the sea, or in rivers; and when he perceives his prey under him, plunges down with great rapidity upon it, and never misses carrying it off, unless, which is often the case, some stronger one of the same kind, snatch it out of his jaws. This creature is most fond of that fish which swims in shallow and sandy waters, in rapid rivers and cataracts, and runs the risk of dashing itself into pieces against rocks, or the hard bottom, by the vehemence of its fall^p. *The pelican.*

- THE fish kind is in this part likewise, as in other maritime countries, in great plenty and variety, both from the sea, and from the multitude of rivers, which we have elsewhere described; we shall content ourselves with mentioning only some few of the most curious, without entering into a particular detail of the rest. The *pico marina*, so called from the resemblance of its mouth to the beak of a wood-pecker, is a sea-fish of a large size and prodigious strength. It hath four fins on its back, three under its belly, and one on each side of its head; its tail is large and forked, by which it cuts the waves with surprising force and swiftness. It is at war with every fish that swims, and with every thing it meets in its way, without being intimidated by the largest vessels; a surprising instance of which we are told by some missionaries, whose ship was attacked by one of them, near these coasts, in the dead of night: the violence of the shock which it gave to the vessel quickly awakened the captain and the rest of the people, who immediately ran to that side of it where the shock had been felt, where they perceived, by the help of the moon's light, this huge monster, as if fastened by its forehead to the ship, and making the strongest efforts to disengage itself; upon which some of them tried to pierce him thro' with their pikes, but he was got off before they could accomplish it. On the next morning, upon visiting that side of the vessel, they found, about a foot below the surface of the water, a piece of its beak stuck fast into the wood, and two or three inches of it sticking out. They went presently after to visit the inside of the ship, and discovered about five or six inches more of the point of it, besides what stuck within the thickness of the wood; so that if he could have drawn it clear *Plenty of fish.*
- f without being intimidated by the largest vessels; a surprising instance of which we are told by some missionaries, whose ship was attacked by one of them, near these coasts, in the dead of night: the violence of the shock which it gave to the vessel quickly awakened the captain and the rest of the people, who immediately ran to that side of it where the shock had been felt, where they perceived, by the help of the moon's light, this huge monster, as if fastened by its forehead to the ship, and making the strongest efforts to disengage itself; upon which some of them tried to pierce him thro' with their pikes, but he was got off before they could accomplish it. On the next morning, upon visiting that side of the vessel, they found, about a foot below the surface of the water, a piece of its beak stuck fast into the wood, and two or three inches of it sticking out. They went presently after to visit the inside of the ship, and discovered about five or six inches more of the point of it, besides what stuck within the thickness of the wood; so that if he could have drawn it clear *The pico, a strong and dangerous fish.*
- g besides what stuck within the thickness of the wood; so that if he could have drawn it clear *An instance of it.*

¹ See before, p. 187.

^m PIGAFET, LABAT ex Cavaz. ubi sup.

ⁿ DAPPER, Afric.

^o PIGA-

FET, ibid.

^p LABAT, ubi sup.

away, the water, perhaps, would have sunk the ship, before they could have discovered, or been able to stop the leak^a.

The sea-raven. THE *corvo marino*, or sea raven, is about six feet long, and big in proportion; but what this creature hath the most singular, is the stone that is found in its head, to which the natives ascribe some medicinal virtues which we dare not vouch, and the delicate taste of its hard rowe, which is still more admired when dried in the sun, and becomes as hard as a stone. The *requino* of *America*, or, as the *Italians* and *Spaniards* call it, *tuberone*, or *tiburone*, and *pesce cana*, is too well known to want a description, only we are told that it is most dangerous in these parts when the male and female begin to couple^b. The *cholone* is another sea-fish, of which vast quantities are caught at the mouth of the river *Coanza*, and on the coasts of the province of *Loanda*; the *Portuguese* are no less fond of catching it than the natives, on account of an oil which is drawn from it, which they esteem an excellent remedy against wounds, burns, &c. This oil is drawn first by exposing the fish in the sun, till it hath done dropping it, and afterwards by laying it over the fire, which forces out the rest of it; both are reckoned very good, but the former is most esteemed. The last we shall mention of the sea kind, is that which they call the sea elephant, not for its bigness, it being scarce above eight or nine inches long, but because it hath a proboscis like it. This, and that called by the *Portuguese* *squilone*, are about the same bigness; but the latter is a fresh-water fish, and is in great request for its exquisite taste and fatness, so that it is mostly eat without any sauce; it is likewise remarkable for a soft kind of down that grows about its mouth. But the most wonderful of all of the fresh-water kind, is that which the natives call *ngullu-a-maza*, and the *Europeans*, improperly enough, *pesce donna*, or woman-fish, seeing they are here of both sexes, and neither of them bears any the least token of the female softness; the head of it is almost flat like that of a frog, and its mouth to the full as wide, shewing two rows of teeth, white and small, like those of a dog, and with scarcely any chin underneath; the eyes are round, large, and protuberant, the nose flat, and nostrils large and wide, the forehead small, the ears long and large, like those of a cropt mastiff; the hair long and harsh, hanging a good way down its back, the neck thick and short, and its shoulders very broad; the breast or dugs full and plump, the flesh from thence downwards below the navel hairy or rather bristly; the sex well distinguished, the arms of great length and very finewy, with five fingers to each hand, and three joints to each finger; each finger being joined to the other by a thin membrane, like the feet of a duck. From the lower belly downwards, it is one continued fish, covered with large scales, and ending in a forked tail; it is covered behind with a thick and loose skin, reaching from the neck down to two thirds of its body, with which it can cover itself around, and carry its young ones under it. From all which circumstances our author conjectures the male to be the triphon, and the female the najade, mentioned by the antients.

Where mostly caught. THIS surprising creature is caught in the rivers and ponds of this kingdom, especially in the lakes, where they shelter themselves under the reeds and weeds that grow in and about them; and as the males and females are seldom parted from each other, the natives kill them both without mercy, notwithstanding their loud and doleful cries. Their flesh is well tasted, and much admired by the *Africans*, whose stomachs can digest any-thing; but unwholesome, and sometimes very pernicious, to the *Europeans*, who nevertheless catch them, when they find them in any of their rivers, by making large holes along the banks filled with water, into which they throw some dead fish, which they immediately go to devour, and, being exceedingly greedy and sluggish, become an easy prey to them. The natives ascribe some extraordinary virtues to the small ribs, and the two little bones that grow behind the ears of this creature, neither worthy of our credit or notice^c. And thus much may suffice for their fresh-water fish, which might be here in much greater plenty, were not their lakes and rivers so prodigiously infested with swarms of sea-horses, and crocodiles of a monstrous size and length, which make the most terrible devastation, not only amongst the fish and cattle, but even among the long-boats, and other vessels, which row or sail up and down; inso-much that some of them will, by their strength, overturn pretty large wherries, and devour the people that are in them. We have already described those amphibious destroyers in other places^d, and shall only add, that the natives set a value upon some stones of the bezoartic kind, which are found in their paunches, and esteem them to be excellent antidotes against poisons, and the bite of venomous creatures. They likewise find between their breasts and shoulders, some kind of tumours or swellings like boils, the bag of which contains within it a brownish liquid substance, which being inspissated by the sun, exceeds the finest musk in the world, but is apt by time, or by being too much exposed to the air, to evaporate, and lose its odoriferous scent. Their eggs, likewise, which they lay by hun-

^a LABAT ex Cavaz. ubi sup. p. 190, & seq.

^b LABAT ibid. pag. 191.

^c Idem ibid, p. 187, &

seq. ^d See before, p. 185, & seq. Vid. & Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 181, & seq.

a dreds upon the banks of rivers, and cover with sand, to be hatched by the sun, are reckoned such excellent food, that the natives are very fond of gathering them, tho' they run no small hazard in doing it, as well to feed upon them, as to prevent their multiplying too fast; tho', with all their diligence, they cannot prevent their rivers and lakes from swarming with themⁿ.

THEY are likewise infested with a vast variety of serpents, some of them of a monstrous length and thickness, such as we have described in our history of *Abissinia*, and other parts of *Africa*^{*}; rattle-snakes, vipers, and other venomous reptiles, whose bite is immediate death, if some powerful antidote be not speedily applied. Some of them poison by their breath, which they retain some time in their lungs or mouth, and then blow upon the object with such force, that it suffocates it, whether man or beast; others emit a kind of corroding juice out of their mouths, which will deprive a person of his sight, unless a proper remedy be quickly applied; and even then the eyes will be greatly impaired by it, and remain in a constant convulsive motion. The bama is of the amphibious kind, and ever at war with the crocodile; and some of them have been found with one of them in their belly, half digested; but this kind is not reckoned venomous, and their flesh is esteemed exquisite meat. There are others which are small and thick, which the natives call nhambi, and of which they are most afraid; because, being of the colour of the bark of a tree, and keeping themselves twined about it, they are not easily perceived, and their bite is of the most deadly kind. The leuta's skin is sleek and smooth, and beautifully variegated, but its venom is such, that the very touch of the creature is affirmed to throw a person into violent convulsions: the natives make use of its gall as an efficacious antidote, not only against its venom, but likewise against that of any other creature. There is still another sort more beautifully spotted, with red, white, and black, the colours bright and lively, but the red predominant, which makes the creature look like a piece of fine spotted coral; upon which account the *Europeans*, both here and at *Fernambuca* in *America*, call it biscia di corallo; but its venom is not the less dangerous, notwithstanding its beauty^y.

SCORPIONS, and other venomous insects, both flying and reptile, are here likewise in such variety, that our readers would be easily tired with the description of them, especially as they are common to all this part of the world. The most pernicious and dangerous kind of them is the ant or pismire, of which they reckon no less than six several species of different colours and sizes, and all of them formidable, both on account of their prodigious number, and the mischiefs they do, not only to the fruits of the earth, but even to men and beasts, whom they will surround in the night in such swarms, that they will eat them to the very bone (U). Some of them infest the houses in such numbers, as to undermine the very foundations, and plague all kinds of inmates, almost, and sometimes quite, to death. Others lay so thick upon the paths and highways, that one cannot move a step without treading upon them, and having one's legs and thighs almost devoured by them. A third sort of a white and red colour, tho' very small, will gnaw their way through the hardest wood, penetrate into a strong chest, and in a little while devour all the cloths, linen, and every thing that is in it, except metals and stones. A fourth sort, small and black, leave a

ⁿ PICAFET, DAVITY, DAPPER, LABAT ex Cavaz. ubi sup. p. 193, & seq. ^{*} See before, p. 183 & 187. Vid. & Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 663, vi. p. 805, & alib. ^y LABAT ex Cavaz, ubi sup. p. 198, & seq. & al. sup. citat.

(U) It is even a common practice, we are told, among the kings of *Angola*, to condemn persons guilty of some atrocious crimes to be stript naked, and tied hands and feet, and thrown into a hole where these small insects swarm, where they are sure to be devoured by them in less than twenty-four hours, to the very bones. But these criminals are not the only ones who are obnoxious to the jaws of these little devouring insects; the most innocent persons may, even in their own houses and beds, have their flesh eaten off their bones in the space of one night. This obliges the natives to be careful where they lay themselves down, and to kindle a small fire, or at least to make a circle of burning hot embers around their beds.

This caution is still more necessary in the country villages and hamlets, where persons are otherwise in danger to be attacked by millions of them in the dead of night. In such a case, the only expedient to save one's self is to jump up as soon as one feels the bite, and to brush them off with all possible speed, and then at once set the house or hut on fire. The danger is still

greater in travelling through those climes, where one may be obliged to take up one's lodging on the bare ground, and may be overtaken by the heat of the day with such profound sleep, as not to be awaked by these diminutive canibals, till they have penetrated through the skin, which is yet quickly done: for in such a case, nothing will prevent their devouring a man alive, were there ever so many hands to assist him.

It is not at all surprising, that these insects should swarm in such prodigious quantities, considering that this country breeds such numbers and variety of monkeys, which are ever ferretting them out of their subterranean habitations, and feed upon them with as much greediness, as if they had nothing else to live upon. This can only be ascribed to the natural indolence and laziness of the people, which is such, that they not only neglect to rid their lands of them by proper cultivation, but will suffer their houses, and, if our good capuchin may be credited, their very churches, to be undermined, by that destructive vermin (8).

(8) Cavazzi ap. Labat, ubi sup. tom. i. c. 9. p. 180, & seq.

One fort dangerous to travellers.
The flying ant and locust killed and eaten.

most intolerable stench upon every thing they touch, or crawl over, whether clothes or a household-stuff, which are not easily sweetened again; and, if victuals, are entirely spoiled, and unfit to eat. A fifth fort harbours chiefly upon the leaves and branches of trees; and if a man chance to climb up thither to save himself from a wild beast, he is so tormented by them, that nothing but the dread of the jaws of the one could make him undergo the stings of the other. The sixth and last fort is of the flying kind, or rather of one of the former kinds, which live wholly under-ground, till age furnishes them with wings to fly; and then they rise in such swarms as darken the air, in the same manner as the locusts, of which we have spoken among the destructive insects of *Abissinia*^z; and both would make terrible havock among all kinds of vegetables, did not the natives, who are very fond of their flesh, come out against them in whole companies, and by dint of flaps, and other flat weapons, knock them down by myriads, and laying them in heaps, set fire to their wings, and half broil them for their food^a. Amidst a great variety of these pernicious flying insects, they have one species of a more friendly and profitable kind, viz. the industrious bee, which furnishes the inhabitants with excellent honey and wax, in such prodigious plenty, that there is scarcely a hollow tree, cliff of a rock, or chop of the earth, in which they do not find great quantities of their combs. But as we have already spoken of these beneficial animalcula in our *Abissinian* history^b, we shall dwell no longer upon them. But, having mentioned what is most remarkable in the living creatures, let us now take a view of what is most so in the natives of this kingdom.

Bees in great plenty.

S E C T. II.

Of the number, genius, customs, religion, superstition, language, and traffick, of the natives of Kongo Proper; fossils, minerals, metals, and other natural and artificial rarities of that kingdom.

WE have already given so ample and clear an account of the origin, antiquity, government, colour, and other particulars relating to the ancient *Ethiopians*, from whom the natives of this kingdom are descended, that it were needless to repeat here what hath been so fully discussed in our ancient history^c. We shall therefore confine ourselves to what more properly regards the history of the modern ones, from the time of their country's being first visited by the *Portuguese* missionaries, *An. Dom.* 1482, seeing all that hath preceded it up to where our Ancient concludes^d, viz. the conquest of the *Homerites*, is wrapt up in inextricable darkness.

The populousness of the kingdom of Kongo.

1. WITH respect to the populousness of this kingdom, some authors, writing rather from mere conjectures, or at best by precarious inferences, than by experience, have represented it as thinly peopled (X). Their metropolis, as scarcely containing 5000 souls; their other most

^z See before, p. 187.
p. 164. vii. p. 183, & seq.

^a LABAT, & al. sup. citat.
^d Ibid. p. 219, & seq.

^b See before, p. 187.

^c Anc. Hist. vol. i.

(X) The arguments on which this supposed thinness of inhabitants is founded, were, 1. The excessive heat of the climate, which made the ancients imagine, that no part of the torrid zone was inhabited; and, when that error was confuted by experience, yet so much of it was still retained, as that only some few parts of it, which were more moderate than others, from the nature of their situation, or some accidental advantage, were peopled; but that the rest was still uninhabited, and incapable of being made otherwise.

2. That those parts that could admit of inhabitants, such as the two *Ethiopias* we have been describing, and more particularly this kingdom of *Kongo* we are now upon, could not be supposed to be populous for several reasons; as 1st, The unhealthiness of the climate, occasioned by the burning heats, prodigious rains, vast inundations, stagnated waters, and such-like disasters, which corrupted the air, caused great mortalities, and pestilential diseases, which carried off myriads of people, and prevented the rest from enjoying either health or long life.

2dly, From the vast impenetrable forests, which not only occupied a great part of the country, but bred an infinite number and variety of voracious beasts, and venomous insects, which made no less dreadful havock among the neighbouring inhabitants. 3dly, From the vast spacious mountains, barren and inaccessible in their

nature, and which covered another great part of their country, and rendered it altogether uninhabitable. 4thly, From the vast sandy and barren deserts, which took up a third and considerable extent of ground, altogether incapable of producing any sustenance either for man or beast. 5thly, From the natural and hereditary indolence and laziness of the people, which would not permit them to reap the tenth part of the benefit, which by labour and industry they might easily do, from their fertile land. The consequence of which neglect is, that they are frequently overtaken with grievous famines, which sweep them away by myriads, and sometimes depopulate whole kingdoms. 6thly, From the cruel depredations and destructive wars which one kingdom or tribe waged against another, wherein there were commonly vast multitudes killed on both sides, and perhaps a greater number made prisoners, who were sold for slaves, and shipped off for *America*. 7thly, From their polygamy; which was allowed among them till they were converted, and is still in use, not only among the unconverted, who are still very numerous, but even among multitudes of those who are become Christians only in part, or only in appearance; and who, though they marry but one wife, yet allow themselves a multitude of concubines, in spite of all the remonstrances and censures of the missionaries and priests, and which is allowed to be a hindrance to the increase

- a most populous towns as coming vastly short of that number; the greater part of them as containing about 50 or 60 families; and the rest of them as still proportionally thinner^c. Whereas nothing is more plainly or more unanimously contradicted, by those who have been in those parts, and have had all the proper opportunities of being better informed. Accordingly we find the accounts of the *Portuguese*, both missionaries and others, point-blank opposite to them; they found the country for the most part covered with towns and villages, and those swarming with inhabitants; the cities well filled with people, particularly the metropolis of it, which, as we hinted above, is affirmed to have at the most but about 5000, is found to contain, in fact, above 50,000 souls. The provinces, tho' not equally populous, yet in the whole make up such an amount, as plainly proves that what is wanting in the one, is amply made up by another. Thus we are told, that the duchy of *Bemba* is still able to raise 200,000 fighting men, and was once in a condition to furnish double that number; and that the army of the king of *Kongo*, in the year 1665, consisted of no less than 900,000 fighting men, besides an infinite multitude of women, children, and slaves, and all raised out of his dominions above-described; to which if we add, that the number of converts to Christianity, which a small number of capuchin friars made among the more civilized sort, within the space of a few years, is affirmed to have amounted to 600,000; and that the more barbarous sort are no less numerous, tho' confined to their thick forests, or on the tops of their rocky mountains; we shall have so little reason to imagine, with the authors mentioned in the last note, this great kingdom to be depopulated by the wars, diseases, and inundations that frequently rage among them, or from the vast numbers of wild and venomous creatures that swarm in most parts of it, that we shall be rather apt to conclude it impossible for such a prodigious number and constant increase of natives to subsist, especially considering their strange neglect of cultivating their lands, without being forced to devour one another, unless they were frequently thinned by such destructive calamities and disasters^f. To all this we may add the surprising fecundity of their women, the hardness with which they bring up their children, and the stoutness and healthiness of their men, which, if the missionaries may be credited, is such, that their villages and hamlets do so swarm with men, women, and children, that a father will exchange one or two of the latter for some commodity he wants, or even for some trifling bawble he fancies; inasmuch that the number of slaves they sell abroad, doth seldom amount, *communibus annis*, to less than fifteen or sixteen thousand. Nor can their poor low diet, and miserable way of living, be objected as a hindrance to their prodigious increase, seeing experience sufficiently assures us of its having by far the advantage of luxury and high living in this respect; and we can have no greater evidence of this than that of their foresters and mountaineers, who, tho' they live wholly on roots, herbs, and other spontaneous product of their impenetrable forests, and high barren rocks^g, are yet by far the most numerous and prolific, as well as the longest liv'd.
- AFTER all that hath been said above, and in the foregoing note, of the vast disadvantages and calamities, poverty, slavery, and supineness, which this kingdom constantly labours under, one would be apt to think it impossible for its wretched inhabitants to entertain any very favourable, much less any proud and big conceit, either of themselves, or of their country; nevertheless if the unanimous consent of all that have been most conversant among them may be credited, there is scarce a nation under heaven that entertains a more exalted idea of both, than this of the *Kongoese*, or is more hardened against all conviction to the contrary, from reason, experience, or the most impartial comparison with other countries in *Europe* or *Asia*. Neither indeed can they easily be brought to think otherwise, when it is one of the fundamentals of their belief, that the rest of the world was the work of angels, but that their kingdom of *Kongo*, in its full and ancient extent, was the handy-work of the Supreme Architect, and must of course have vast advantages and prerogatives above

Misrepresented by authors.

A more authentic account of it, from better authority.

Their vast armies.

The prodigious fecundity of their women, and number of children.

Of slaves sold every year.

The genius of the Kongoese.

High conceit of themselves and their country.

^c Vide PIGAFET, LINSCHOT. DAVITY, DAPPER, CAVAZZI ap. Labat, tom. i. c. 2. CORNEILLE, BAUDRAND, MARTINIERE sub Kongo. ^f CAVAZZI, ubi sup. & al. sup. citat. ^g Id. ibid.

increase of mankind. 8thly, From the great number of human victims, which some of the barbarous unconverted provinces, such as the *Giagas*, *Anzichi*, and others, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, offer to their idols, as well as of the many others who fall into the hands of these inhuman anthropophagi, who torture and butcher them in sundry ways, in order to render their flesh more delicious to their taste, inasmuch that they expose it to sale in their shambles, as we do our mutton and beef (1). Lastly, and to name no more,

the frequent earthquakes, burning and suffocating winds, storms of hail, and dreadful lightnings, moving sands, and other the like disasters, to which these countries are more or less subject. All these put together were the specious reasons upon which this, and other realms under the same climate and disadvantages, were supposed, and even affirmed, to be so thinly peopled (2), contrary to what experience hath since shewn (3), as the reader will find them to be by what is to follow.

(1) Lopez ap. Pigafet, lib. i. c. 5. (2) Linschot. Descr. Guin. lib. ii. Jarric Thesaur. tom. ii. c. 5. Marmol. Afric. tom. iii. l. 9. c. 24. & seq. Davity, Dapper, Cornicill. Baudrand, & al. (3) Pigafet. l. i. c. 2, & seq. pass. Labat ex Cavazzi, tom. i. c. 12, & al. ubi sup.

And of their
monarchs.

Mean one of
those who
traffic with
them.

Causes of their
shameful sloth;
and extreme
poverty.

Poor way of
living.

The burghers
now apply to
some trades;

as do the
mobati, or
peasants.

Both are apt
to learn.

all others; their monarchs must be the most opulent, wise and powerful, and their subjects a the noblest, richest, most ingenious, and happiest in the universe. Tell them of the magnificence of some of the *European* or *Asiatic* courts, their immense revenues, the grandeur of their palaces and edifices, the riches and happiness of their subjects, the vast progress they have made in the arts and sciences, commerce, manufactures, and other advantages, to which their country is wholly a stranger, they will coolly answer, That all this must come vastly short of the dignity and splendor of the kings and kingdom of *Kongo* (Y); and that there can be but one *Kongo* in the world, to the happiness of whose monarch and people all the rest were created to contribute, and to whose treasury the sea and river pay their constant tribute of zimbis (the shells which are their current coin), whilst other princes must condescend to enrich themselves, by digging through rocks and mountains, to come at the b excrements of the earth; for so they stile gold and silver, which are in such value among other nations ^b.

ACCORDINGLY they imagine, that the nations that come to traffick among them are forced to that servile employment by their poverty and the badness of their country, rather than induced to it by their luxury or avarice; whilst themselves, with the utmost ease and content, can indulge their natural indolence and sloth, tho' attended with the most pinching hunger and misery, rather than disgrace the dignity of their blood by any kind of industry; which, how laudable and beneficial soever, is looked upon by them only as a lesser degree of slavery. Hence it is that they are neither ashamed or afraid of their extreme indigence or poverty, tho' it obliges them to go almost naked, without covering on their heads, or c shoes to their feet; exposed to the scorching beams of a vertical sun from above, and the burning sand and stones from beneath. With the same ease and content they can take their repose on the bare ground, either in their wretched huts, which are exposed to all winds and weathers, or, if need require it, in the open air, without any inconvenience; or, if they contract any distemper by it, without any other help or remedy than patience and natural strength. Hence it is that they chuse to support nature with such a small quantity of grain or pulse as their wives can sow and reap; or, when that fails, with some fruits, roots, and other spontaneous vegetables, rather than debase their nobility by joining their hands to the plough or spade. And on the same account they neglect the breeding of cattle of any kind, how profitable soever they might prove to them, and allege, that it is too d much below their dignity to take the care of beasts upon them ^d.

It must be owned, however, that since the coming of the *Portuguese* into those parts, their example hath stirred up many of them out of their fantastic pride and shameful sloth, into some kind of laudable industry. The munesi konghy, or burghers, for instance, who had till then an irreconcilable aversion to all sorts of labour, and used to spend their whole time in singing, smoaking, dancing, and other idle diversions, have been since excited to apply their thoughts to some useful labours; such as weaving of nets, and other coarse stuffs, sawing of boards, several branches of carpentry, and other trades. But it must not therefore be supposed that they did any more in it than set their slaves to work, and make a gain of their labour, without giving them any other help than that of the lash, whenever they e find them lazy or negligent.

In like manner the mobati, or those who live in villages or hamlets, have also learned from them to grub and cultivate the lands, to plough and sow, and to weave coarse stuffs for their own use. But even these usually commit the most laborious part to their wives and slaves, without the least ambition of excelling one another in any branch under their care; and this not for want of natural capacity, for both those burghers and peasants who are more conversant with the *Portuguese*, have since discovered a very lucky genius and readiness to imitate them in several curious works; from which it is supposed the credit and profit they gain by it will spur them on still to farther improvements.

BUT though it be generally esteemed so much beneath their dignity to apply to any use- f ful work, yet they think it no disgrace to beg and steal. With respect to the first, they are

^b PIGAFET, l. i. c. 7. CAVAZ. ap. Labat. t. i. c. 13. p. 216, & seq.

^c LABAT, & al. ibid.

(Y) This stupid conceit, we are told, extends itself to those of the lowest class, and the most indigent circumstances; insomuch that those who are forced to beg or borrow a small piece of linen, to cover a new-born infant, in order to bring it to the font, when they are asked, how they will have the child named, never fail to tack the title of Don, or Donna, to its Christian name. The same stile they also use in common conversation, wherein the meanest and poorest scoundrels never address one another without the title of Don, or

Donna; in the same manner as it is practised by the better sort.

As for these last, they carry their arrogance to a much greater height, and never suffer those of an inferior rank to address them, but with bended knees, and faces bowed to the ground, nor to receive their commands, but in the same suppliant posture (3). A ceremony, which, however extravagant it may appear to be, is no less in vogue in *Portugal*, if not brought thither from thence.

(3) Labat ex Cavaz. tom. i. c. 13. & al. sup. citat.

affirmed

- a affirmed to be the most shameless and importunate beggars in the world; they will take no denial, spare no crouching, lying, prayers, or encomiums to obtain, nor curses and ill language when sent away without it. With regard to the last, they deem no theft unlawful or scandalous, except it be committed in a private manner, and without the knowledge of the person wronged. In all other cases, it is esteemed a piece of bravery and gallantry to wrench any thing from a person by violence; and this kind of theft is so common, not only among the vulgar, but among their great ones, that they make no scruple, in their travels from place to place, to seize not only upon all the provisions they meet with, in towns and villages, but likewise upon any thing else that falls in their way; which obliges those poor people, who are accustomed to such violences, to conceal the few valuables they have in some secret places out of their knowledge and reach; and they think themselves well off if they can escape a cruel bastonading, or other severe usage, which these harpies frequently make use of, to oblige them to reveal the place where they lie hid, and perhaps a second bastoning, as a punishment for that concealment^k.

Kongolese the most sturdy beggars.

Public thieving no scandal or crime.

The grandes are the most guilty of it.

- THE complexion of the genuine natives, both men and women, is black, tho' not to the same degree, some being of a deeper dye than others, as in most countries under this zone. We have formerly endeavoured to account for their being of that swarthy colour^l; but since their intermixed marriages with the *Portuguese*, they have varied from their native hue; some to a dark brown, some to an olive, and others to a blackish red, especially the younger sort. Their hair is black and curled, and some have it also of a dark sandy; their eyes are mostly of a fine lively black, but some of a dark sea-colour; they have neither flat noses nor thick lips, like the *Nubians* and other negroes; their stature is mostly of the middle size; and, excepting their black complexion, they much resemble the *Portuguese*, tho' some of them are more fat and fleshy than they^m.

Their complexion, shape, &c.

- THEY are for the most part as black in the inside as they are on the out, mistrustful, jealous, envious, and treacherous; and where they once take a distaste or affront, will spare no pains, nor stick at any base means, to be avenged of, and crush their enemy under their feet; whilst, for the most part, the occasion of the quarrel or dislike is only the success or happiness of one party above the other. Nor need it seem strange, when we consider that they are brought up without any the least natural affection, either to their nearest relations, or even between their parents and children, husbands and wives; insomuch that a father will sell a son or daughter, or perhaps both, for a piece of cloth, a collar or girdle of coral or beads, and often for a bottle of wine or brandy (Z). A husband may have as many wives, or, if a Christian, as many concubines, as he pleases, and repudiate, or even sell them, tho' with child, at his pleasure. The concubines may get themselves divorced by their unfaithfulness; and, if but tolerably handsome, will not fail of meeting with men that will take them upon those terms. The very wives, tho' it be a capital crime for them to break the conjugal faith, have a way to rid themselves of their husbands, if they are dissatisfied with them, or have set their affections upon some new gallant; which is by falsely accusing themselves and them of an atrocious crime, as it is deemed among them, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel. Upon such accusation, the husband is sure to be put to death, whilst the wife is left at liberty to be married to anotherⁿ. Where therefore the relation between men and their wives, and concubines, is exposed to such uncertain fluctuations, it is not to be expected there should be any natural affection between them, much less

Jealous envious tempers.

Want of natural affection. Parents sell their children for trifles. Husbands their wives.

How wives get rid of them.

No harmony in their families.

^k CAVAZZI & LABAT, ubi sup. Vid. & al. sup. citat. ^l Ancient Hist. vol. i. p. 47, & seq. ^m PIGAFET, DAVITY, DAPPER, CAVAZZI, LABAT, & al. ubi sup. citat. ⁿ CAVAZZI ap. Labat. ubi sup. tom. i. c. 15. p. 160. PIGAFET, & al.

(Z) Our capuchin missionary, among other instances of this worse than brutish unnaturalness, tells us, that being one day, in the year 1654, in his convent of *St. Salvador*, a private man came into the church belonging to it, and made such loud and doleful lamentations, as drew the whole convent thither. At first they supposed some dreadful mischance to have befallen the poor wretch; but, upon farther inquiry, were informed by him, that the extreme misery he laboured under, had reduced him to the utmost despair; that he had sold all his brethren, and one sister he had, and next to them his wives and children, and last of all, his father and mother, and that he had not one soul left of his family to make a penny of. The good fathers, strangely surprised at such a declaration, endeavoured in vain to convince him what an unnatural monster he was, and how justly deserving he was of a worse fate than that he complained of. He coldly told them, that he

had done nothing but what had been constantly practised in that country, and there could be no crime in reducing them to the slavish condition to which he himself had run the risk of being reduced by them (4).

It will not be amiss to be observed here, that though those inhuman wretches that come hither to traffick for slaves, openly declare against buying any but what are already such; yet they make no scruple to buy all that are brought to market under that notion. In vain do these unhappy captives protest themselves free, and the nearest relations, perhaps, of the seller; and that they were kidnapped by him, by the most atrocious treachery. It suffices those harpies that they are brought to the market either in chains, or barely bound with a rope, and that the seller swears them to be otherwise, to make them pay the price down, and carry them off as slaves (5).

(4) Labat ex Cavazzi ubi sup. tom. i. c. 13, p. 232, & seq. (5) Idem ibid. & al. sup. citat.

any tenderness or proper care for their mutual offspring, while these last can see themselves a bought and sold by their parents without the least concern, well knowing that it will be the interest of their new master to feed and nourish them, and that perhaps better than they were at home, where the whole management of a family is, as we have already seen, committed by the indolent husband to the wife, who, tho' perhaps proud, ill-natured, wanton, or indiscreet, keeps the rest of the wives, concubines, and their children, under an absolute subjection °.

Their religion downright idolatry.

Plurality of inferior deities and priests.

Various superstitions in the eastern parts.

Some retained by the Christians.

Representations of their gods.

Way of worshipping them.

Their gangas, or priests;

all greedy harpies.

THE religion of this country, before the *Portuguese* introduced the gospel into it, was, and is still among the unconverted, a monstrous compound of idolatry and superstition, and of the most absurd and detestable rites and customs, invented and calculated by a set of gangas (so they stile their priests) merely to keep the people under the most cruel tyranny, subjection, and misery. We observed, indeed, at the beginning of this section, that they acknowledged a supreme being, whom they call in their language *Nzambiam-pongu*, and believe to be all-powerful, and to whom they ascribe the creation of their country; but this did not hinder them from affirming, that he had committed all sublunary things to the care and government of a great multitude and variety of subordinate or inferior deities; some to preside over the air, others over the fire, sea and earth, lakes and rivers, winds, storms, rains, lightnings, and drought, heat and cold, men and beasts, fowls and fishes, trees, fruits, and other products, fertile and barren, healthy and sickly seasons, and, in a word, on all the blessings and curses to which this world and all its inhabitants are subjected, according to their blind votaries care or neglect of rendering those subaltern deities more or less propitious to them. Hence proceeds that immense multitude of false deities, idols, and altars; and that prodigious variety of gangas or priests, and superstitious rites, that are still in vogue in those parts of the kingdom, which have not yet received the gospel, especially towards the east, to say nothing of a great number of them which are still practised among those who nevertheless make open profession of Christianity ^p, and which it hath not been in the power of the missionaries to abolish.

BUT tho' the ignorant people were taught by their knavish priests to acknowledge such a variety of inferior deities, they were left wholly at liberty to make which of them they thought fit the object of their worship and confidence, and to represent them in what shape they pleased, whether of living creatures, as serpents, crocodiles, lions, tigers, he-goats, &c. or of trees and plants of different kinds; or, lastly, of statues or images, unskillfully carved or painted, some of which they worshipped in their houses, and others in sorry temples erected to them. Their worship consisted indifferently in genuflexions, prostrations, fumigations, and other such superstitious rites; but what was most insisted on by the gangas, and without which all the rest were unavailable, was the offering to them some of their most valuable effects, whether for food, apparel, or other useful purposes: in this consisted the principal income of the gangas, who sell them the favour of those deities at the most extortionate price, and set up for the sole brokers and retailers of those blessings, according to the price the pretended dispenser whom they invoke is pleased to set upon them.

THESE gangas are the errantest and most impudent tricksters, perhaps, in the world; they spare no stratagem or knavery, where-ever idolatry still reigns, to harden their votaries in it, and deter them from embracing Christianity, under pretence that all the calamities that happen, either public or private, are the unavoidable effects of the anger and resentment of their gods, not only against the apostates from their worship, but against their votaries, for suffering strangers to come in among, and debauch them from it. So that these greedy harpies are the only enemies who oppose the missionaries; and, were it not for them, the people might be easily reconciled to Christianity, were it only to be freed from a thousand extortions and tyrannies which they exercise against them, of which the few instances we shall subjoin in the margin will suffice, to shew with what surprising stupidity and implicit blindness, they suffer themselves to be imposed upon, fleeced, and tyrannized over, by these religious blood-suckers, merely from the dread they are kept in, that the least disobedience or disregard to their commands would infallibly be followed by some dreadful judgment from their gods ^q (A).

As

^g Idem ibid. & al. sup. citat.

^p PIGAFET, & al. sup. citat.

^q LABAT, PIGAFET, & al. sup. citat.

(A) As it could not but prove tedious and irksome both to us and our readers, to run through the manifold impostures and knavish practices by which those religious charlatans keep their infatuated votaries in the greatest subjection and dread, we shall content ourselves with exposing some of the most flagrant ones, which are publicly practised among them, as a specimen of the rest. They are those that follow:

1st, They instill into them a firm belief, that no

public calamities, such as earthquakes, inundations, heats, droughts, smothering sands, to which this country is often subject, pestilence, famine, and such-like, happen unto them, but through the displeasure of their gods, between whom and them they pretend to be the sole mediators, and of course the proper judges of what sacrifices, oblations, &c. are necessary to disarm their anger, and remove the punishment; and these never fail of proving very heavy on the laity, though in ever

a As these unhappy wretches are very numerous, and extend themselves vastly towards the eastern parts of the kingdom, so they are divided into as many sects as they form communities, every one of which have their peculiar gods, manner of worship, and their different kinds of gangas, and every ganga hath his particular office, the bare mention of which would both tire our readers, and carry us too far beyond our bounds. *Extent of their country.*

SOME of these gangas are applied to procure blessings, others to avert judgments, to cure diseases, to undo witchcrafts and enchantments; others are consulted about making of war, the success of their excursions, proper times for sowing and reaping, about repaying their deities with proper rites and sacrifices for blessings received, appeasing their anger when chastised by them, and such like: in all which cases, they must never come empty-handed, or refuse to pay a price equivalent to the blessing desired. They are generally so scrupulous and fearful in this respect, that they will not venture to build a house or hut without consulting some ganga, and putting the fabric under the protection of a deity; neither doth the owner dare enter into the possession of it, without having previously employed the ganga to make the proper sacrifices, fumigations, and other ceremonies, in order to secure that protection. The same caution is observed in almost every-thing else; and even the *Giagas*, the most barbarous people of this kingdom, never venture to put the sickle into their harvest, till they have previously offered various, and even human, victims to their gods, and gorged their gangas themselves with human flesh, and the first fruits of their ground.^r *Offices of their gangas.*

EXCEPTING their new moons, they have no set festivals or times of worship, but such as the ganga iliqui, or president, appoints, either *ad libitum*, or as occasion is supposed to require them; as after a victory, a good harvest, or any other public blessing. 'Tis he who hath the privilege to appoint the sacrifices, and other rites proper to the solemnity, to receive the appointed offerings from the people, and to offer them upon the altars of their deities: he *Superstition of the people.*

^r Idem ibid. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

so extreme poverty. If these succeed, new ones must be made by way of thanksgiving; if the contrary, their inefficacy is owing either to their insufficiency, or some other default; so that the blame is sure to fall upon the people, whilst those vile jugglers must go still unsuspected, without losing one grain of their credit or authority; or, if they should, have variety of artful and malicious ways to palliate their frauds, and punish the detectors of them, by summoning them before the chalombe, or high-priest's tribunal, where they are sure to be judged and condemned without mercy, to no less than some cruel death.

2dly, They are no less fraught with knavish stratagems in private calamities; if any person in a family be sick, or in grievous pain, or in any other affliction, he must begin with appeasing the gods by such sacrifices as the ganga prescribes. If these fail, and he cannot afford to offer new ones, the patient is confined to some uneasy posture, out of which he must not stir upon any pretence; if he cannot continue in it, which is perhaps absolutely impossible for him to do, the tutelar god is displeased, and refuses to recover or heal him: if he is strong or resolute enough to bear it out, and no cure follows, then some enemy hath bewitched him by some powerful charm, which must be countermined by a superior power, or the priest must find out the enemy, and accuse him before a *Quorum* of the same juggling tribe.

Here, 3dly, he may purge himself from the crime by several kinds of ordeals which are allowed and practised among them; some by fire, others by water, others by a poisoned draught, which is to kill him if guilty, or prove harmless if innocent. But in all these cases, the ganga hath the whole management of the trial, and can order it so by his artful juggling, that the guilty, if he bribe him but high enough, shall go through any of these trials unhurt, and be cleared; whilst the innocent, for want of that caution, shall die under it, and be adjudged guilty. What is still worse, these villains will often take bribes from both sides, and acquit that which gives most, or which they like best; so that a person, in spite of his innocence and large bribes, shall be condemned as guilty, and the criminal or false accuser come off with triumph.

4thly, They have an endless variety of juggling tricks, to extort money from the credulous and fearful

laity; from some for preserving them, their families, lands, and houses, from evil demons, enchantments, and other disasters; from others for removing them; in a word, there is no case or circumstance in life, or any thing that happens, out of which they do not squeeze some gain, without troubling themselves about the good or ill success of those pretended helps which they sell to them at so dear a price, their chief concern being only to be well paid before-hand.

But the most dangerous and diabolical notion which they instill into the people is, that no man or woman can die naturally, but that their death is occasioned by the anger of the gods, who permit some malevolent member of the community to bewitch them to death; so that the nghombo, who pretends to have an extraordinary power of curing all manner of diseases, having tried all his medicines and charms on his patient to no purpose, makes no scruple to pronounce him bewitched to death. The friends of the deceased being desirous to bring the offender to punishment, he has recourse to his conjuring delusions, which are performed either in public or private, according as he is paid by them, in order to find him out. If in private, he gets them into his house, and after many frightful exorcisms, contortions, and other pranks, gives only some vague and obscure description of him; by which however some of the most sanguine pretend to know him well enough, to lead all the rest to some innocent person, whom they massacre without scruple or mercy. If the ceremony be performed in public, he makes choice of some woody or gloomy place, where, having played all his former pranks, he rushes furiously on some one of the company, seizes and ties him fast, as the guilty person; who is thence led to a place, where, by way of ordeal, he is obliged to drink a draught, which the nghombo hath taken care to charge with such strong poison, as never fails of dispatching him, and proves him guilty in the eyes of the multitude.

We hope we have by this time said enough to convince the reader of the miserable thralldom under which those infernal guides keep the poor infatuated provinces, and of the chief and devilish arts they use to prevent Christianity from getting ground in those countries. The reader may see more in our author if he thinks it worth his while (6).

Ceremonies observed. likewise prescribes the other ceremonies, rejoicings, music, feasting, and dancing, which are to crown the solemnity, and which are all of so shocking and barbarous a nature, accompanied with such intemperate eating, drinking, hideous howlings, robust exercises, immodest dances, gestures, and actions, as are only fit for the worship of some infernal furies.

The chalombe's high dignity. First fruits paid to him.

BUT the highest in power and dignity of the whole priestly tribe, is he whom they style shalome, or chalombe, whom the people look upon as a kind of deity. It is to him they offer the first of their whole product, with the most scrupulous exactness; they are mostly brought to him by the master of the family and his principal wife, with songs and music suitable to the occasion: if he is satisfied with them, he bids them go and live merrily, and expect an hundred fold against the next harvest: if not, he sends them away with tokens of dislike. When sowing time is come again, they bring him a fresh present; in return for which, he sends some servant of his to go and strike the first stroke of the spade or mattock into the ground, which they esteem as a great blessing upon their future harvest; and which, if it answers their hopes, they never fail to interpret as the effect of his powerful intercession with their gods; but if the contrary, they are infatuated enough to attribute it to some default of their own.

No person comes near their houses. Sacred fire kept in them. His chief tribunal. Great power.

No person of any rank is allowed to come into, or even near, the house of the chalombe, under the severest penalties, unless it be by his permission, or on some most urgent occasion; because it is there that he pretends to keep the sacred fire, which he distributes among them at a very high rate. Here likewise he keeps his sovereign tribunal, not only for religious, but likewise for civil matters, for the dispatch of which he appoints a certain number of substitutes or delegates, over whom he presides in chief. This gives him such an uncontrollable authority and sway, that if a person be sent souza, or governor, over them, they dare not acknowledge or obey him, unless he be previously approved of by him. This obliges those governors to pay a singular regard to him, and to buy his friendship and protection at a great price. They must likewise be very cautious not to do any thing of a public or even military nature without his approbation, or to attempt the obtaining of that by any means, but by dint of presents. But when once a right understanding is fixed between them, they become such an effectual support to each other, that they fleece and tyrannize each in his particular province, without any opposition or danger; by which means the civil officer seldom fails of repaying himself, with interest, the prodigious extortions which he is obliged to pay the chalombe^a.

Governors court his protection.

High regard paid to him in his absence.

SUCH is the deep regard which the people pay to this chief priest, that they think it a capital and unpardonable crime to have any conjugal commerce with their wives or concubines all the time that he is absent from his usual residence, either upon public or private affairs; of which he always takes care to give them previous notice, as well as of his return. And the natives, though otherwise very libidinous, are exceeding careful to abstain from it, for fear of putting themselves into the power of those frail and vindictive females. Notwithstanding which it sometimes happens, that a woman, weary of her husband, will accuse him of incontinence at this time, merely to get rid of him, and marry another. Among all the high notions which those unhappy provinces entertain of this grand impostor, there is one, however, which prevails among them which is not so advantageous, nor, in all probability, so agreeable to him; *viz.* that he is, by the dignity of his office, exempt from dying a natural death; and that, if it should ever happen otherwise to any of them, the world would soon be at an end. To prevent this fatal calamity, they no sooner perceive his life to be in danger, either thro' sickness or old age, than his successor is impowered to go and dispatch him with his own hand, either by knocking him on the head with a green cudgel, or by strangling him with a rope^b, and is immediately after installed into his dignity.

Is not to die a natural death.

Other ranks of gangas under him.

How this succession is established among them, whether by election or inheritance, our author doth not tell us; tho' he hath given us a very particular account of his substitutes, and of their different ranks and distinct offices; with which, however, we shall not trouble our readers here, seeing these ministers are no better than a set of tyrannic extortioners, and arrant cheats, like their principal. Nevertheless, for the sake of those who are curious in such matters, we think it not amiss to subjoin in the margin a short account of their several ranks and provinces (B), and refer them to what hath been said in the last note, of their various ways of cheating and fleecing the credulous people.

THESE

^a LABAT ex Cavazzi, ubi sup. p. 156, & seq.

^b Idem ibid. p. 160, & seq.

(B) The next in rank to the chilome is called nghombo; we have spoken something of his office and knavish tricks in the last note. He pretends, moreover, to pry into futurity, and is consulted both in public and private affairs; but, like the old heathen oracles, delivers his answers in such obscure terms, as to secure a hole to creep

^a THESE considerations, joined to the abominable rites which they have introduced in their worship, of which we have already given some flagrant instances, hath inspired the kings and princes of *Kongo* with a truly laudable zeal of extirpating so detestable a religion out of their dominions; and they have frequently ordered the secular power to assist the missionaries in so pious a work. But those ministers of Satan have hitherto found means to elude all those endeavours; so that they no sooner saw themselves in danger of being beset by the royal troops in one place, but they immediately caused their votaries to flee into another, or to retire into impenetrable woods and deserts, or upon some inaccessible mountains, far enough, as they think, out of the reach of the sword, either of the flesh or spirit; so that these zealous princes have at length been forced to stop their pursuit, for fear of occasioning at last some grievous rebellion by it among a barbarous people, so inveterately hardened in their idolatry, and irreconcilably prejudiced against the gospel. But we have dwelt long enough among these idolatrous eastern provinces, which we may properly call mediterranean; let us now take a view of the more civilized ones along the coasts, in which Christianity hath been in a great measure established, ever since their first discovery by the *Portuguese* ^{Vain endeavours to abolish idolatry.}

^b at last some grievous rebellion by it among a barbarous people, so inveterately hardened in their idolatry, and irreconcilably prejudiced against the gospel. But we have dwelt long enough among these idolatrous eastern provinces, which we may properly call mediterranean; let us now take a view of the more civilized ones along the coasts, in which Christianity hath been in a great measure established, ever since their first discovery by the *Portuguese* ^{Danger of a rebellion in attempting it.}

How it was first introduced and propagated thro' the maritime provinces of the kingdom, will be more properly seen when we come to the historical part of it. We have indeed taken notice in a former part * of a strange account which a *Dominican* frier gives of it in his history of *Abissinia*, in which he pretends, that not only this kingdom of *Kongo*, and those of *Angola*, *Loango*, &c. but the far greater part of *Afric*, and even the *Caffers* and *Hottentots*, were converted to Christianity by the monks of his order, who were by the emperor of *Ethiopia* settled in his dominions, and from thence went and spread the gospel thro' the whole *African* continent. But that history of his hath been so justly condemned by the world as a heap of forgeries, and on that account so wisely suppressed by his *Portuguese* brethren, that we need say no more of it. ^{The state of Christianity in Kongo.}

^c NEITHER need we tell our readers, that those first preachers, who were sent hither for that purpose by the court of *Portugal*, were priests and monks of the church of *Rome*, and consequently could not instruct their new converts in any other doctrine or discipline than what was conformable to that, and which met with so ready an admission, that it is become the established religion of all the converted provinces of the kingdom. This carries indeed a ^{Superstitions and vices of the converted Christians;}

* *PIGAFET, LA CROIX, DAVITY, DAPPER, CAVAZZI, LABAT, &c.*

* See before, p. 316, & seq.

creep out at, let the event prove how it will. He distributes charms and amulets against diseases and other misfortunes; some of his votaries, who have been since converted, having brought these amulets to the missionaries, they have been found to contain nothing but dirt and rubbish, though he made them pay dear enough for them.

The third rank of gangas is called ngosei: his office is to incense their idols, not with odoriferous gums, but with smoke of burnt straw, which gives them the same complexion with their votaries. It is to this ngosei that people wronged and oppressed apply for redress, not as to a judge, but as to a minister who is to obtain it for them from the gods. As soon therefore as his client and he are agreed about the price, he cuts off a lock of his hair, and having mixed it with some straw, he fumigates the idol with it, recommending his client's cause to him, and desires him to avenge him not only against his adversary, but also against his whole family. This office, which is so suitable to the revengeful and envious natives, could not fail of being advantageous to the owner, had he as much power to hurt as he pretends.

The fourth in rank is the npindi, who sets up for superintendant of the atmosphere, and to bring down rain, thunder, and lightning in their due season; and as these are, generally speaking, very regular, he always takes care to rear some little mounts, against that time, about his house, which is commonly built on some eminent place, or where several roads meet: these mounts he adorns with little flags and other trinkets, to draw the people to him; and it is to the pretended conjuring tricks which he performs before them, and for which he is well paid, that they ascribe the seasonable rains, thunders, &c. that follow; and if they chance to fail, as it sometimes happens, it only gives him a handle to exact a fresh tribute, in order to appease the angry gods of the air by richer and more acceptable sacrifices.

These may serve as a specimen of the rest of these jugglers, whom the credulous missionaries believed to be real conjurers, and the ignorant natives reverence, as endowed with sundry supernatural powers, some over the fire, others over the water; some preside over the product of the earth, the cattle, birds, &c. and convey the victuals and other offerings for the dead to their souls in the other world; and all these are so many famished leaches, which suck the blood and vitals of the laity.

One thing we must observe here to our readers; viz. that when our author speaks of the chalombe, ngombo, ngosei, &c. in the singular number, he doth not mean that there is but one of each sort through the vast heathenish provinces of this kingdom, but as those territories are divided into a great variety of districts or communities, so every one of them hath a set of those idolatrous gangas, subordinate as above, with one chalombe at their head; each of them bearing much the same office in one district as in the other, and all of them, in their respective ranks, abusing their authority and credit over the insatuated people to the worst purposes, the impoverishing and enslaving of them to enrich themselves (7). Thus we are told that the chalombe, or, as he is there called, the chilomba, of the duchy of *Sundi*, who wears his long hair tied up in stiff tresses, and adorned with bugles and other trinkets about his head, so as to resemble one of the *Avernian* furies, will not so much as suffer any of his laity to look him in the face, or approach him, without his leave; which must be paid for before it can be obtained. This chief, when he comes out of his house to give audience, hath always, according to father *Hieronimo de monte Jarchio* (a capuchin missionary, who had resided a considerable time in those parts) one of his deities carried before him, by four of his ministers, lying at full length, on a kind of bier, such as we formerly used to carry our dead upon to their graves (8).

(7) *Labat ex Cavazzi, tom. i. l. 15, p. 254, & seq.*

(8) *Iidem ibid. p. 290.*

great found; but, if we may believe the generality of writers, Christianity hath been so neglected, and all those countries, whatever be the cause, have laboured, since that time, under such a scarcity of priests and preachers, that the major part of those extensive regions have little else but the bare name of Christian. Whilst some appear wholly ignorant of the fundamental doctrines and precepts of Christianity, others pay so little regard to them, that they scruple not to entertain a great number of concubines, over and above their lawful wife; and a third sort appear to be but half converted; and whilst they openly conform to the public worship of their church, do privately indulge themselves in the practice of sundry heathenish and abominable superstitions and immoralities.

encouraged by
those of the
Portuguese.

It hath been indeed affirmed by some, that the *Portuguese*, who are settled amongst them, have not a little contributed to confirm them in their old superstitions, as well as in the degeneracy of their morals. Some of their missionaries, both in these *African* parts, as well as in the *East* and *West-Indies*, have loudly complained of the ill effects which their bad examples had on their new converts; and those of this kingdom of *Kongo* have been obliged to wink at those irregularities which they could not reform, and to give up some points to preserve the rest. Neither is it to be supposed that the new clergy, which were ordained from among the natives, would be less remiss than they. However that be, we find here nothing of that pomp and religious pageantry which is practised in other *Romish* countries; no stately cathedrals, except one collegiate, and other churches; no patriarchs, archbishopricks, bishopricks, rich abbeys, and variety of monasteries. We read but of one bishop in all the kingdom, viz. that of *St. Thomas*, who makes his constant residence in the island of *Loando*, and seldom visits his diocese (C). The jesuits, who are every-where so very numerous, have here but one convent, and that is also in the same island. They have the care of instructing the Christians of *Kongo* and *Angola*, but their number is far too small for two such large kingdoms^y; and it is no wonder the inhabitants of both live in such profound ignorance of the fundamentals of Christianity; and, if what another author tells us may be depended upon, the ambition and avarice of some of their clergy have prevented not only its progress, but its maintaining itself in that kingdom^z. But whether it be owing to that, or to the neglect of the prelates or princes, or some dislike which the latter may have taken to the former, we do not read that any of them founded either universities or seminaries, or that they have any but inferior schools for boys, who are taught their catechism by the same priests who celebrate the mass to the people. We hear nothing of their grand festivals and solemnities, except such as are rather of a secular nature, and on which the court and nobles of the kingdom repair to the church in great state, and sumptuous apparel, to hear mass. Did Christianity make a better figure in this kingdom, we need not doubt but the *Portuguese* and other missionaries would have acquainted the world with it, especially as several other authors have given us so melancholy an account of that church, not only with respect to its outward appearance, but much more with regard to its inward state, and the sad depravity of its faith and morals. Some represent one part of these converts as arrant hypocrites, who embraced the gospel only to ingratiate themselves with the *Portuguese*, whilst they retain all their old heathenish superstitions, and privately wor-

The concerns of
religion, and
pomp of wor-
ship, equally
neglected.

Christianity
much-decayed,

^y JARRIC, l. iii. c. 4. lib. v. c. 43.

^z LINSCHOT. Descr. Guin. lib. ii. c. 5.

(C) There seems indeed some difference between the authors who speak of this bishopric; whilst one tells us the cathedral of it was in the city of *St. Salvador*, the metropolis of *Kongo*, which we have elsewhere described (9), others place it in the island of *Loando*, belonging to the kingdom of *Angola*, where is the great church and convent of *Sr. Paul*; whence one might be inclined to believe that there was a bishop's see in each kingdom; which would be no great wonder, considering the vast extent of both would have reasonably required a much greater number. Yet, upon the whole, it doth not appear, that there ever was above one founded to serve both kingdoms, whose cathedral was fixed in the metropolis of *St. Salvador*, the residence of their monarchs, and which was, we are told, subject to the patriarch of *Lisbon*, but whose bishops did afterwards remove to that of *St. Paul*, in the island of *Loando* above-mentioned, whence they seldom stir out to go and visit either their cathedral of *St. Salvador*, or any part of that diocese.

Neither need we wonder at it, when we consider, as our authors farther tell us, that this see hath been sometimes vacant for a considerable while, and that one of the prelates, sent thither from *Portugal*, found at his

arrival at that metropolis, the canons and clergy so corrupt and degenerate in their morals, and insolent in their behaviour, that upon his first attempt to reform them, they not only refused to submit to his authority, but even to acknowledge that he had any real power or superiority over them; and if they were upheld, as it is most likely, by the king and court, in this pretended independency on the see of *Lisbon*, it is not at all surprising that he should go and take his residence at the other part of his diocese, that is, the convent of *Loango*, and that he and his successors should so seldom visit that of *Kongo*, where they met with such ill treatment.

This will appear the more probable still, if we consider that the kingdom of *Angola* did not receive Christianity by far so soon as that of *Kongo*, and was still involved in idolatry in *Lopez's* time; for he tells us that that prince, being exceedingly desirous of embracing it, had sent more than once to intreat the king of *Kongo* to send him some missionaries, but had not been able to obtain any, that monarch excusing himself from it by telling him that he had none to spare; and this might, in all likelihood, procure the bishop a better reception and settlement at *St. Paul's* than he had at *St. Salvador*, and induce him to make it the place of his residence.

(9) Conf. Pigaf. l. ii. c. 4. Jarric, l. ii. c. 4. p. 64. Linschot. Descr. Guin. c. v. Myraus, Eccl. Palit. c. vi. Davity, Dapper, ex Cavazzi ap. Labat, l. ii. c. 13, p. 392, & seq.

- a ship their old deities, even lions, tigers, serpents, and other such pernicious creatures, and cannot think themselves safe without those abominable practices; they openly carry their beads and crosses, and inwardly their heathenish charms and amulets. Others, who have perhaps been better instructed by living nearer the churches, and under the eyes of the *Portuguese*, will express a contempt, or even abhorrence, of such senseless superstitions; and, in complaisance to the church, will conform so far to its laws, as to go regularly to mass and confession, and will consent to have but one wife; but could never be persuaded of the unlawfulness of having as many concubines as they can maintain^a. The same thing we may add of other immoralities, such as drunkenness, cheating, fraud, oppression, idleness, and excessive pride and sloth, which they not only see more or less practised by the *European* Christians that live among them, but which they know to be no less public and common in all other countries that acknowledge the pope's authority.

Those of the duchy of *Sogno* are reckoned much better Christians; they have a much greater number of churches, in which the divine service is performed with greater pomp; their clergy are also more numerous, most of them natives, and the people in appearance such zealous catholics, that they never appear abroad but you see them loaded with beads, crosses, medals, and other religious utensils; yet they are not without their old superstitions; and if the saints to whom they apply themselves do not grant them their petitions, they seldom fail of addressing themselves to their fetters, or old heathenish deities. The dukes or governors of this province commonly affect to appear in great state when they go to church, and to be adorned with collars of gold and coral beads, and other such fantastic baubles, besides their military weapons. They are preceded by drums, cornets, and other instruments, and surrounded by a body of their guards, with their standards flying. At the head of them march commonly five or six musqueteers, who fire their pieces from time to time as they march, and the procession is closed by multitudes of other spectators and attendants. These princes, as well as those of *Bamba* and *Pemba*, have always signalized themselves by their zeal for the Christian religion, and been particularly careful to preserve their respective governments from being corrupted by the heathenish gangas, or priests, lately described; and, if any such are ever caught within their dominions, they are sure to meet with such severe treatment, that they never attempt to come again^b.

- d THE government of this kingdom is monarchical, and as despotic as any in *Asia* or *Afric*. The kings are the sole proprietors of all the lands within their dominions, and these they bestow upon whom they please, upon condition they pay them a certain tribute out of them, and turn them out upon failure of it, or any other neglect (D), or even at their own pleasure. Even the princes of the blood are subjected to the same law, so that there is no person of any rank or quality that can bequeath a foot of land to his heirs or successors; and when these owners under the crown die, they immediately devolve to it again, whether they were in their possession, or had been let to ever so many tenants under them; so that it entirely depends on the will of the prince upon the throne, whether those lands shall be continued in the same, or be disposed into other hands. The *Portuguese*, however, since their settling in those parts, have prevailed upon the monarchs to permit the heirs and successors to continue in the possession of such lands, in order to avoid the confusions and commotions, and sometimes rebellions, which the alienation and deprivation of them frequently occasioned in the realm, and to oblige the tenants of them to pay their tribute more readily and exactly than they usually did before. This tribute, or tax, which was affixed to the grant of the lands, not only to the governors of the six chief provinces above-mentioned, but to several marquises, counts, and other nobles, is expressly ordered to be brought to court once in three years at the farthest; which, joined to the ambition and avarice of those lords paramount, makes them rack the people at a cruel rate, and not only strip them of all they have, but even to sell them, without the least mercy, men, women, and children, for slaves.

- f WHAT is still more dreadful is, that these grievous extortions often end in a revolt, and open rebellion; not indeed from the people, who, be their condition ever so bad, can hardly be other than passive; but from their tyrannic governors, who become in time so rich and powerful, as to neglect and refuse to bring their tribute, when called to it by repeated

^a DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, LABAT, LINSCHOT. & al. ubi sup. vazzi, lib. i. c. 14. p. 258, & seq.

^b DAPPER, LABAT ex Ca-

(D) These land owners under the king are bound not only to pay him the tribute above-mentioned, but likewise to keep all the roads through which he is to pass in repair, and to be swept clean upon previous notice given to them, though ever so short. They are likewise obliged to appear with their servants, clients, and

tenants, to welcome him as he passes by, and by their shouts and acclamations to express their joy and gratitude for the honour he doth them in coming through their territories. The omission of any of these punctilios might endanger their forfeiting of the grant (1).

(1) Davity, Dapper Afric: & al. sup. citat.

revolts and
rebellions.

expresses from the court, many of whom are purposely way-laid, and murdered in the very frontiers, or are clapt into a dismal dungeon, and there left to die with hunger and misery, especially when those revolted governors live at a great distance from the capital. Nor is this all; for they commonly ally with other revolted provinces, and strive to excite the neighbouring ones to join with them in the rebellion; and if they refuse, openly invade and plunder them, and put all to fire and sword that fall in their way. Our author gives us several instances of such rebellions, which happened during the twelve years of his abode in this kingdom, the most considerable of which had been raised by one of the king's sons-in-law, whilst that monarch was quelling another in a distant province; so that, not being able to suppress both, he was obliged to patch up a peace, and to grant a general amnesty to his unnatural son-in-law, without so much as obliging him to pay any more tribute; to prevent the insurrection spreading farther^c.

The crown
how far elec-
tive.

PIGAFET, and other authors after him, tell us, that the crown of *Kongô* is hereditary, and that the females only are excluded from the succession; but our missionary, who was better acquainted with the political constitution of that kingdom, assures us, that it is partly so; and partly elective; that is, that no candidate can be chosen to it, but who must be of the royal blood. Whether of a nearer or further branch of it, whether by the male or female side, whether born of the wife, or of a concubine, is the same thing; a bastard being esteemed equally capable of succeeding to the throne, as one born in wedlock. So that, upon the demise of a monarch, there seldom fails to be a great number of competitors to it, tho' the choice commonly falls on him who brings the best retinue, or greatest number of friends and forces with him, on the field of election, provided he be a Christian of the church of *Rome*; for, since the conversion of those monarchs to the gospel, none but such are admitted to stand candidates for the crown.

The election
how perform-
ed.

Who preside
over it.

THE three grand officers who preside over, and must necessarily be present at, the election, are the mani elefunda, the mani batta, and the count or governor of *Sogno*; and when these perceive that the contest between the competitors is likely to rise to a dangerous height (E), they summon them to repair to the bishop, or, in his absence, to his vicar, and there to determine it before him. As soon as they have agreed upon a successor, all the grandees of the realm are summoned to appear on a plain near the metropolis of *St. Salvador*, whence they proceed in pomp to the cathedral, once a most noble structure, built by the *Portuguese*, but since then, thro' the iniquity of the times, run to decay, and turned into a kind of public hall, but which hath, upon these occasions, an altar reared, richly decked, at one end of which is a stately throne, where the bishop or his vicar is seated; and at the other end of it is a chair of state for the mani elefunda, surrounded by the candidates, who know nothing as yet of the person pitched upon, but wait with impatience to hear him declared.

The new king,
how and by
whom pro-
claimed and
crowned.

BEFORE the mani proclaims him, he rises from his chair, and kneeling before the altar makes a prayer; and, after being re-seated, a long elaborate speech on the duties of a monarch, and the manifold cares and difficulties that attend it; after which, he declares to the assembly, that he and the other electors, having duly and impartially weighed the merits of the candidate princes, had chosen such a one to the sovereign dignity.

Takes the oaths
before the
bishop.

Is acknow-
ledged by the
people.

He then immediately goes and takes the new monarch by the hand, and brings him to the bishop, before whom they prostrate themselves; and the king, still upon his knees, receives a short but pathetic admonition from the prelate, in which, among other duties, he exhorts him to shew himself a firm and zealous protector and promoter of Christianity, and an obedient son to the catholic church. The usual oaths are then administered to him, which he pronounces with a loud voice; after which the bishop leads him by the hand to the throne erected for him, puts the royal standard into his hand, and the crown upon his head; upon which the whole assembly fall prostrate before him, acknowledge him for their king, with loud acclamations, clapping of hands, sound of martial instruments, and presently after by the salvos of the whole artillery. The ceremony being over, the new king takes the name of *Alphonso*, as all his predecessors have done before, ever since the reign, and in honour, of

^c LABAT, ex Cavaz. lib. ii. c. 9, p. 309, & seq. PIGAFET, DAPPER, & al.

(E) These open ruptures chiefly happen when the deceased king hath left one or more sons grown up, and in condition to support what they think their right to the throne; for as the electors seldom, if ever, elect any such to succeed, lest the crown should in time become hereditary, so, let them make ever so prudent a choice, those princes will never submit to it, unless they be driven to it by the superior force of their competitor. In such cases a dreadful war is kindled between them,

in which the rivals mutually invade, and carry fire and sword into each others provinces; nor is the contest ever decided, but by the death, or at least the total overthrow, of one of the competitors, which is commonly attended with the most horrid ravages and butcheries in those provinces that adhered to him. This is what our author assures us he had been an eye-witness of, during his abode in that kingdom (2).

(2) Cavazzi ap. Labat. *Ethiop. occident.* l. ii. c. 10, p. 318, & seq.

Alphonso,

- a *Alphonso*, the first Christian king, who took that name at his baptism; as we shall shew more fully in its proper place ^b.

THERE are two grand ceremonies which follow that of his coronation, by which one may judge in what height of power, grandeur, and esteem, those princes are held by their subjects. The first and most considerable is that of their giving their public and solemn blessing to the people, upon certain occasions; and that of his granting the investiture of the principal posts and fiefs of their dominions. The days fixed for each of them are proclaimed with great pomp and ceremony through the kingdom, and in the capital of *St. Salvador*, by the sound of various musical instruments, and the fire of the artillery. The first of these always brings the vastest concourse from all parts, as they set so great a value upon his blessing, that they would esteem themselves worse than accursed to be deprived of it, or if they wilfully missed of it. On the day appointed, the monarch appears in the utmost splendor, surrounded by his guards, and a numerous court, together with all the governors and nobles of the kingdom, all magnificently apparelled and attended. The ceremony is performed in a wide spacious plain, sufficient to contain the innumerable multitudes that flock to it; on one eminent part of which is raised a most sumptuous throne or canopy, from which he can see and be seen by them, and clearly distinguish every one of his ministers and nobles, who are all situated nearer or farther from him, according to their rank.

- AND here it is, that if any of these have incurred his displeasure, through any neglect of duty, or other default, whom, by reason of their great distance from the court, or their being grown too powerful, he was obliged to let go unpunished, he casts his first looks upon them, and causes them to be driven from his presence, as wretches unworthy of his blessing, to which none but faithful subjects can have a claim. The very disgrace of being thus cast away, would be looked upon as one of the greatest misfortunes that could befall a man of quality: but this is not all; the populace, emulous to express their zeal for their prince, lay violent hands on the obnoxious persons, drag them off without mercy or regard, tear their cloaths off their backs, and treat them with such variety of outrages and indignities, that many of them lose their lives before they can get out of the numerous crowd. By this stratagem those monarchs often rid themselves with ease of such bad ministers, whom they could not have attempted to punish by any other way, without imminent hazard of seeing their authority despised and affronted by them.

No sooner are those obnoxious persons removed, than the king, addressing himself to the rest of the assembly, exhorts them to continue true and loyal to him, and promises them his favour and protection; after which, rising from his throne, whilst they prostrate themselves on the ground before him, he gives them his blessing, not in words, but by a peculiar spreading of his arms over them, and gesticulation of his fingers; for which they, on their part, express their joy and gratitude by loud acclamations, and clapping their hands, and the whole ceremony concludes with the sound of various instruments, and the fire of the artillery. From that time, those who have survived the disgrace of being cast off from a share in the blessing, are looked upon with horror and contempt, and esteemed as excommunicants, unless they can, by the help of their friends, by rich presents, ample refundings, and submissive behaviour, regain the royal favour; which if they do, they are admitted to his presence, and his blessing wipes away all former disgrace ^c.

THE other ceremony is performed with much the same pomp, solemnity, and grandeur, and equally shews the deep submission which the people pay to those monarchs. They appear in all their magnificence on their throne on the day prefixed, whilst all who are candidates for a new post, fief, or investiture, lie prostrate before him, surrounded by vast crowds of spectators, in the same posture. At the third discharge of the artillery, the candidates are regularly introduced at the foot of the throne, accompanied by all their relations and friends, all in the richest attire, by the master of the ceremonies. There on their knees, at the last step of the throne, the grant is brought to them by some chief minister; which having received with the deepest submission, the king informs them, by a set speech, of the greatness of the favour he bestows upon them, the conditions upon which he grants it to them, the duties he expects from them; to all which they take a solemn oath to conform themselves: after which, the insignia of their dignity are likewise delivered to them, which are a white bonnet, more or less rich, according to the dignity granted, a scymitar, a flag of honour, a chair of state, and a carpet. The whole pageantry concludes with prostrations, clapping of hands, and other slavish postures of the person invested, and with the shouts and thankful acclamations of his friends, who extol the royal favour to the skies, though it be commonly saddled with such taxes, tribute, and other hard conditions, as are impossible for him to perform but by tyranny and oppression of those that are under him.

As soon as the whole business is dispatched, the king rises up, and then the ceremony is closed as it began, with the loud huzzas of the audience, and the noise of the artillery and

The ceremony of the king's blessing the people.

His policy in excluding obnoxious subjects from it;

who are miserably abused by the populace.

His manner of blessing the rest.

The ceremony of granting investitures, &c.

The vast state the kings take upon them.

Slavish behaviour of the subjects;

^b LABAT, ex Cavaz. lib. ii. c. 10. & al. ubi sup.

^c Id. ibid. p. 327, & seq. & al.

little short of
adoration.

Much of their
pride learnt
from the Por-
tuguese.

Their dress
before these
came in.

musical instruments, in the midst of which he is conducted to his palace. It seems, however, as if these later monarchs had abated much of their former state and pageantry, extravagant as it may appear to us even now, seeing the ritual of the court of *Kongo* formerly obliged a petitioner for an investiture, tho' a count, duke, or prince of the royal blood, to approach the throne, not only in the cringing suppliant guise above described, but with his face, head, and shoulders, covered with an ordinary veil, besprinkled all over with dust and dirt, in token of the deepest abasement^a; which last piece of state seems now wholly set aside, perhaps since those monarchs became Christians; tho' some other kinds of respects, which they still permit to be paid to them, are of so extravagant a nature, as to come little short of that which they pay to the Supreme Being, and is still stiled by them by the solemn terms of worship and adoration^c. But tho' the ritual above-mentioned shews those monarchs to have been arrived to that intolerable height of pride long before the *Portuguese* came among them, yet it doth not appear that they had any-thing answerable to it, either in the magnificence of their palaces, court, furniture, dress, &c. till after that time, when they began to imitate, and by degrees strove to out-do them, in the richness of their apparel, the grandeur and sumptuousness of their retinue and equipage, and the costliness of their furniture. Their garb was formerly made of no richer stuff than a cloth which they wove from a better kind of their aliconda before-mentioned^f, with which they covered their waist downwards, and bound with a girdle of the same stuff, but more curiously wrought; they likewise affected to hang before them some delicate furs, either of young tygers, civet cats, fables, martins, or the like, which came down below their knees, like our aprons. Next to their skin they wore an incutto, or rochet, woven of the finest palm-cloth, in the fashion of a net, and neatly fringed at the bottom with threads of various colours, and these were turned up on their right shoulder, to give more liberty to that arm; and to the place where they were fastened hung, by way of ornament, the tail of a zebra; and, over the incutto, was a cape which went round their neck and shoulders. Over their heads they had nothing but a small square cap of red and yellow colour, which just covered the top of the head, and was worn rather for shew than use. They wore a kind of sandals, or short buskins, on their feet, the sole of which was made of palm wood; and this last they allowed only some of their nobles to wear, whilst the rest of his court and subjects were obliged to go barefoot^g. This was all the finery they affected about their persons, and their nobles and grandees were careful to make a proportionably inferior appearance, both in their garb and furniture.

The vast
change made
to it since.

Stately throne.

Splendid table.

Eats always
alone.

Guard of
Anzichi.

BUT after they were converted, and became more conversant with the *Portuguese*, both kings and nobles became so excessive fond of their finery, and the richness and fashion of their cloaths, that one might see them strive who should most imitate them in both. Short cloaks, scarlet jackets, caps, long spadoes, became now the universal dress of the *Kongoese* court and nobility; rich cloaths, silks, velvets, gold and silver tissue, lace, fringe, and other finery, were the distinguishing apparel of the great and wealthy; the king himself expressing no less emulous a liking for the fashions, than he did for the religion of those new comers. His court, retinue, table, furniture, and attendance, his throne, audiences, and ceremonial, were quickly regulated after the *Portuguese* model; and if there was any difference between them, it was only in the grandeur and magnificence in which the new convert strove to outshine his new *European* ally. His table is covered with variety of the most exquisite meats, his side-board with the most delicate wines and other liquors, and he hath tasters to examine every thing he eats and drinks; his cup and side-board are furnished with the richest vessels of silver and gold, and other precious materials, consecrated solely to his own use, as he always eats alone, and never suffers any one, tho' of the highest rank, to sit with him, but only to stand about him; and these are only princes of the blood, and his other great officers, but with this difference, that the former stand with their heads covered. The throne of state, on which he gives public audience twice or three times a week, is equally grand and costly; the foot of it, which consists of three steps, is all over covered with *Indian* tapestry; and the chair of state on which he sits, as well as the table that stands before him, are covered with crimson velvet, adorned with bosses and nails of gold; and, when he sits as judge, or to receive petitions and hear causes, none are permitted to speak to him but his nobles and lords.

HE very seldom goes abroad, except on such particular occasions as we have already spoken of, and then he is always attended with a numerous guard, consisting of *Anzichi* (F), and

4

^a LABAT, ubi sup. p. 329.
before, p. 413, (B).

^c Vid. LABAT, ex Cavazzi, lib. ii. ch. 10. p. 322, & al. sup. cit.
^g LOPEZ, FIGAFET, lib. ii. c. 7. DAVITY, DAPPER, LABAT, & al.

^f See

(F) The *Anzichi*, or *Anfiki*, are a barbarous nation, famous for their eating of human flesh, and exposing it to sale in their shambles. They are, in other respects, a stout and warlike people, and such quick and expert archers, situate on the northern confines of the kingdom of *Loango*, and river *Bancara*, formerly described, and in-

- a and some other neighbouring nations, in whom he puts a great confidence, and who are armed, some with musquets, and others with lances, bows and arrows, &c. but march without any regularity before him. These are followed by crowds of musicians, or players *Musici.* upon martial or other instruments, the sound of which, *Lopez* tells us ^a, could be heard five or six miles off, and serves to give notice of his approach. Next to these are the officers of the household, followed by the knights of the *Holy Cross*, an order instituted by the first christian king of *Kongo*, and which hath maintained itself in great credit ever since. The king appears next, preceded by two young squires of the noblest families in the kingdom, the one bearing the royal shield, covered with the tyger's skin, and the sword of state, adorned with precious stones; the other holds a staff in his hand, covered with red velvet, *Order of the Holy Cross.* adorned with two massy knobs of silver, one at each end. On each side the king ride two officers, who keep fanning him with horses tails, and behind these is a third, who carries a large umbrella over his head, of red damask, richly fringed and embroidered: these three last must likewise be of the most illustrious families of the kingdom; as they are allowed to be nearest to his majesty's person ^b.

He goes to mass with much the same retinue and pomp; and, upon his alighting at church, is led by two masters of ceremonies to his own place; where there is a chair without arms for him to sit upon when he thinks fit, and several velvet or damask cushions to kneel upon. As soon as he is placed, a lighted taper is put into his hand, which he gives to his next page to hold, till the gospel is read, at which time he takes it from him, and holds it up till that is ended, when the priest brings it to him to kiss. At the offertory he marches towards the altar, where the priest gives him the paten to kiss; after which he makes his offering, and retires to his place. He retakes the lighted taper at the elevation of the host, and continues upon his knees during most of the remainder of the mass; all which time the music continues playing, and the proper anthems are sung; the service being finished, the king sits down, and receives the compliments of his court, and, in return, gives them his blessing and his hand to kiss, which is esteemed a singular favour: the ceremony being ended, he returns to the palace in the same order and pomp ^c (G).

THE

^a *Pigafet*, l. ii. c. 7.
ex *Cavaz*. ubi sup.

^b *Cavazzi* ap. *Labat*, l. ii. c. 10. p. 336, & seq. & al. ubi sup.

^c *LABAT*,

archers, if we may believe our author, that they will hold twenty-eight or more arrows in their hand, and shoot them all successively, before the first lights on the ground, and kill birds flying without missing their mark. Both their bows and arrows are shorter by much than those of other *African* nations, the former is covered with snake skins of various colours, so smoothly joined that they seem to grow to the wood.

Besides that, they use other weapons with equal dexterity, one of which is the axe with a short handle, the iron very bright and keen at one end, the other blunt, and serves for a hammer. They have likewise a short dagger by their side, sheathed with a snake's skin, and the warriors hang it to their girdle, which is made of elephant-skin, three fingers broad, and very thick.

They are very active and nimble, climbing the mountains and rocks like goats; they are no less expert and nimble in fighting, and in repelling the enemy's first discharge with their hatchets, which they whirl round over their heads with such surprising swiftness, that the dart or arrow seldom fails of recoiling against the iron.

But what is most valuable in that barbarous nation is their singular fidelity, loyalty, and simplicity, insomuch that they will sacrifice their lives in proof of it, in defence of their princes, or of their friends and allies. Their king is also king of *Miccoco*, and hath his residence at *Monzol*, the capital of *Ausiko*. We know very little more of this vast country, except that it hath several mines of copper, and great quantity of sanders wood, both red and grey; the last of which, called by them *chiconga*, is the most esteemed, and used medicinally both by them and the *Portuguese*.

Their traffick with the *Kongoes* consists in slaves, both of their own country and of such as they have from the kingdom of *Mujak*, upon which they border towards the south; linen cloth, elephant's teeth, and the above sanders wood; in lieu of which they carry back salt, two sorts of shells called *lumache*, or sea-snails, which pass with them for money, and are worn by them as

fine ornaments. They likewise purchase silk, velvet, linen, looking-glasses, and other merchandizes brought thither by the *Portuguese*.

They circumcise their males; but whether out of religion, or from other motives, we cannot learn. In other cases they are idolaters; and, if our authors were truly informed, so inhuman as to eat the flesh not only of the enemies they take in war, but also that of their nearest friends and relations, even mothers eat that of their children. The men take as many wives as they please, and divorce them when they will. They account it an ornament to flash their faces more or less, according to their rank; they all go naked from the waist upwards, and wrap up the rest of their bodies with linen or other cloth, more or less fine, according to their circumstances. The rich, among the men, wear on their heads, hats or caps of *Portuguese* velvet, or red, yellow, or black silk; those of the middle rank have linen caps, and the rest go bare-headed; and all, except those of the better sort, go likewise bare-footed; as do also the women, except those of distinction, who wear sandals, and cast a veil over their bodies, which covers them all over from head to foot, their faces excepted, which are said to be very handsome for that hot clime. The language of this country differs entirely from that of *Kongo*, but the *Auzichi* easily learn this last for the sake of trafficking with them. In other respects, they live much like the wandering *Arabs*, upon hunting and plunder. Thus much may suffice for that wild nation, whose bravery and faithfulness alone recommends them to the kings of *Kongo* for their life-guard (3).

(G) There is, we are told, one odd ceremony more upon this occasion, which is peculiar to this court, *viz.* That when the king is come to the threshold of the church-door, one of the officers who carry the horse-tail kneels down, and waves it several times before him, as if he was sprinkling him with holy water; after which, fixing his eyes intently upon him, he gives three loud claps with his hands, to notify to the people that

(3) *Pigafet*, lib. ii. c. 5. *Davity*, *Dapper*, *Labat*, & al.

his

His numerous
court.

Officers.

Council trans-
acts matters
without
writing.
Few of them
can read or
write.

Slavish state
of his
courtiers.

Palace.

Churches in it,
gone to ruin.

Seraglio.

Of the queen
and her ladies.

Her dowry
how raised.

Mutual infi-
delity.

Wantonness of
her maids.

THE king's court is both very numerous and brilliant, consisting not only of the proper officers of his household, but of all the governors of the kingdom; who, when they come to pay their respective homage and tributes, never appear but with a very large and sumptuous retinue; to which we may add the vast number of his generals, and other officers of war, who are likewise obliged to resort thither, and to give an account of the success of their arms, and the state of the forces under them, and such-like. Besides these, he hath his auditors, judges of different tribunals, counsellors, secretaries, &c. whose respective business, how momentous and difficult soever, is quickly dispatched with him, because all is transacted here in a verbal and summary manner, and without any writings; yet the multiplicity of affairs, of one kind or other, obliges them to appear frequently before him; for, as few of them can read or write, his decisions and orders can only be received by word of mouth, and be conveyed by them to their distant clients, by persons of known character, and intrusted with some undoubted token that what they bring is the result of the royal will. If the distance of the place, or the nature of the message requires a fuller discussion, the king's orders are sent in writing, by an express, to the governor or officer concerned to see them executed; but then he is obliged to get some missionary, or learned clerk, to read it to him, and to write an answer to it, to be sent by the same courier, or to let his majesty know, in due time, how punctually his orders have been obeyed; the least failure in duty, or even in circumstances, being reckoned a sufficient offence to deprive him of his office, or even of all he is worth¹.

So that these grand officers, notwithstanding their pretended high titles, vast authority, and outward grandeur, are in fact as great slaves as those they tyrannize over, and live in continual expectation and dread of some signal token of his diffidence or resentment; either of which, whether well or ill-grounded, they know is more than sufficient to hasten their ruin, under so despotic a government, and prince, who knows himself to be obeyed rather through fear than affection, and from a principle of the basest selfishness, rather than of duty and loyalty.

THE royal palace and apartments are vastly spacious, grand, and commodious; but all this is owing to the *Portuguese*, who built them mostly after the *European* manner, for their own use, within the great cincture of the castle; which, after their expulsion, of which we shall speak more fully in its proper place, became the residence of the *Kongoesse* monarchs; but they have been far from keeping up the sumptuous grandeur in which they left it, any more than some stately churches they had reared within that inclosure, one of which hath now nothing left but bare walls; within which they have caused barracks to be built for their soldiers and life-guard. As for the apartments, we have already said something of them, particularly of his stately throne and sumptuous table, by which the reader may guess at the rest. As to his seraglio (for tho' he marries but one wife, yet he may keep as great a number and variety of concubines as he pleases) it is rather a prison than a palace, into which being once entered, they are confined during the remainder of their life. Their apartments are surrounded either with strong high walls, or quickset hedges, of such height and thickness, that no mortal can go over or through them; the care and government of this female inclosure is usually committed to some nobleman in the highest esteem and favour with the king.

THE lady who is lawfully married to him is stiled *mani mombanda*, or mistress of the women, because she is set over all the rest of his seraglio. Before his marriage he causes a tribute to be levied over all his kingdom, which is to be instead of dowry or appendage, to the young princess, and is called *pintelfo*. On his wedding day, proper officers are ordered to measure the length and breadth of every bed; and the owner of it is taxed according to it, so much for every span: as soon as the marriage ceremony is over, she is conducted to her apartment in the royal palace, with all the young ladies that are to be her constant attendants, where most of their time is spent in diverting her and themselves; and, if we may believe some authors^m, they mutually gratify each other's inclinations. The queen permits the greatest part of them to lie out of her apartment at nights; whilst they, in return, wink at her irregularities, and at any bold gallant that dares venture his neck over those high walls or hedges for her sake, and at the risk of a sure and dreadful death, in case of a discovery, tho' he were of the greatest quality in the kingdom, or even a *Portuguese* (H). As

¹ *Ibid. ibid.*

^m CAVAZ, DAPPER, DAVITY, & al.

his majesty is in good health, which is answered by them with acclamations of joy. The king then reaches the extremity of his fingers to him to kiss, which he doth with great devotion and respect, three times, continuing all the time upon his knees, till he beckons to him to get up, and continue his march (4).

(H) We must here observe, that, in other cases, the *Portuguese* have here a peculiar privilege, that if they have a law-suit with a native, they are tried by a judge of their own, allowed by the king, and according to the laws of their country; and if it be in the case of a capital crime, the king contents himself with banishing

(4) *Labat ex Cavaz. lib. ii. c. 10. p. 388, & seq.*

them.

a As for the king, he not only hath free access to her when he pleases, but makes no scruple to take the same freedom with any of those young ladies he likes, as he doth with his other concubines, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his father confessor, or of the most zealous missionaries. And it is the great liberty he takes with those women which often provokes his queen to infidelity, especially as there is no distinction made between the children he hath by her, and those he hath by his concubinesⁿ.

His revenue, which consists chiefly in the tribute that is paid to him by several vassal princes, as those of *Angola*, *Loango*, and some other inferior ones, and which the mani or governors of the six chief provinces are obliged to pay him, comes generally very short of what it ought to be, and of which consequently no exact estimate can be made. There are others that make him a kind of free-will offerings, some of cattle, others of grain, wine, palm-oil, and the like, as an acknowledgement for the lands they hold under him; these are commonly brought to him on *St. James's* day, when he is obliged to give them a sumptuous feast, and to make them some small presents, which, if we may believe some authors, amount to within 80 crowns of the full value of what they bring^p. He is, moreover, the sole proprietor of all the zimbis, or cockle-shells, which are the current coin of this and other neighbouring kingdoms, which bring him, in exchange, slaves, elephants teeth, fanners, stuffs, cattle, millet, and other commodities. This branch is reckoned so considerable, that he prefers it to that of his mines of silver and gold, which he either suffers to go neglected, or perhaps keeps in reserve, as having a more intrinsic value (I). The renewing of fiefs and investitures, fines and confiscations, likewise brings him a considerable income; to which we may add that he can levy taxes upon his subjects as often as he pleases; but seldom doth it, except in case of necessity, the poverty of his subjects being such as might drive them into despair, or a revolt, if they were too frequent.

His standing forces are neither numerous nor well disciplined, and still worse armed and clothed; after the peace concluded with the *Portuguese*, wherein these engaged themselves to protect the king of *Kongo* against his enemies, they advised him to erect fortresses in several parts of his dominions; particularly on the coasts, in the islands *Quindangas*, and in the inland at *Maopanga*, *Ambacca*, *Massangano*, and some other parts of his frontiers, and to garrison them partly with *Portuguese*, and partly with his own troops; and these last were to be disciplined by the former, as far as it could be done, after the *European* manner. But whether the same was done with respect to his other troops or no, it is plain they have since returned to their old way, tho' they are all obliged to appear at their stated musters, where they are usually exercised, but not so much how to use their offensive as defensive weapons, and to cover their bodies, which are naked from the waist upwards, with their shields made of thick skins, with such precaution and dexterity, as to avoid the missile ones of the enemy. They are likewise inured to fall on the foe with a dreadful kind of bravery, or rather fury, which they do accordingly upon all occasions; but, as their arms are of little use in such violent and irregular onsets, for want of better discipline, they are easily put to the rout; and, when they are so, are seldom able to rally; so that the breaking of the very first body is mostly attended with a general rout, and precipitate flight.

THESE musters, or exercises, which they call sangamentos and nsangaro, and which are rather for shew than service, are constantly made on *St. James's* day, when there is, as we hinted above, the greatest concourse of nobles and prime officers at the court; that being the day on which the vassal princes and governors bring their offerings to the king, and on which he not only feasts them, but gives them his blessing, in the manner we have before described. These reviews making one part of the festivity, every soldier is emulous to appear at them; but their figure and variety of arms hath something so uncouth, that a stranger would take them for nothing less than a stated muster; some appearing with bows and arrows of differ-

ⁿ Ibidem ibid.^p DAPPER, *Afric. sub. Kongo*.

them. And if they can, by money or presents, gain some friends at court, they are frequently recalled. But, in case of a criminal converse with this queen, that privilege would not, it seems, be allowed to him (5), though we do not meet with any instance of it in their history.

(I) We are told by *Odoard Lopez*, that *Don Sebastian*, king of *Portugal*, having been informed that there were mines of gold and silver in several parts of the kingdom, sent thither some persons well skilled in that art, to make what discoveries they could of them; but that the king of *Kongo's* confessor, *F. Francesco Barbuto*, though a *Portuguese*, had dissuaded him from consenting to such

a search, alleging to him, that the discovery of them might cause his dominions to be taken from him by little and little. Upon which those artists were directed to places where there were no such mines to be found. This cheat, however, our author tells us, though it prevented, in all likelihood, the loss of those mines, was attended with that of vast numbers of *Portuguese* merchants, who traded in those parts, and forsook them soon after, to the great detriment of the traffick between those nations, as well as the decay of Christianity in that kingdom, occasioned by the great scarcity of *Portuguese* priests which ensued soon after (6).

(5) *Davity Afric. sub. Kongo, Pigafet, Linschot. & al.*(6) *Pigafet, l. ii. c. 6.*

*Bodies half
naked and
painted.*

*Mean appear-
ance.*

How exercised.

ent makes and sizes, others with broad swords, spadoes, daggers, and cutlasses; some with-
out any other cloaths or arms than their long targets; others with their bodies covered with
various skins of beasts, from the girdle to the knee: some with their face and skin painted
with figures of various kinds, the more monstrous the more warlike; and all of them
armed and accoutred, according to their fancy or ability, and those who cannot afford them-
selves a broad sword of metal will get one of some heavy wood. What still more disgraces
their appearance, is that their colours are commonly no better than dirty rags torn and
mangled; their steel and iron weapons eat up with rust; their wooden ones ill painted and
imitated. Add to this, that as the invalids, a mixture of old and young, blind and lame,
are likewise obliged to assist, one sees some without arms, others without legs, and carried
upon other mens shoulders; their heads are dressed with variety of feathers of different
colours, and in almost as many different fashions as there are men; and all of them, besides
their particular weapons, affect to appear with some kind of tool belonging to his particular
trade, if he has any.

ALL this huge army is divided into several bodies, at the head of each of which the king
marches, attended by his court, takes a full view of them, and commends or discommends,
punishes or rewards, promotes or degrades, as he sees occasion. After this, these bodies
engage and make a sham fight one against the other, and with as much seeming fury as if
they were engaging an enemy; and these mock battles seldom fail of ending in dry blows,
broken heads and limbs, and other deadly wounds, every one being eager, in the heat of the
action, to shew his valour before the king and court, who appear there in all their pomp and
brilliancy, tho' greatly eclipsed by the vast clouds of dust which are raised by these military
exercises. All this while, the princes of the blood, and great officers, are animating them
to fight valiantly and intrepidly under the standards of so glorious and powerful a monarch.
Where is there such another to be found under heaven? cry some: Where is there one that
can be compared with, or dare make head against his formidable power? cry others: Let
him live for ever, answers a third groupe; let his throne be exalted above the sun and stars:
let all his enemies be confounded, and trodden small like the dust under his feet, answers
the general chorus. Immediately after which, the martial music is ordered to strike up,
which brings on a fresh and more furious onset, in the heat of which, vast numbers are
laid sprawling on the ground, and many seem even to court death, for the sake of falling
before such an illustrious assembly.

*Musqueteers
better disci-
plined.*

*The review
ends with a
feast.*

*Dancing and
drinking.*

*The troops how
levied to fight
under the king.*

*Poor provi-
sions.*

*Plunder where
they pass.*

*Are often
starved.*

THE musqueteers are indeed the best disciplined, and make the finest show upon the
field; these, having been formerly taught the use of fire-arms by the *Portuguese*, do still
retain the art of handling them with surprising dexterity and judgment; and, upon these
and the like occasions, make continual discharges with their musquets, and may some time
or other prove too hard for those who instructed them. The ceremony of the fight being
over, the king commonly treats the combatants with a plentiful supper, on the field of
battle, which is as greedily devoured by his hungry guests, tho' in the midst of the same
dismal clouds of dust, which a stranger, unused to them, could hardly breathe in, or see
through. After they have consumed all the provisions that are laid before them, the feast
usually concludes with music, dancing, and other diversions: during which they are so
often obliged to wash down the dust they raise anew, with quaffing strong liquors, till quite
overcome with them, and the fatigue of the day, that they all lie down upon the bare
ground, and sleep, till the morning lights them towards their respective homes.^a
THESE troops are under the respective mani, or governors of the provinces, and obliged
to march under them upon all expeditions or incursions they think fit to make into an ene-
my's or other independent provinces: but when the king goes in person, they are all
obliged to repair to the royal standard, under their respective officers, with their arms and pro-
visions. These last are generally inconsiderable, and just sufficient to keep them alive two
or three days; but we must here observe^r, that in all such excursions they seize on all that comes
in their way, without regard to friend or foe, fruits, grain, cattle, beasts, wild and tame,
serpents, insects, even the bark and root of trees; all is alike to those famished troops, who
leave nothing behind but horrid devastation and misery where-ever they pass thro'; whilst
the poor inhabitants of the villages and hamlets are forced, at the first alarm of their
approach, to retire into the woods, mountains, or other places of safety with their families,
cattle, and what other effects they can carry off with them, and to leave their houses, and
the rest of their goods, to their mercy. Notwithstanding all which dreadful ravages, vast
numbers perish in their march, thro' hunger, sickness, and so many other accidents, that
the king loses more than half his army before he comes in sight of the enemy, and is some-
times obliged to return homewards with less than one third part of it, through the unfitness

^a LABAT ex Cavazzi, l. ii. c. 1, p. 5, & seq.

^r Id. & al. sup. citat.

a of the season, without having struck a stroke, or done any harm to any but his own subjects (I).

If they are to engage the enemy, they always affect, if possible, to do it in some spacious plain, where both armies engaged, as was lately hinted, fall upon each other with greater fury than regularity; the commander's authority ceasing to have any check upon them from the moment the onset is begun. They continue fighting in the same desperate obstinacy till one side begins to give way, which is no sooner perceived, than the rest betake themselves to their heels, without minding the efforts which their officers make to rally them. The flight of one army never fails of encouraging the other to an obstinate pursuit; during which time the slaughter continues without intermission, no quarter being given by either side till

How they engage and fight,

and are easily routed.

Give no quarter.

b the vanquished are got out of their reach; upon which they return and plunder the enemy's camp, seize all the men, women, and children, sick and lame, they find there, as well as all the stragglers that fall in their way, whom they brand as their slaves, and look upon as the most considerable part of the spoil, and gladly dispatch, as soon as they can, to the sea side, or to some inland market, to be sold to the *Europeans* for slaves. As for the wounded, few, if any, survive their defeat, their weapons being poisoned to such a degree, that they cause a speedy and unavoidable death where-ever they draw blood, unless the person be provided with some extraordinary antidote, which is the case of but few, excepting those of higher rank.

c It seldom happens that a victory is not soon followed by a peace; but which, being concluded upon the victor's terms, hardly proves of longer duration than till the vanquished hath sufficiently recovered his strength to renew the war. The kings of *Kongo* are even frequently forced, tho' conquerors, to forego that advantage, and to hurry up a peace at any rate, with an enemy, or even a revolted vassal, to prevent a new rebellion being raised in some other part of his extensive dominions, or to suppress some other already raised; of this we shall meet with various instances in the sequel of their history. We shall conclude this article of the *Kongoese* monarchs, with an account of the honours paid to them at their funerals.

d In former days, before they were converted to Christianity, they used a multitude of pompous and superstitious ceremonies, as sacrifices of various kinds, accompanied with suitable music, howling, dancing, and feasting, which lasted a whole week, and were resumed once a year, on the anniversary of their demise. All the mani, princes, governors, &c. were obliged to assist, and to appear with their usual grand retinue, in their funeral guise; and, what was a still greater mark of honour, a certain number, either of his favourite concubines, or of the young ladies belonging to the court, were to accompany the corpse, not only to, but into, the grave. The number of those who were allowed to be buried alive with him, and to accompany him into the other world, seldom exceeded twelve; but that of the candidates to that honour was much more considerable; and their struggle so violent, that they even fought for it with surprising eagerness, till the contest was decided by some proper officer of his court, or sometimes by lot; and so happy did those young females think themselves who were nominated to it, that they strove to appear on that occasion with all possible pomp and gaiety. Their near relations seemed no less sensible of the honour done to them by it, and presented them with jewels, the richest cloaths and other ornaments, to enable them to make the noblest appearance, both at this solemnity, and in the other world. Christianity hath long since abolished that inhuman custom, but hath not been able to do the same by some others, which, tho' less barbarous, are yet a disgrace to it; particularly the drunken revels which are still indulged, both during the octave of the obsequies, and on the anniversary ones. In other respects, they are performed after the ritual of the church of *Rome*, and with the splendor which is used to crowned heads; excepting, perhaps, that those of this kingdom are deposited in a large tomb, or rather vault, in a fitting posture, upon a stately armed chair.

The funeral obsequies of their monarchs.

A cruel custom formerly used.

Abolished since their conversion.

f THE *Kongoese* have no written laws, but custom and tradition serve them instead of a code and commentaries, unless favour or bribery interpose. As the people are naturally brutish, envious, and vindictive, they are so often at law with each other, that the judges would hardly have any thing else to do but to hear and judge causes, had they not as expeditious a method

They have no written laws.

* LABAT, ubi sup. l. ii. c. 1. p. 13, & seq. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

* DAPPER, *Afric.* & al. sup.

(I) What is still more dreadful to read of, if not exaggerated by our author, is that those unfortunate troops, who, thro' sickness, violent heats, rains, fatigue, &c. are not able to follow the body of the army, are abandoned, without pity or remorse, both by the king and their officers, to whom the new recruiting is so cheap and easy, to perish in the way, either with

hunger or thirst, wild beasts, serpents, or other dreadful calamities; and that the kindest office which their nearest friends can do, is to free them from the terror of their condition, by a speedier death; which they readily give them at their request, by severing their heads from their shoulders, or running them through the body (I).

(1) Labat ex Cavazzi, ubi sup. l. ii. c. 1. p. 14, & seq. Pigafet, Davity, & al.

*Their law suits
quickly dis-
patched.*

*The judges
choose 12 assist-
ants.*

*The parties
plead for
themselves.*

*Their method
often too pre-
cipitate.*

*Is the same in
criminal cases.*

*What crimes
are capital.*

*Sorcerers burnt
alive.
Smaller pu-
nishments.*

*The inferior
people tyrann-
ized over by
their superiors.*

of dispatching them. Every province hath a chief justice, or, as he is stiled, a royal judge, both for the civil and criminal affairs; from whom, however, an appeal may be made to the king, who presides twice a week at the supreme court, and determines the contest by his absolute authority. The royal judge has inferior ones under him in every town and community, from whose sentence the parties may appeal to him; but this is seldom done, except in matters of great moment, the remedy being looked upon as worse than the disease in those of a more trivial nature; so that they commonly chuse to acquiesce with their sentence, and, how unjust soever they may think it, seldom venture to complain against it. Every judge chooses a number of assistants, commonly twelve, out of his own community; and, when the cause is brought before him, hears and examines the parties and their evidence; the plaintiff and defendant are the only pleaders, the former opens and endeavours to prove his cause as well as he can, and the other answers to it in the same manner. If any think themselves incapable of pleading their own cause, they are allowed to substitute a friend to do it for them, who must be instructed in every thing before he appears at court. When both sides have been heard, sometimes once, and sometimes oftener, the judge recapitulates the whole evidence to his assistants, and asks their opinion; if any difference or dispute arises between them, he endeavours to bring them over to his side; but whether he doth or not, he immediately pronounces sentence, and dismisses the parties; so that the beginning and ending of a law-suit seldom takes up above two or three hours.

THE worst of it is, that these judges, who are all extremely liable to be corrupted, do often refuse the parties a sufficient time to get their evidences ready, for want of which they are unjustly cast, whipped, and imprisoned, till the antagonist is satisfied. On the other hand, he that gains his cause, especially if by bribery and corruption, is obliged, in some measure, to exhaust himself in feasting his judge, evidence, and other friends several days successively, and in a more expensive manner than his circumstances can possibly afford^a.

THE method is much the same in criminal cases, wherein only three offences are deemed capital; viz. treason, murder, and forcery. In the former the offender's punishment chiefly depends on the prince's will, who commonly condemns them to the loss of their heads and estate, the latter of which is confiscated into his treasury. The man convicted of murder is immediately beheaded, unless some atrocious circumstances be thought to require, or the relations of the deceased petition for, a more severe death; in which case he is usually delivered up to them, to suffer such punishment as they think proper to inflict on him; which is generally done immediately after the sentence is pronounced. Magic, or forcery, a crime very rife and common in the unconverted provinces, is, on that account, punished the more severely by the Christians, and the person convicted of it is immediately burned alive; which punishment seems to have been introduced into this kingdom by the *Portuguese*, after their planting the gospel among them. Other punishments, for lesser crimes, are the bastonade, whipping, fines, and imprisonments; on which we need not dwell longer than to observe, that, as in most other arbitrary governments, so in this, the two former generally fall to the lot of the poorer, and the two last to that of the wealthier sort. These and many other arbitrary instances of cruelty and oppression (K), which are practised by those in authority, and but too frequently allowed and winked at by the prince, tho' both making open profession of the gospel, doth but still further confirm what hath been more than once observed in this chapter, both of the low degree to which Christianity hath been reduced, since their first conversion to it, and of the occasion which the example of some *Europeans*, who are settled there, hath given to that degeneracy^w. These do not carry their rigor so far as to sell their insolvent debtors for slaves; neither perhaps doth the government allow them that liberty; but they commonly seize on all his slaves, and keep them for their own use, till they are fully paid; which is, in fact, depriving the poor debtor

^a LABAT, *ibid.* c. ii. p. 23, & seq. & al. sup. citat.

^w See before p. 446.

(K) There is still a more flagrant piece of injustice and cruelty practised with impunity by persons of rank on those of a lower class: if one of the latter sort chance to run in debt to one of the former, he is not only liable to be stripp'd of all he hath, not excepting his wife and family, who, in such cases, are often sold for slaves, but to be also ill-treated, bastonaded, dragged to a jail, and inhumanly used in it, in order to oblige some of his friends to procure him his liberty at an exorbitant rate.

What is still more unjust and inhuman, is, that if any insolvent debtor secrete himself from his tyrannic creditor, or flee into some other country, either to avoid a jail, or being sold for a slave, it is looked upon as a flagrant

crime; and the creditor would make no difficulty of seizing on some wealthy relation of his, and imprison him in his stead, and by way of security, till he had extorted, by the most cruel usage of him, a sufficient sum from his other friends, to satisfy the runaway's debt.

This arbitrary cruelty extends even so far as to debts contracted by gaming, a vice to which the *Kongoese* are much addicted; for should one of a lower rank happen to lose two or three cofis, or pistoles, to a superior, and not be able to pay him, he would be equally exposed to the same hardships and ill treatment as if he had borrowed it, and given his bond for it (2).

(2) *Cavazzi ap. Labat, l. ii. c. 2. p. 26, & seq. & al.*

a of his whole livelihood, tho' not of his liberty. On the other hand, the *Kongoesse* pay still less regard to them, and, if any of them prove insolvent, will seize on any effects of the rest, as if they all stood bound for each other; against which these have no other remedy than opposing force to force; or, as it sometimes happens, when they have the upper hand, by making reprisals upon them. This plainly shews how little either of them are governed by reason or equity, when they get the power into their own hands. As for the *Portuguese*, we must here observe, that they are allowed a judge of their own nation, not only for their law-suits among themselves, but between them and the natives, who decides all controversies according to the laws of *Portugal*; a privilege which is granted to no other *Europeans* *.

b ST. SALVADOR is the chief place of their residence and traffick; there are reckoned to be about 4000 of them settled in that metropolis, who traffick with most parts of the kingdom; the chief commodities they bring thither are either the product of *Brasil*, or of the manufactures of *Europe*. We have elsewhere spoken of the former, which consists chiefly in grains, fruits, plants, and other provisions for the mouth. The latter usually consists in *Turkey* carpets, *English* cloth, and other stuffs; copper and brass vessels, some kinds of blue earthenware, rings, and ornaments of gold, silver, and other baser metals; coral, glass beads, bugles, and other trinkets; tobacco, wine, brandy, and other spirituous liquors; light stuffs made of cotton, linen, and woollen, for cloathing; and a great variety of tools and utensils. In return for which they carry off such a prodigious number of slaves for the plantations in *America*, that some make the yearly amount from this kingdom, and some other settlements they have on the same *African* coasts, to be little less, if at all, than fifteen or sixteen thousand †.

The traffick of the Kongoesse with Europe;

consists chiefly in slaves.

HERE we must observe, however, that the best and most serviceable of them are brought from the kingdom of *Angola*, the county of *Ambuila*, the countries of the *Jingos*, *Jagas*, and other adjacent parts, where they are robust and healthy; whereas those of *Bamba*, *Sogno*, *Pemba*, and other provinces of *Kongo*, being for the most part brought up in sloth, hunger, and ease, either die in their passage, through misery and sickness (L), or soon after their arrival, thro' change of climate, or hard labour. They used likewise to bring from thence elephants teeth, furs, and other commodities of the country; but, as their commerce hath been greatly impaired thro' the ill usage they formerly received from the natives, of which we shall give an account in the next section, that of slaves hath been the chief branch of it ever since ‡.

Other branches dwindled away.

THE *Portuguese* settled in this kingdom have taught the natives the use of weights and measures, of which they had not, till then, the least notion; neither have they, to this very time, any great use for them, considering their poverty and way of living. The *English* and *Dutch* do likewise carry on a traffick with these parts, but more particularly from *Angola*.

* LABAT ex CAVAZ. DAPPER, JARRIC, PICAFET, & al.

† See before, p. 439.

‡ Idem ibid.

(L) This we need not wonder at, if we consider the inhuman manner in which these poor unfortunates are shipped off and conveyed from one country to another. Seven or eight hundred men and women, promiscuously squeezed, like herrings, or mackerel, into one ship, where they can lie only on one side, upon the bare boards, and often forced to lie double, during the whole voyage, with no other food than horse-beans and water, stifled up for want of air, and with their own stench. Some dead, some dying, and most of them labouring under some grievous infirmity, if not under a complication of distempers, without any refreshment, except perhaps a little fresh air to breathe in once a day, if they are able to come upon deck, or any other prospect than that of a miserable slavery for the rest of their life, when they are come to the end of their voyage.

But this is not by far the most melancholy side of the prospect which these unhappy wretches have continually before them; there is a strange and dreadful notion so strongly rooted into them, that no reasoning, nor any thing but a contrary experience, can efface; viz. That all that are sold for slaves in *America*, are immediately to be butchered in some horrid manner, in order to have their bones burned and calcined to make gunpowder with, and their flesh, fat, and marrow to

be pressed into an oil, which, they believe, is the only sort which the *Europeans* bring into *Africa*. What confirms still more this last prejudice, is, that it is brought in skins, which they imagine to be those of the poor slaves, from whose flesh the oil is extracted. This notion is so firmly believed through all those parts, that the very threatening of the most obstinate and stubborn slave, to sell him into *America*, is sufficient to terrify him into the most obsequious suppleness and obedience; the notion of being burnt into gunpowder, and melted into oil, being more dreadful to them than the worst punishment that can be inflicted upon them (3).

All these inhuman hardships and dreadful fears considered, one might rather wonder that so many of them should still be strong enough to out-live their passage, and much more that any creatures in human shape, and especially Christians, should be hardened to such a height of barbarity, as to treat poor creatures of their own species after so shocking a manner, for the sake of reaping a little more profit by each voyage. For as one of them that is bought in *Kongo* or *Angola* for 3 or 4 pounds, seldom sells for less in *America* than 25 or 30, one would be apt to think that a sufficient return to procure those miserable objects a more compassionate treatment, religion, and even humanity, set aside.

(3) Labat ex CAVAZ. lib. ii. c. 3. p. 40.

*Vast numbers
of slaves em-
ployed in Kon-
go;
esteemed their
chief riches.*

*Trades in a
low condition.*

*Iron manufac-
ture very im-
perfect.*

*That metal
bow got and
wrought.*

*Weaver's
trade clumsy
and tedious.*

*Carpenters and
joiners very
ignorant.*

BESIDES those slaves which are continually brought from other parts into *Kongo* and *Angola*, to be shipped off for *America*, there remain a sufficient number in the kingdom, to do all kinds of laborious works in it; such as building of houses, felling and sawing of timber, cultivating the lands; to carry men, and other burdens; to work at sundry manufactures; to be cooks, butchers, huntsmen, fishermen, and to perform all the lower offices of a family. And indeed, if we except some few moveables and cattle, slaves are reckoned the greatest riches that those of the inferior and even middle rank have to boast of, or bequeath to their children and relations. The greater number of these a man hath, the more he is respected, and the more comfortably he and his family can live by their labour, whether in that low degree of agriculture, of which we have already spoken in another place², or in those other trades and manufactures which bring their masters a still greater gain. As to the more liberal arts or sciences, we might as well look for them among the *Hottentots*, as among the *Kongoesse*; and the reader will have the less cause to wonder at it, when he comes to see, under the next head, in what degree of rudeness and imperfection the most useful and necessary trades are at this day, to what they see them among the *Portuguese* and other *Europeans* who live among them, in which art and industry so greatly lighten the labour; whilst in theirs hardly any thing is to be seen but dint of labour, without art or ingenuity.

WE need not seek for a more pregnant proof of their invincible indolence than in their iron manufacture, which is an art in great esteem among them; not only on account of its extraordinary usefulness, but much more so on account of a tradition, which goes current with them, that its first inventor became afterwards king of *Kongo*; but which has, nevertheless, received so little improvement from them, that a stranger, who saw them work at a forge, would be apt to think it still in its infancy with them, as well from the clumsiness of their tools, as from their more clumsy way of using them. There he would see a workman sitting upon the ground, or at best upon a stone (for they have no notion of working in a standing posture) with an ill-shaped hammer in one hand, and his iron in the other, and his anvil, which is no other than a large pebble, or a piece of a hard stone, between his legs, upon which he beats and shapes one iron, whilst his foot is moving a wretched pair of bellows to heat another. It is well for them that their iron is so good and ductile as it is; and for this they are indebted to nature rather than art: they do not dig it out of the mines, but content themselves with such quantity as the heavy rains and torrents bring down with them into the vallies and highways, in a small kind of dust or dirt, for the reception of which they dig holes and trenches. When it is settled at the bottom, and the water taken off or dried up, they cover the whole with charcoal, and by dint of blowing them up, purge the metal from its dross, and melt it into a lump, which they afterwards fabricate in the clumsy manner above described; so that even the points of their lances, darts, and arrows, their scymitars, cutlasses, and other weapons made of that metal, are not only blunt, clumsy, and ill shaped, but take up four times the time and labour to work them to that imperfect degree, that it would cost an ingenious artist to bring them to the greatest degree of perfection³.

THE weaving trade is in a still more pitiful condition, notwithstanding its great usefulness; and one would be astonished how they can make such curious works in that way with such wretched tools; they have neither loom, shuttle, nor other instruments, which are in use in most other nations; they fasten their threads only at both ends, to two pieces of timber, laid upon the ground at no considerable distance, because they never weave a piece of any greater length than will serve for one single garb, such as we have elsewhere described. When they have braced the threads of the woof as tight as they can, they conduct the cross-web between them with a singular patience, and as if they were rather darning than weaving. Notwithstanding the length and difficulty of which, some of them adorn their web with sundry curious net, checker, diamond, flower, or other work, and in various colours, with surprising neatness, considering the tools and materials; but, upon the whole, a tolerable weaver, with a proper loom, will be able to do more work in one day, than these can do in twenty. We have already observed that these stuffs are made of the bark of trees, particularly the palm, and of some sorts of beaten weeds, like our hemp; in the spinning and preparing of which, we may suppose they are hardly more dextrous, nor provided with better tools, than they are at weaving of them; all which, rightly known and considered, would make their performances still more admired with us than they are⁴.

IF we pass from the weaver's to the joiner's or carpenter's shop (for these two trades are but one and the same among the *Kongoesse*), we shall find their whole apparatus to consist in a mis-shapen ax, one side of which serves for a hammer, and in a strange kind of tool, one end of which is like a chissel, and the other sharp pointed like a puncheon, and both fastened to a wooden handle. The work produced by these is of a piece with the tools, that is, clumsy

² See before, p. 421, & seq. 61, & seq.

³ CAVAZZI ap. Labat, l. ii. c. 5. p. 58, & seq. & al. pass.

⁴ Id. p.

a and without art, tho' six times as tedious in the doing, as a compleat one would be, with better tools, and a better hand. The potters, for want of a wheel, shape their clay by the help of a piece of a gourd or pomkin; which serves them as a mould; and, instead of an oven or kiln, content themselves with burning a quantity of straw over and about it; the reader may thence judge of the beauty and goodness of the work, as well as of the brightness of their invention in the mechanic arts. We shall only observe farther, that in many cases, as in the making of their ordinary huts, hammocks, boats, nets, and the like, every one is his own workman: and that in every thing they betray not only an extraordinary want of genius, but also of industry.

A FARTHER proof of their natural indolence and sloth, is their way of travelling, not only in their long and troublesome, but in their shortest and most pleasant journies, or even from one part of a town to another. They have neither coaches, carts, beasts of burden, or even saddle-horses, mules, asses, &c. as in other countries, but all is carried on the shoulders of slaves; be it ever so far, and the roads ever so bad. The richer sort commonly travel in their hammocks, with a covering over them, to shelter them from the sun, and perhaps a running slave with an umbrella in his hand, to shade his master on the sunny side, and often only for grandeur and ostentation. These hammocks, some of which are made of strong stuffs, and others of net work, are fastened at both ends to a pole, and carried upon the shoulders, or upon the heads, of two stout slaves, who trudge and sweat under their burden, and are relieved, at proper turns, by two others, or more, if their master can afford it, whilst he lies lolling in his hammock, reading, smoking, or sleeping, and in all the various attitudes of slothfulness.

SOME of these carriages are borne by four slaves, like one of our biers, and made in the fashion of the palankins of *America*, with a canopy above, and curtains around, and an easy couch and bolster underneath. These are still more convenient to travel in, and require a greater number of slaves; and are, on that account, only fit for persons of distinction; and as such are commonly very richly embroidered with gold, silver, and flowered with silk. Those of the lower rank, on the contrary, content themselves with being carried sitting in a kind of open chair, or even a broad leathern strap, like a swing, and fastened to a pole like the hammock, and holding an umbrella in their hand. All these ways of travelling require, besides the slaves of relay, as we may stile them, another set to carry provisions, tents, and other conveniencies for the journey; and those who have not a sufficient number of them, may hire of those that have. Even among those of the poorer sort, who are forced to trudge it on foot, one may observe some shocking and unnatural instances of sloth in the men, who, for want of other slaves, oblige their women to bear their full share of the burden; which is harder upon those poor females, because, instead of carrying them on their heads or shoulders, as the men do, they bear it all upon their backs, fastened to a leather strap, which comes over their foreheads, which, for the most part, hangs down so low, and proves so cumbersome and heavy, that they are forced to walk almost under it; and their case is still worse when they carry sucking children about with them, and are ready to sink, at every step, under their double load, whilst the brutish husband stalks it along with his pipe in his mouth, regardless of their hardship and doleful complaints.

FROM what hath been said the reader may easily judge how chargeable, inconvenient, and tedious, their best way of travelling is; for even those who are best attended for expedition, must be contented to let their porters and carriers rest, so often, and upon so many occasions, some real, and others pretended, that they seldom make half the speed they might. But could they be forced to do so, yet the badness and difficulty of the roads, the want of them thro' most parts of the kingdom, where they must frequently cut their way thro' woods, thro' thickets, full of thorns and brambles, or steer thro' pathless deserts and burning sands, to say nothing of their high and almost impassable rocks and mountains, the dangers of wild beasts, venomous insects, and bands of banditti, to which one is continually exposed the farther one moves from the maritime provinces. The most easy and delightful conveniences for travelling appear tedious, irksome, and in some cases dreadful; especially if we add to them the many large and rapid rivers one is obliged to cross, with the most imminent danger of one's life, sometimes only by the help of a rope half rotten, that is thrown over them, and fastened to a tree, and at the best upon some old boat, made of the bark, or cut out of the stump, of a tree (M).

^a Ibid, p. 62, & seq. before, p. 421.

^b CAVAZZI ap. Labat, lib. i. c. 23. p. 494, & seq. DAPPER, & al. See also

ONE

(M) This is another shameful instance of the indolence of the people, as well as of the negligence and avarice of their princes and chief governors, in not erecting either bridges, or, at least, ferries, over those

many rivers, but leaving the people to cross them with so much difficulty and hazard of their lives; notwithstanding their having so great a plenty of timber wood, as is of itself another great nuisance to the travellers.

The

Roads ob-
structed by
great dews.

No cure taken
about them,
tho' in constant
motion.

The few good
ones in them.

The rest a mere
wilderness;

though the
people often
shift their
dwellings.
The sad case of
being taken
sick on the
road.

Trouble and
danger of tra-
velling.

ONE would imagine that, in a country where travellers are exposed to so many other hardships, from their violent rains, their prodigious morning dews, which are equivalent to, and cause as many inundations in the low lands, as a constant rain of twenty four hours, to the great fatigue and discouragement of the traveller; to say nothing of the knavery of the carriers, who make use of this and every other pretence they can invent, to make long and frequent stops, by which a journey is made to take up twice the time it needs; one would imagine, we say, that the *Kongoesse* monarchs should long enough ago have obliged their viceroy and governors, at least of the principal provinces, to take care to have all the great roads thro' them made as convenient, easy, and safe as possible, not only for the merchants and passengers; but likewise for their own troops, when they are sent to quell some new revolt, rebellion, or invasion, as they often are, in one part or other of the kingdom; for want of which precaution, one half of the forces perish in the way, thro' hunger, fatigue, and variety of diseases, before they can reach the enemy. Neither would it be less the interest of their head governors to order those high roads to be kept safe and commodious, considering how frequently they themselves are obliged to repair to court from their distant provinces, and with the vast retinue which always accompanies them to and from it. Yet such is the indolence of the *Kongoesse* nation and government, there are but very few of them kept in any tolerable repair; tho' what we here term tolerable, would be justly termed intolerable amongst us in any part of *Europe*.

THE only ones we read of that seem to deserve a more favourable epithet than the rest, are those between *Loanda* and the capital of *St. Salvador*, and from this last to those of *Batta* and *Bamba*, and some few other inland parts of the kingdom, where commerce is carried on with a little more vigour, and by a much greater number of wealthy merchants. In these few provinces, as well from *Loanda* to *Massangano*, and *Ambaica*, in the kingdom of *Metamba*, and in that of *Angola*, between its capital, and *Arajo* and *Cassingo*, the roads are pretty broad and commodious, as well as more frequented, and safe from banditti, and other wild and dangerous vermin. But, excepting these, the rest of the country may be justly termed a continued wilderness, thro' which there is no other path, except what the passengers are obliged to make to themselves, thro' vast heaths and plains, thick set with thorns and briars, or thro' thick forests, craggy rocks and mountains, at immense labour and charge, and with the extremest hazard of their lives, from wild beasts and venomous insects. And this is still the more surprising, as not only the mercantile part of the people, the king's forces, and officers of the government, but even the most lazy and indolent of the people, are ever in motion, and, thro' a lightness natural to them, are ever shifting from place to place, with their indigent families, in hopes of amending their wretched condition; insomuch that the lower class of the people, which is by far the greater part, may be more truly stiled travellers and wanderers about, than inhabitants of the kingdom. They are still in a more deplorable case; whenever sickness overtakes them in those desert tracts; which is often their case in those sultry and immoderate climes; where, being destitute of all proper help, they are left to perish in the extremest misery.

EVEN to those who travel most at their ease, and have all their conveniencies and attendance of servants with them, it often happens, that, instead of the regular rest which nature requires, after a long fatiguing night's journey (for the excessive heat permits them not to travel during the greatest part of the day) they are obliged to fortify their little camp all around with thick thorn hedges, boughs of trees, and other fences, against wild beasts, and keep continual watch against them, as well as against bands of robbers, which infest most parts of the kingdom; so as to be ready, at the least alarm, to be on their defence against either sort. We shall say nothing of those still more subtle enemies which steal upon them unperceived, such as serpents, vipers, scorpions, and a variety of other venomous creatures, which lie concealed, perhaps, in those very hedges which they make for their defence; these are therefore the most dreadful enemies they have to encounter, seeing there is no fence or weapons that can be of any service against them; whereas the firing of a single musket will

* PIGAFET, CAVAZZI ap. Labat, lib. i. c. 23, & al.

The danger of crossing these rapid rivers by the help of those ropes, consists not only in the hazard of their breaking thro' age, in which case the unfortunate traveller is swallowed up, and perishes inevitably; which frequently happens; but they are moreover exposed to the jaws of crocodiles, sea-horses, and other voracious fishes; with which those rivers swarm, and which often seize on them, whilst they tread, as it were, the water with their feet, and hold their hands fastened to the rope.

This is not all; in many places, the water is either too wide to admit of such ropes, or there are no inhabitants near, or only such as are too slothful to take that trouble upon them. In which case they are obliged to stay till their slaves have fabricated some kind of float, or flat ferry-boat, with the barks of trees, or some slight timber; on which nevertheless they cross not over without imminent danger from the violence of the current, the boisterous winds, or even from the voracious monsters from beneath (4).

(4) Labat ex Cavaz. lib. i. c. 25, p. 481, & seq.

scare

- a scare away not only lions, tigers, and other voracious beasts, but even a whole drove of banditti. These various dangers considered, our readers will easily judge, how short and interrupted their repose must be, even after the greatest fatigues; but here it must be observed, that sound sleep is the least thing the *Kongoesse* covet or require; instead of which, *The people use but little rest,* one part commonly betake themselves to singing, dancing, and smoaking, while the other take a short nap by turns; after which they rise as much refreshed, as if they had enjoyed a sound night's repose; and, for the most part, with as sparing a share of diet as they have of sleep. But may not this scantiness of the one render the other less needful? And may not their frequent anointing their bodies every day with oil, which prevents their wasting their spirits with sweating, whilst the *Europeans* they carry in their hammocks feel their own quite exhausted by it, be the very means which enable them to undergo such extraordinary fatigues with so slender a diet and so little rest^a, *and slender diet.*

- But by this time our readers will doubtless think they have travelled long enough with them through these dreadful untrodden wilds, and with their wretched accommodations, and will be glad to see how much better they fare within their own homes. We have already given some description of their cities, towns, and villages, by which one may easily guess at the meanness of the rest of their houses, on the inside as well as outside of their habitations, and the scantiness of all conveniencies in them, except what are so absolutely necessary that they could not possibly live without them. And tho' all this wretched poverty be visibly owing to their natural indolence, yet they make no scruple to ascribe it to their peculiar greatness of mind, which inspires them with a contempt for all kind of superfluities and nice accommodations, as the effects of luxury, and sordid ostentation^f. *The meanness of their houses. The people proud of it.*

- Accordingly, their houses are for the generality no better than round sorry huts, low and ill-built, upon the naked ground, such as they find it, of wood and mud, without floor or cieling, ill-contrived within, and poorly thatched with straw or fern, as if only calculated to defend them from the sun, rain, and wind; they have no windows, nor any light but from the doors, which are commonly so low that the shortest man must stoop to go in and out, and the tallest can hardly stand upright in them. They are so slight, that they are easily carried off by a moderate land-flood, or whirled away by a brisk blast of wind; they are more or less spacious, according to the largeness of the family, who live promiscuously in them, and at night light a fire in the center, the smoak of which makes its way through the thatch, whilst they lie around it, with their heads towards the wall. Those indeed of the city of *St. Salvador*, and some other towns of note, are somewhat higher, better thatched, and whited within and without, and divided into apartments, the chief of which have their floors matted. Those which belong to persons of rank and substance are still more capacious, and have a kind of hall to receive their visitors, besides distinct apartments for their wives, servants, and slaves, which stand like so many houses, either adjoining to each other, or inclosed within the same cincture. *Live promiscuously in them. Those of the better sort still low and thatched.*

- We must, however, except those of the *Portuguese*, which are commonly built of brick and mortar, after the *European* manner, and, for the most part, pretty well furnished and adorned. Those likewise of the city of *Loanda*, the capital of *Angola*, and the place of the greatest commerce in the whole country, are built after the same manner, and some of them make a tolerably grand appearance; but neither of them have been able to raise the emulation of the *Kongoesse* to build their own after a better, or even after a stronger manner, than we have described; tho', besides all the inconveniencies already mentioned, they are still liable to a much greater and more dreadful one; viz. their being infested by serpents, and venomous insects of various kinds, mentioned in a former section^g, which frequently make a most dreadful havock among them^h. *Some few excepted.*

- The furniture of their houses is much of a piece with their structure; it consists chiefly of some few ill-contrived instruments for agriculture, a hatchet to fell timber, a cutlass, which they commonly carry about them when they are travelling, or going to war; some few calabashes, wherein to store their provisions, as their roots, pulse, grains, ointments, and such-like; and their kitchen furniture, viz. a pot, a kettle, a ladle, and a few earthen platters, a hand-mill to grind their corn, and some small calabashes to eat or drink out of. Their best bedding is a large coarse sack-cloth, filled with straw, leaves, or other such stuff; with a slight covering, and perhaps a stump of wood instead of a pillow. As to the meaner sort, if they have any-thing better than the bare ground to lie upon, it is only some straw, fern, rushes, or leaves; and as they are all obliged to kindle a fire at night, it often happens that it communicates itself to their bedding, and in a moment sets the whole house in flames, before they can have time to get out of it, and from that one spreads itself over a whole hamlet or town. Tables, chairs, and stools, are unknown among them; and we have already shewn how poorly the workshops of their artificers are furnished with proper tools for their respective manufacturesⁱ. *Their mean furniture; bedding; Houses often set on fire.*

^a Ibid. *ibid.* PIGAFET, & al. *sup. citat.*^h LABAT *ex Cavaz.* *ubi sup. ad fin.*^f LABAT, & al. *ubi sup. c. 18.*ⁱ Before, p. 458, & seq.^g Before, p. 437, & seq.

Some luxury
introduced
amongst the
great by the
Portuguese ;

It must be owned, however, that since the coming of the *Portuguese* amongst them, their a
princes and great lords, who had till then affected the same simplicity and meanness, have
begun to imitate them in some degree in the sumptuousness of their furniture. But even all
this finery consists in having their floors nicely matted, or covered with a fine carpet, and
their mud walls hung with tapestry ; in a few large chests which are ranged about their
apartments, wherein they lay up their provisions, and over them hang their armour, belts,
weapons, &c. in an irregular manner. Above the rest, they have a large and gaudy
umbrella or two, together with some other costly baubles, which they buy of the *Portuguese*
merchants, as looking-glasses, pictures, cabinets, caskets, stately couches, and easy chairs,
tabrets, cushions, plate, china, glasses, wardrobes filled with rich cloaths, and such like
costly household furniture, with which their halls and chief apartments are adorned. But b
these are only to be met with in the palaces of some of the chief princes and viceroys ;
whilst those of a lower rank, unable to go to the extravagant price of them, content them-
selves with either imitating something like them in a less degree, or, which is more com-
mon, with despising them with a philosophical pride, as things unworthy the regard of a
great mind ^k.

but despised by
their inferiors.

Marriage
much disre-
garded and
abused,

It were happy for them, if this pretended contempt of all superfluities had been able to
restrain them from affecting it most, where religion and nature itself do most discountenance
and condemn it ; we mean with respect to their plurality of wives and concubines. We
have already taken notice, that polygamy was allowed all over the kingdom of *Kongo*, until
the time of their embracing of Christianity ; since which time the missionaries have in vain c
endeavoured to persuade them to be contented with one wife ¹ ; their constant disregard to
that Christian institute seems to imply, that upon their being first initiated into it by baptism,
they had reserved to themselves the liberty of dispensing with it, and of going on still in the
same old way as they did before their conversion. To be obliged to marry one wife, and to
be confined to her during life, is looked upon, even by the most open professors of Chris-
tianity, as so unreasonable, and out of their power, that they would sooner renounce it, than
submit to such a state of continence ; and it is merely to avoid a total apostasy, that those
good fathers have been obliged to wink at sundry irregularities which those voluptuous con-
verts fell into, by way of salvo, and which all their zeal and eloquence have not been able d
hitherto to root up ; among which, that of their having a multitude of concubines, besides
the lawful wife, is far from being the worst ; for many of them, looking upon that liberty
as no less inconsistent with the marriage institution, than confinement to one wife is to their
vicious inclination, carefully avoid the fetters of the one, and indulge themselves in all the
excesses of the other. These do indeed pretend to their confessors, when reproved for this
licentiousness, that they mean only to fix upon one from among the number to make their
lawful wife, as soon as they can find one that is worthy of the preference ; and, under that
plausible pretext, will not scruple to keep twenty-five or thirty at a time ; but it seldom
happens that they make that choice.

even among
the Christians.

All customs
winked at.

EVEN those who seem to comply most strictly with the laws of the church, with respect
to marriage, reserve to themselves the liberty of conversing with the person they have made e
choice of for a wife, and to enjoy with her all the privileges and endearments of the nuptial
commerce, for two or three years before they will venture to tie the indissoluble knot with
them ; both hers and his relations allowing it to be reasonable that he should make so full a
trial, before he is obliged, by the marriage ceremony, to confine himself wholly to her.
If, during that time, any thing happens that displeases him or her, he makes no difficulty
to send her away, nor she to withdraw herself from him ; nor doth such a parting bring any
disgrace upon either of them, let the fault be on which side it will, or prove an obstruction
to their being married to some other person ^m.

Bastards held
equal with the
legitimate
issue.

It must be owned, however, that the relations on both sides, as well as the priests or
missionaries, will interpose their good offices to reconcile them, especially if any children f
have been born during that time, who, unless the marriage ceremony ensue, must be looked
upon as bastards, and to belong neither to the father or mother. But, even in this case, the
Kongoesse make so little difference between their legitimate and illegitimate issue, that they
often prefer the latter to the former to the succession, or at least put them all upon an equal
footing, that is, look upon them all indifferently, as so many young creatures under their
power, to be disposed of, or used as they think fit ; so that there is seldom seen any natural
affection between parents and children, or husbands and wives ; but rather, for the most
part, jealousy and hatred ; or, at best, a strange indifference and coldness reigns through
the whole family, every one pursuing their separate pleasures and interests, as well after as
before the celebration of matrimony. Hence ensue those frequent divorces and elopements g
which we have formerly had occasion to speak of ⁿ, and which neither their confessors, nor
relations, are able to prevent or remedy.

Natural affec-
tion banished.

^k CAVAZ. ap. Labat. l. i. c. 21.
p. 441, & seq.

¹ Before 441, & seq. 445, & seq.

^m Ibid. ibid.

ⁿ See before,

a THIS being the melancholy footing on which matrimony stands among them, our readers must not expect much ceremony, much less gallantry, in their courtship. Among those of the middle rank, when a young woman is thought by her friends, or thinks herself, fit for a husband, she anoints herself with oil, and paints herself all over with a red fort of wood, and confines herself to a private or obscure case or hut, for a whole month, during which time, a number of young candidates attend her every day, bringing her some venison, or fowl, or flesh of their own killing, fruits, and other presents. At the month's end, she declares for him who hath served her best, or whom she likes most, who immediately furnishes her with the best cloaths and ornaments, that he can afford her; after which the marriage ceremony is performed with more or less profuseness, according to their circumstances, but always to, and often beyond, the utmost of their power^o.

*Matrimony
disregarded.
Courtship
among those
of the meaner
rank.*

b THE case is somewhat different with respect to those of a higher rank, whose views commonly are to obtain the woman as soon, and to procrastinate the nuptial rite as long, as they can. If one of this sort can but obtain the good liking of the person he hath fixed his affection upon by suitable presents, and can, by the same means, obtain the consent of her parents, which is the principal article, and especially to the terms lately mentioned, of two or three years trial, which among them is seldom thought too long for a man to have a thorough knowledge of a woman's temper, and good or bad qualities, all the other preliminaries are quickly adjusted, and she is brought with as little noise and show as possible to his house, attended with a few friends of her own sex, and is quickly entered into her state of probation. The nuptials, which are commonly expensive, among the lower as well as the higher rank, are not celebrated till the term agreed on is expired, nor sometimes even then; because the stipulated dowry is to be paid at the same time; which induces many of them to defer them as long as they can, notwithstanding her earnest solicitation for the concluding ceremony, which alone gives her the title and privilege of a wife.

*Among the
higher class.
Matrimony
how cele-
brated;*

c As soon as she hath prevailed upon him to appoint the day, notice of it is sent to all his and her relations, who never fail to appear on that occasion, dressed up in the most costly ornaments they can either purchase or borrow, every one being ready, at such a time, to assist their friends and acquaintance, whether they be rich or poor, with some of their best accoutrements. As soon as they are all met at his house, the husband publicly declares his intention to them of making her his lawful wife; upon which they break out into their usual congratulations and good wishes. The priest, if any can be had (for in some parts of the kingdom they are sometimes whole years without seeing the face of one, or of a missionary) comes in and performs the ceremony, or, for want of one, some substitute; then follows the dowry, and some mutual presents, suitable to their condition.

*attended with
expensive
feasting.*

d THE marriage-ceremony is quickly succeeded by a sumptuous banquet; and in these, if in any-thing, it is that they strive to display their hospitable munificence to the highest degree they can possibly reach, or even beyond what their income can afford. The very poorest of them will, on these occasions, sell a child or two to purchase a cow, or an ox, and some *Portuguese* wine or brandy, to entertain their guests. The repast commonly lasts till after sun-set, or rather as long as there are any victuals or liquor left; for the *Kongoese*, accustomed, as hath been already observed, to a sparing diet, commonly repair to these feasts with such a craving appetite, that if they did not meet with a suitable affluence, their panegyrics on the master, of which they are very lavish, would quickly be turned into the most stinging reproaches.

*Sumptuous
banquet;*

e No sooner are the provisions devoured than they all fall to diverting themselves every one in his own way; some by singing and dancing to their rough and uncouth music; others by drinking, smoking, or sleeping, which last generally crowns the feast, and the next rising sun sends them all to their own homes^p.

*succeeded by
dancing.*

f HAVING mentioned their music upon this occasion, our reader may not perhaps be displeased to know what it consists in, and what instruments commonly accompany it. As for the former, if it is still so barbarous and irregular since it hath received some improvements from the *Portuguese*, who have introduced several musical instruments amongst them, we shall hardly think it an exaggeration, when they tell us it was fitter to scare wild beasts away, than to delight an *European* ear^q. There is indeed nothing in their voices, language, or accent, but what seems more adapted to affright than to please; and their most fervent shouts and gestures of joy and pleasure might be easily mistaken by a stranger for the dismal outcries of persons in distress or torment. This it is that makes them so insensible to the most melodious harmony, that our most excellent compositions can only provoke their laughter and contempt, except where there is something harsh and warlike to affect them; and hence it is also that the *Portuguese* have been able to introduce so few musical instruments but those of that kind.

*Their music
very rough.*

^o DAVITY, DAPPER, PIGAFET, & al. sup. citat.
FIT, DAPPER, & al.

^p CAVAZZI ap. Labat, ubi sup. vol. i. c. 19. PIGA-

^q Ibid. lib. ii. c. 48, & seq.

Musical in-
struments first
brought from
Portugal;

chiefly in use
among the
princes, &c.

Stringed in-
struments
coarse;
and ill-
touched.

Drums very
dull.

Small bells.

Their dancing
no less uncouth
and immodest;

in great
vogue.

Often run into
confusion.

Edicts made
against them
ineffectual.
Modest ones
used at court,
and among the
nobles.

WE have already taken notice of those that usually attend their monarchs, whenever they go out or appear in public^r; viz. the trumpet, cornet, *French* horn, and the shrill fife, most of which are of different sizes, and by their different tones make a tolerable contrast, considering the unskilfulness of the players, who seem perfect strangers to rule and harmony, and are therefore best heard by an *European* at a distance. They will likewise prove of singular advantage to him in drowning the still more disagreeable discord of their fingers, which would otherwise be intolerable to him. These various wind instruments, which were at first introduced by the *Portuguese*, have ever since continued to make a considerable part, not only of their monarch's retinue, but likewise of their princes and great men, who affect to have a number of them about them where-ever they go. As for the common people, they are contented with their fifes and tabors, at their weddings and other rejoicings.

BESIDES the wind instruments above-mentioned, they have some stringed ones, which, by their rude construction, seem to be natives of the country; their nsambi somewhat resembles the *Spanish* guitar, but is without bottom; the strings of it are made of the fibres of the palm, or some other bark, and would give a tolerable sound, were it tuned and touched by a skilful hand. The marimba hath something more curious and compound in its structure, and consists of fifteen or sixteen small calabashes, of different sizes, fastened to a flat board, by strings that go across the mouths of them, and which, being touched by small pieces of wood, like the sticks of our dulcimers, give an agreeable variety of sounds. This is by far the sweetest of all their stringed instruments, when well tuned and played. Their drums are made of a long hollow trunk of a tree, with one single skin stretched over one end of it, the other being left open; they are beat either with the fists, or by sticks made of some heavy wood, and are used at their feasting and dancings, as well as in the army. They are called ngambo, or ingombo, and give but a dull heavy sound, but which is raised either by that of the shrill fife, or of the longa, which consists of two or more small bells, such as are hung about the necks of our carriers horses. The rest of their instruments are still more rude and uncouth, and not worth any farther notice^a.

THEIR dancing comes not one jot behind their music in roughness, and consists in a promiscuous round of men and women, all striving who shall shew the greatest agility and variety of gambols, contorsions, and indecent postures. When they have no music to regulate their motions, they chuse one of the most expert dancers to do it by his voice, that is, by a kind of song, set to some of their grotesque tunes, which, by words and tone, directs the gestures and movements of the whole circle. The *Kongoese* are extremely fond of these kinds of diversions, and spend whole days and nights in that rough exercise, without scarcely any refreshment; they have a great variety of these dances, and those who invent new ones are held in the highest esteem in the whole canton, where they all express the greatest eagerness to learn and perfect themselves in them, and ever after call it by his name. It often happens that they heat their blood to such height with those songs and dances, especially when they abound with such luscious words and gestures, without which they would yield them no relish (N), that they are seized with a kind of frenzy, which drives all the rules of the dance out of their heads, sets them on inventing, singing, and acting something new of the same kind, till they fall into such a general confusion and disorder of singing, roaring, and lewd actions, that a stranger would be apt to think himself present at some lewd *Bacchanalia*, or among some of the unconverted *Kongoese*, or the still more barbarous *Giagas*, where those dances are accompanied with the most shocking and lascivious gestures and actions that can well be imagined.

THE missionaries have in vain exerted all their zeal, and some of the Christian princes of *Kongo* their authority, to extirpate all those diabolical scenes of lewdness from among their converted subjects; and not only forbid them under the severest penalties, but have likewise introduced other dances of a more modest as well as ingenious nature at their court, which are from thence stiled royal balls, in hopes to allure them by the one, and deter them by the other. These balls were exhibited with the utmost decency and order, and yet with all the agility and variety of music and action, together with an additional pomp of dress, regular cadency, and excellent order, the whole performance of which was, and is still, at court,

^r Before, p. 451, & seq.

^a De his, vid. LABAT ex Cavaz. lib. ii. c. 4. pass. & al. sup. citat.

(N) The good father *Cavazzi*, who had in vain tried all the methods which his zeal could inspire him with, to deter his converts from those filthy diversions, but without any success, gives us a list of these dances, which are called either by their inventors names, or from the provinces where they were first hatched; but all of them so abominably lewd, that he thought the bare mentioning of them a defilement to his pen. One in particular, called mampombo, he tells us, is so transcendently impudent and filthy, that none but the devil

himself, he thought, could be the inventor of it (1); and yet in such vogue are they among the people, that they encourage these dancers to go strolling about the country, where they are sure to be entertained with what victuals and drink they please, by those before whose doors they come to play their lewd gambols, and who think themselves so highly honoured by the compliment, that they will even exhaust their little substance to treat them with such cheer as they think will most induce them to exhibit the most abominable scenes (2).

(1) *Cavazzi ap. Labat, lib. ii. c. 4. p. 54.*

(2) *Ibid. p. 55, & seq.*

a and among the nobles of the kingdom, regulated by some expert master in that way, who by his voice, song, and motions (for they all sing and move in concert with him), and by the help of a pair of small calabashes, which serve him instead of castinets, directs and animates the whole circle of dancers in the most decent and agreeable order; but, for want of the usual condiment above-mentioned, could never be relished by any but the better sort of the nation; the rest chusing to expose themselves to any penalties, rather than to be confined to dance without it¹.

ONE would imagine that these fatiguing exercises, in which they spend so much of their time, joined to their mean and sparing way of living, and their constant anointing their bodies from head to foot several times a day, frequent bathing, smoaking, and freedom² *Diseases frequent in Kongo.*

b from wordly cares and toils, should exempt them from most distempers, in a climate so serene and hot, and a soil for the most part stony, sandy, and dry; and it must be owned that they are thereby kept free from a multitude of loathsome distempers which luxury and intemperance have introduced among us; but nevertheless they are not without some considerable ones, which rage with great fury, and make terrible havock among them; and, which is still more deplorable, they have neither physicians, surgeons, physic, nor any other assistance than that of their pretended conjurers, who set up for curing all diseases, wounds, and other ailments, by their enchantments, and who are a set of the most ignorant and rapacious cheats and blood-suckers, having nothing in view but sordid gain, and even increasing their patient's misery, at the hazard of their lives, in order to extort a greater reward for the promised cure³. And so besotted are even they who make open profession of Christianity, to those deluding jugglers, and the heathenish part still more, that it is with the greatest difficulty that the missionaries, who commonly practise physic and surgery with good success, and are provided with all proper medicines and other conveniences for their cure, can prevail upon them to put themselves under their care, though they never pretend to expect any return, but bestow all their pains and medicines upon them *gratis*. What is still more surprising is, that if any of them, after having tried in vain all the pretended helps of those heathenish charms, agree at last to submit to be cured by a missionary, they prove such untoward and untractable patients, that they will submit to no prescribed rule or regimen, but commonly elude by their perverseness all the skill and care of their charitable physician, and render abortive the effects of his best medicines, by their wilful opposition to his directions⁴. *No physicians but jugglers. Their avarice. Kongoese unruly patients.*

AMONG the diseases which make the most terrible and destructive havock, that which we commonly stile the venereal, and they chiranga, the just consequence and natural effect of their boundless incontinency, may be well reckoned one of the chief; not only on account of the difficulty of its cure, and the cruel and butcherly method of treating it, but much more so on account of the exquisite torments they endure under it, and the fatal effects which commonly attend it. They reckon four kinds, or, as we should rather chuse to call them, four degrees or stages of it, the lowest of which is dreadful enough, one would think, to put a curb to their excessive lewdness, seeing its acrimony, for want of proper discharge, raises the most dreadful ulcers in the mouth, throat, and joints, especially those of the hands and feet, and not only deprives them of the use of their limbs, but causes the most excruciating pains all over the body. *The venereal disease very rife. First degree of it.*

THE second covers the whole skin with the most loathsome and corrosive ulcers, attended with an intolerable stench, which being mostly exposed to view in a country where they go almost naked, cannot be beheld without the utmost horror. *Second sort.*

THE third sort, or degree, commonly seizes on the soles of the feet, raises a tumor in them of the shape and bigness of a middling mushroom, which, if not timely and skilfully cauterised, quickly rots the whole foot, and sends the unhappy patient out of the world in the most dreadful convulsions. *Third sort.*

THE last, and most terrible of all, conveys its deadly poison into the whole habit, and into the very marrow, destroying, in a very little time, the strongest constitution, taking away the use of all the limbs and senses, and leaving the unhappy person wholly insensible of every thing, but of his inexpressible anguish and misery, and a prospect of approaching death. Among those who have the good fortune to escape with their lives, there are few to be seen who do not carry about them some brand or mark of their incontinence, either by the loss of a nose, lip, or ear, or by some scars, ulcers, &c. or even by a distasteful scurf spread over their skin like a leprosy, occasioned either by the unskilfulness and ignorance of the doctor, or, which is oftner the case, by the perverseness and irregularity of the patient⁵ (O). *Fourth sort.*

THE

¹ LABAT, DAVITY, DAPPER.

² De his vid. sup. p. 442, & seq.

³ LABAT ex Cavazzi, lib. i.

c. 22, p. 560, & seq. DAPPER Kongo, & al. ubi sup..

⁴ Ibidem ibid.

(O) Hence it may probably enough be, as our author observes (3), that their excellent wood chiconga, well known in Europe by the name of sandal, and ligno santo, or holy wood, which is found of such efficacy a-

(3) Labat ex Cavazzi, l. i. c. 22, p. 460.

*Diarrhæa ve-
ry fatal thro'
bad manage-
ment.*

THE next raging and destructive disease, and most difficult to cure, is the diarrhæa, a chiefly owing, according to the authors last quoted, to their mean diet, and especially to their excessive eating of fruits; which, by their cold nature, destroy the tone of the stomach, obstruct digestion, and fill it with crudities, relaxing the bowels from their retentive quality, causing a general disrelish to every thing, and in a little time bringing a man to death's door (P). The most common remedy they use against it, is by girding the patient as tight as possible round the body, and over the navel, and anointing him with oil of moni, commonly called by botanists *ricinus Americanus*, and vulgarly *palma Christi*, which is of a hot and active nature, and giving him plenty of nicaffo and chiroco, or other such-like warm fruits, boiled in water, or baked on the embers, to eat. They likewise make use of sundry sorts of cordials against it, and sometimes of bathing in warm water. But as none of these remove b the cause, great numbers of them are carried off by it at the return of the season; so that all the benefit they receive by these remedies, proves, for the most part, rather a short reprieve than a thorough cure.

*The small-pox
ill treated,
and very fa-
tal.*

A THIRD destructive disease amongst them, which in a short time carries them off by thousands, and frequently depopulates whole villages, is the small-pox, the virulency of which is chiefly owing to their want of sense in using proper precautions and remedies against it, and leaving nature to take its own course. They suffer the sick and well to live and lie promiscuously, and to indulge themselves in every thing that their appetites crave, and they can procure; and, what is still worse, suffer them to bathe frequently in cold water, which stops the pores already sufficiently clogged, by their daily anointing the skin with oil; c so that, for want of a proper outlet, it runs into a confluent pox, or seizes their vitals, and carries them off in a few days ^y.

A FOURTH disease which rages here, especially among those who live on the sea-coasts, or use the sea, is a grievous swelling in the groin and lower belly, occasioned, as is supposed, by the excessive heats to which they are exposed in those hot climates. The pain which this disorder occasions is so acute and violent, that the patient quickly becomes delirious. The remedies they use against it are of the cooling kind, particularly the herb bichio, from which the *Portuguese* have denominated that distemper, which is likewise very rife in *Brasil*, and other parts of *America*.

*Fevers and
their cure.*

FEVERS, attended with violent pains in the head, are likewise very rife and dangerous, d especially in the winter, when the great rains render the air unhealthy and infectious. Against these they make use of the sandal wood lately mentioned, whether red or grey, tho' the former is most esteemed; this being reduced into powder, and mixed with palm oil, they make into an excellent ointment, with which they anoint the patient all over two or three times, which seldom fails of curing. But if it doth not allay the pain in the head, they have recourse to bleeding in the temples by incision and suction, an aukward way in use among them, which we shall describe in its proper place ^z.

*Frequent cholick
vehement.*

THE last distemper we shall mention is that which they call npichi, and is much like our violent cholicks, occasioned by their mean unwholesome diet and water, which fills them with crudities; against these disorders they scarcely use any other remedy than abstinence, and e will be two or three days, or even more, without eating or drinking ^a. Thus much may serve for the principal diseases of the natives, and their method of curing them. The *Europeans* are no less subject to the same disorders, upon their first settling amongst them, especially if they are obliged to conform to their way of living; the change of diet and liquors, joined to the excessive heat of the climate, soon begin to display their pernicious effects on them, by the excessive effervescence of the blood, which can be kept under by no other method, than by frequently letting it out, and in such great quantities as would be deemed

*The distempers
of the Euro-
peans;*

^y *Iidem ibid.*

^z DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

^a *Iidem ibid.*

gainst that distemper, and of which nature hath provided them with whole forests, is used among them with so little success, though in its full bloom and virtue, whilst it performs such wonders in other countries, where it is used dry, and in some measure divested of its salubrious and purifying quality; for whether there be any defect in their preparing or administering it, it is certain, that if both these were ever so carefully and judiciously performed, yet the efficacy will still depend, in a great measure, on the exactness of the patient's observing his doctor's directions, which, as we have already observed, is not to be expected from people who will run into the most absurd and dangerous irregularities, merely to obtain a little present ease; there being nothing more common among them, than to see them plunge themselves in a pond or river, over head and ears, several times a

day, even when they are under a regimen that is quite opposite to it, and for which they can give no other reason, than that they are unable to bear the excessive heat they labour under, and must endeavour to assuage it at all hazards (4).

(P) We might perhaps assign a more rational cause for the dreadful havoc which that destructive disease makes amongst them, were we to ascribe it to those frequent surfeits they must be liable to by their immoderate dancings lately mentioned; which, having heated their blood to a high degree, naturally leads them to allay their heat and thirst by cooling fruits and liquors, which they have not discretion enough to forbear; such ill conduct being less strange than that which we have lately had occasion to observe in them, when labouring under the most dangerous distempers.

(4) *Iidem ibid.* p. 461.

extremely

a extremely dangerous in their own country; so that, to use our author's word, they must *require frequent letting of blood.* make what haste they can to exchange their old blood for a new sort, which is more suitable to the country. Yet doth not all this phlebotomy, joined to other precautions and remedies which they use, prevent vast numbers dying, before they can be seasoned to their climate and aliments^b. But to return to the *Kongolese*;

THEY are still more awkward at their manual operations, and cure of wounds, to which defect it is owing, next to the badness of their blood, that the smallest pimples, contusion, or scratch, often degenerate into loathsome and painful ulcers, which the warmth of the climate quickly fills with worms and stench, or incrustates with a nauseous scurf. They have the use of phlebotomy, but, for want of lancets and incision-knives, perform the operation in a sad butcherly manner, tho' in imitation rather of our cupping than bleeding. Instead of cupping-glasses, to which they are strangers, they use a small calabash, a horn, or a shell, perforated on the top. These they apply to an arm, leg, belly, or head, or any other part which they imagine to be the seat of the distemper, after having first made as deep a gash with a knife as the skin will admit of. They next apply their mouth to the hole of the calabash, or horn, and suck the blood thro' it till it is full. This they repeat till they have drawn a sufficient quantity of it from the patient; in some cases they will, instead of a calabash, make use of an earthen pot or pipkin, such as they boil their victuals in, and apply it with lighted tow, as we do our cupping-glasses; but with what stupid unskilfulness the reader may guess, by an instance which our missionary tells us of his own knowledge, and which for its singularity deserves a place in the margin (Q).

WE shall conclude this section with an account of their funeral obsequies, in which, notwithstanding their parsimony, poverty, and want of natural affection for their nearest relations, they strive to shew themselves most profuse and generous, as if they were desirous to compensate for their former disregard, and want of duty to them. The rich and great are not only profuse to a high degree, but likewise extremely bountiful in assisting the poor with such things as they are not able to purchase on these occasions; on the other hand, these last, notwithstanding their extreme aversion to discover their own poverty, will not scruple to apply to the former, and even to the king and princes for their assistance, when their friends and acquaintance are not in a capacity to help them. So that the most indigent among them are commonly enabled to wrap up their dead in a piece of coarse cloth of the manufacture of their country, and to have the bier decently covered with mats; whilst the better sort array their own with the same fine *European* linen cloths which they themselves wear, and cover the bier with black cloth.

THOSE that live at a distance from the cities and towns, whether Christians or heathens, retain still their old custom of interring their dead in places at some distance from their dwellings. But the more polite and stricter sort of Christians, always inter them either in their churches, or consecrated cœmeteries, that they may be nearer at hand to visit their graves, and pray for their souls; the former still retain an old heathenish but innocent custom, which is, that after the body is put into the grave, a person, who has the sole privilege for it, mixes a certain quantity of earth and water, to the thickness of mortar, and approaching the grave backwards with it upon his shoulders, throws it into the hole, till he hath filled it up to the top; upon which his friends and the rest of the company emulously strive to ram it down with their feet, which is done, as some say, to prevent the soul leaving the body; or, as others will have it, to signify to the living, that the deceased wants now nothing more from them, and that they need not give themselves any farther care or trouble about him. This is contrary to the notion of the stricter sort of converts, who bestow a great number of masses upon them, both at their interment, anniversaries, and upon other occasions; and, where they cannot procure a sufficient number of priests, bestow the money upon poor people, to engage them to pray for their souls^c.

WE have already spoken of the obsequies performed to their kings, to which we shall only add, that it is looked upon as a great crime to shed tears for them, and a person who should be convicted of it would be severely punished. In lieu of which they keep certain

^b Ibidem ibid.

^c CAVAZZI ap. Labat. ubi sup. p. 383, & seq. DAPPER, & al. ubi. sup.

(Q) One of these ignorant quacks, being desired to perform the like operation on a poor slave, who was grievously afflicted with a pain in his bowels, and could not readily find a calabash, or horn, fit for the purpose, took it into his head to make use of one of those earthen pots, but of a larger size; and having made several slashes on his belly, filled the vessel with tow, set fire to it, and applied it to the place. The suction was so violent, that it quickly filled the vessel with blood, and the

patient with anguish. In vain did the unskilful quack endeavour to disengage it from him; he found all his efforts, and those of the by-standers ineffectual, and the poor slave ready to expire under it. He was at length delivered from his misery and danger by an *European*, whom Providence had brought to his hut, and who, with one blow with his stick, broke the vessel in pieces, before the patient was brought to his last gasp (5).

(5) Labat ex Cavazzi, l. 1, p. 67, & seq.

Manner of
publishing
their demise.
The nobles in-
terred in
vaults.

men in pay, whose business it is to go to all the public places in the city or town, and to remind a the subjects of his death, by the mournful sound of their ivory cornets; most probably to induce them to pray for him, and to inspire them with a due respect for his successor. The princes and nobles affect to be interred in vaults wainscotted round, and hung with black, the entrance of which is closely stopped, to prevent any nauseous smell being perceived without; whilst two of their old domestics are hired to guard the place by turns, and to pray for the deceased; other prayers and masses for their repose are likewise ordered to be offered on the anniversary of their decease, and on all-souls day, at which time their graves are opened, and the hangings exchanged for new ones. Among those that are still unconverted, several other superstitious ceremonies are used towards deceased great men, such as bringing rich offerings to their graves, in which they are very profuse, and burying alive b one or more of their wives with them^d, and some others not worth troubling our readers farther with^e.

Some barbarous
customs
retained.

IN the kingdom of *Metamba*, which is subject to this of *Kongo*, but hath been but imperfectly converted, they indulge themselves in several strange ceremonies towards persons near expiring, altogether cruel and unnatural, tho' under the specious colour of love and friendship to them; for, under pretence of shortening his agonies and misery, long before the breath is gone out of a man's body, they pull him out of his bed or hammock, by the arms and legs, and tossing him up into the air, with most doleful outcries and dreadful howlings, let him fall on the ground; where, after having viewed him attentively for a while, they throw themselves promiscuously upon the body, embrace, kiss, and mourn over it, c rolling themselves with it on the earth in a frantic guise, till they are quite exhausted. They then dress the body in the most decent manner, after which the oldest person in the family, whose peculiar privilege it is, sprinkles him all over from head to foot, with a kind of meal, whilst the rest of the by-standers sing some mournful dirge over it, accompanied with woeful outcries; and in this manner he is conveyed to his grave on a bier, neatly covered with mats, and laid in the ground.

Customs of the
Giagas, and
other heathens.

Various ways
of interring.

AMONG the heathenish parts, especially the *Giagas*^f, they dance about the grave in a frantic manner, bring them victuals, drink, and other conveniencies; and, as they are divided into a variety of sects, each observes their peculiar customs. Some lay the body flat on its back; some on the right or left side, and order the grave accordingly; some lay d the body on the surface of the ground, and raise a mound of earth, stones, palisades, and such like, to a considerable height, planting here and there some stakes, on the top of which they fix death's heads, flags, and other ensigns of distinction. Some of those that were most respected among them, instead of a grave or monument, are only anointed all over with some resinous substance, and left to lie naked on the ground, with a guard over them (R), till all the flesh, skin, and entrails are rotted; after which they carefully gather the bones, which they deposit in wooden boxes, and carry about with them wherever they go, as extraordinary relicks, and singular preservatives.

Monuments
how erected.

Dances at
their funerals.

THE tombs above-mentioned are so ordered as to distinguish the condition of those that lie buried under them; those of high rank have commonly a seat or chair, with a bow, e arrows, and other martial weapons, fixed on the top; the handicrafts-men place some of the tools belonging to their trade, or some other coarse hieroglyphic upon them. Their funeral dances for a great person are always regulated by a person chosen for that purpose, and last eight whole days without any intermission, except whilst they take the refreshment of eating or drinking, or of a short repose; and great care is taken to have the feast well supplied with provisions; the residue of which they throw upon the dead corpse at every meal they take, which in those hot climes increases the stench of the body to an intolerable degree to a stranger; tho' custom, and the pleasure which they think the deceased receives from the whole ceremony, makes it all easy and pleasant to them. The worst of all is, that, with so many victims which they butcher upon those occasions, they never fail of intermix- f ing a number of human ones, which, according to the quality of the deceased, amount commonly, if our author was not misinformed, from 10 to 100, or more, whose flesh not only enhances the splendour of the feast among those cannibals, but gives the greatest satisfaction to the soul of the deceased^g.

^d De his, vid. sup. p. 455. ^e Vid. LABAT, ubi sup. p. 388, & seq. JARRIC, PIGAFET, DAVITY, & al. sup. citat. ^f De his, vid. sup. p. 414, & seq. ^g LABAT, ubi sup. p. 400, & seq. & al. sup. citat.

(R) The reason they give for this practice is, that if they were to cover their bodies with cloaths, or even with rags or leaves, the veneration which the people have for them, would induce them to steal them away; yea and to cut their flesh off their bones; and it is for the same cause that they order a guard to be set over the

corpse, whilst their flesh lies rotting on the ground, that their bones may be preserved till then, and gathered up in order to be kept in memory of the deceased; especially if he hath signalized himself by his valour, generosity, or any other qualities which are held in esteem among them (6).

a BOTH rich and poor observe a kind of mourning for their near relations ; it begins with a close confinement and abstinence from all refreshment, which is to last three whole days. *Their mourning how performed ;* After which those of the common sort shave their whole head, and anoint themselves all over with oil, upon which they rub such a quantity of earth and dust, and dried leaves of various sorts, as gives them the most dreadful appearance. But those of a higher rank content themselves with shaving the upper part of their heads, and binding it about with a list of cloth, linen, or leather ; and confining themselves in their houses eight whole days ; after which they gradually return to their former way of living.

b THE widows are obliged to submit to a much longer retirement, especially at court and in the populous cities, where it would be a scandal for them to be seen abroad before the year is out ; but in towns more remote, they are allowed to go about their own affairs much sooner. Upon their coming abroad, they usually appear in black, with a cap on their head, which falls back upon their shoulders ; their upper garment, which is commonly of woollen, is open on the sides, and comes down to the knee both before and behind. That of the women of quality is of the same stuff and colour, but fuller and plaited about the neck. The widow slaves of *St. Salvador, Loango*, and other places of great commerce, are distinguished by a sharp-pointed cap, about thirty inches high, which makes a strange kind of parade, especially when one sees forty or fifty of them together, attending, as is usual, a *Portuguese* or other lady of distinction. *Born by the slaves.*

c WE shall conclude this article and section with a strange and barbarous notion which the *Kongoesse* entertain concerning dying persons, viz. that they are just upon passing from a wretched and troublesome life into a state of ease and happiness ; from which they absurdly infer, that it is the most charitable kindness one can do them, to accelerate their deliverance by any proper means. Hence it happens, that even among the more regular Christians, a person is no sooner observed to be near expiring, but he is stunned by the hideous outcries and howlings of the family ; insomuch that their priests and missionaries are scarcely able to perform the last offices to them with any tolerable decency or presence of mind. This is, however, but a mild treatment, compared to what is commonly practised among the more impolite, where they strive who shall dispatch the dying person soonest, by stopping their mouth and nose, thumping them upon the breast with their fists or knees, with all their might, and other such inhuman usage ; which they yet imagine to be the most acceptable to him, as it shortens his last struggles and agonies, and sends him quickest into a state of rest and bliss. But were we to trace this barbarous custom to its true original, we should find it to owe its birth chiefly to that want of natural affection, which we have elsewhere observed to reign in most families throughout the kingdom^b. From all which, as well as from a great number of the superstitious customs they still retain, and vices they still indulge, we may infer what imperfect converts the *Portuguese* made of them to Christianity, if their ill lives and examples have not proved too hard an obstacle to its taking root among them, as it hath been in most of their missions in *Asia* and *America*, as well as in this kingdom, of which the universal complaint of their missionaries is an irrefragable evidence^c. *Barbarous notion still rife among them.* *Ill treatment of their dying friends.* *Their imperfect conversion to christianity.*

S E C T. III.

The origin, antiquity, foundation, and history, of the kingdom of Kongo.

e FROM what we have formerly had occasion to observe, that the *Kongoesse* were utter strangers to writing and letters^k, till the *Portuguese* introduced both among them, it will hardly be expected we should be able to look back very far into their antiquity, or offer any thing new concerning their origin and history before that time, unless we were to fetch it from their fabulous traditions, which would be entertaining our readers with an ill-concerted series of the most incredible events ; in the compiling of which, national pride, assisted by a warm imagination, rather than a tenacious and faithful memory, had the greatest share. To this we may add, that they were no better chronologers than historians, and knew nothing of computing the time by years, but only by moons, till they were taught it by the *Europeans*, after their conversion to Christianity. They were even strangers to the distinctions of ours of day and night, nor could ever quote any past transaction, but by saying that it happened in such a king's reign^l. Hence it is that there is no possibility of fixing either the time of the foundation of their monarchy, tho' so small distance of time from the epocha of the first arrival of the *Portuguese*, nor even of obtaining an authentic series of the kings that filled the throne from the reign of *Luqueni*, their first monarch and founder, down to that epocha, tho' his successors did still occupy it during a considerable space after their arrival. *Ancient state of Kongo fabulous, and uncertain.* *The Kongoesse bad chronologers.* *The time of their monarchy's foundation uncertain.*

^b Before, p. 441. ^c De his, vid. Lettres edifiant. ubique fere passim. ^k Before, p. 452. ^l PIGA-

FET, l. ii c. 7.

BUT tho' we cannot possibly fix the time of so remarkable a transaction, our readers will not be displeased if we give them the best account we can of it, stripped of all the fabulous stories with which the *Portuguese* have filled it. This æra doth the more deserve our notice, as that vast tract of land was then divided into a great number of petty estates and variety of governments, and all of them reduced under the obedience of that enterprising warrior; besides a great number of others which were since dismembered from it, under the reigns of his successors, and mentioned at the beginning of this chapter^m, and many others of which the *Portuguese* have made themselves masters, and of which we shall speak in the sequel.

History of their
first founder.

THE founder of this vast monarchy, and the first who took the royal title upon him, was named *Luqueni*; his father *Eminia-n-Zima* was a petty prince, whose small territory lay situate on the banks of the *Zair*, in the province of *Corimba*; and his mother named *Luqueni-Lua-Sanze*, was the daughter of another petty lord in the same neighbourhood. *Eminia-n-Zima*, after this alliance, began soon to be weary of seeing so many equals around him, and to listen to the dictates of his ambitious spirit; and being now quite dissatisfied with the small extent of his dominions, resolved to subdue those of his neighbours, who lived in a state of independency, and composed a number of small republics, no less jealous of their liberties than he was eager to invade them. He met, accordingly, with a brave and strenuous opposition from them, which lasted a considerable number of years, but which his valour and good fortune at length so far overcame, that he made himself master of a considerable spot of ground, so strong by nature, that it served him, from that time, for a safe retreat against the united forces of his opposers, it being very difficult of access, and very easy to defend; so that he could now, with impunity, continue his inroads and ravages against them, and retire upon all occasions into his impregnable fortress, which was now become the repository of his arms and ill-gotten treasures.

Luqueni's
father invades
his neighbours
territories;

Subdues them,
and fortifies
himself on a
rock.

THIS place, to which he took care to add several stout fortifications for its defence, was situate on the banks of the *Zair*, and, by its eminence, had an advantageous command over that famous river, enabled him to lay several forts of duties and customs on all the trading vessels that sailed up or down, by which he soon became opulent and powerful enough to make it the place of his residence, and a place of concourse and great commerce. This was the first rise of the ambitious *Eminia-n-Zima*, which was quickly after followed by an accident which enabled his son *Luqueni* to lay the foundation for a much more extensive dominion.

Luqueni kills
his own aunt.

HIS father had left the youth to take care of the fort, whilst himself was gone upon some new expedition, when his own aunt, then big with child, happened to pass by the place, on board a vessel, from whom the young nephew made no scruple to exact the same duties that his father did from all other passengers. She, as his father's sister, in vain pleaded an exemption; and upbraided him with his ambition and avarice; the rash youth, without any regard to her pregnancy, or the relation she bore to him, at one stroke ripped her belly open, and murdered both her and the child. His father, being apprised of this unnatural action, was highly exasperated, and would have inflicted some severe punishment upon him for it, had not some of his men interposed, under pretence that there was something martial and heroic in the action, and rescued him out of his hands. They quickly after ranged themselves under his standard, and proclaimed him their chief under the title of king, a title which his father had not yet dared to assume. *Luqueni*, elated with his new dignity, and the increase of his army, carried all before him, and easily subdued the whole province of *Npembacassi*, since called *Kongo*, and proved so successful in all his enterprises, that he enlarged his conquests from the mouth of the *Zair*ⁿ, quite to the city of *St. Salvador*, formerly described^o, that is above 180 miles into the inland, almost without opposition; the prince to whom all that large tract belonged having been defeated at one of the first onsets, and forced to wander as an exile to the day of his death.

Is rescued from
his father's re-
sentment;

sets up for
himself, and
assumes the
royal title.

He subdues a
vast tract of
ground.

THIS unhappy prince, who was called *Mabambolo*, and stiled *Mani Pangala*, or king of *Pangala*, left some sons behind him, who, having recourse to the clemency of the conqueror, obtained the investiture of some inferior lordships, as fiefs from him, on condition they should acknowledge him their sovereign, and pay him a certain annual tribute. They did, however, retain the title of *Mani Pangala*, and many of their successors have made several fruitless efforts to recover their ancient dominions, but have hitherto been obliged to content themselves with their short allowance, and with making an open protest, from year to year, against the usurpation of *Luqueni* and his successors, to prevent their title to them becoming proscribed (S). These protestations, however, do not excuse them from coming regularly to court,

The heirs pro-
test against
him in vain;

^m De his, vid. sup. p. 419, & seq.

ⁿ De hoc, vid. sup. p. 420, & seq.

^o Ibid. p. 430, & seq.

(S) This is done, our author tells us (1), by constantly sending a woman to court every year, to order the king on the throne to retire to his own territories, and to resign a realm which doth not belong to him. He adds, that the king doth not fail of giving her a public audience, and having heard all that she hath to say, an-

(1) *Labat ex Cavaz. l. ii. c. 2. p. 347, & seq.*

a court, to pay their homage and tribute to the king; and, upon his demise, to receive a new investiture from his successor. *forced to pay tribute to him.*

BUT to return to *Luqueni*; he no sooner saw himself firmly established on his throne, than he began to make proper regulations, and to give his new subjects such laws as were most suitable to their genius, and most likely to secure his conquests to him. Among other public acts, he convened the chief officers of his dominions, among whom he distributed the government of his new conquered provinces, according to their respective merits, and the services they had done to him during the late wars, which so highly obliged them, that they strove, in gratitude to him, to add still fresh conquests to his old ones, till they had reduced the kingdoms of *Angola* and *Metamba* under his obedience. Of all which vast dominions, his father *Eminia-n-Zima*, who lived to an extreme old age, saw him in quiet possession before his death; tho' whether he beheld his vast successes with pleasure, or inward jealousy, is hard to guess^p. His successors have maintained themselves on the throne ever since to this day; though, as we observed before, some of them have had the mortification to see a considerable number of provinces dismembered from it, besides that of *Angola*, of the best, if not the biggest part of which, the *Portuguese* have made themselves masters; and that of *Metamba*, which was conquered from them much about the same time, by the queen *Membacemba*, as we shall shew more fully in the sequel of this section. *He divides his new conquests; his family still in possession of them.*

As for the lords or dukes of *Batta*, of whom we have had occasion to speak in a former section, as still enjoying singular privileges in the kingdom^q, they are the descendants of *Nfacu-claw*, *Luqueni's* father-in-law; and it is likely that he bestowed that duchy upon them in fief, after his subduing it, as it lies within the course of his conquests. But whether it was so, or whether it was their paternal estate, they were obliged to pay a kind of homage to the kings of *Kongo*, which consisted only in their making their appearance at court at certain seasons, which yet they by degrees began to neglect, and contented themselves with sending a kind of embassy to them in their stead. But as those monarchs grew by degrees more powerful, they let those dukes know that they resented their neglect, and that they would quickly feel the effects of it, if they did not alter their behaviour; upon which they wisely resolved to comply with their duty, and to appear in person before them, and acknowledge their dependence upon them, as well as the honour they had of being so nearly related to them. And we are farther told, that one of them, above a century ago, being come to court to pay their usual homage, and receive his investiture from the new monarch, was not only received with all the marks of honour, but had the title of *Niacongiamene*, or ancestor of the kings of *Kongo*, bestowed upon him^r. The capital of their duchy was called formerly *Anghirimba*, or, according to *Dapper*, *Anghirimba*, and is, most probably, the *Agi-symba* we find in *Sanfon's* map. At present it is called by the name of the duchy of *Batta*, or *Bata*, and stands about 30 leagues east of *St. Salvador*, and 150 from the sea coast. It was once a pretty considerable city, but is much reduced since, tho' it is still the residence of the dukes and governors. The territory about it is still very fertile, and the road which leads from it to *St. Salvador*, is interspersed all the way with pleasant villages and hamlets^s. *Dukes of Batta, whence descended; pay homage to the kings of Kongo.*

THIS is the sum and substance of what our author could learn of the foundation and history of this great monarchy, until the coming of the *Portuguese* into these *African* parts. Some other particulars the *Kongoese* related to him, concerning the foundation of the city of *St. Salvador*, which, tho' curious and surprising, yet not seeming altogether so credible as the rest, we shall give our readers in the margin (T), and proceed to the first discovery of this kingdom by the *Portuguese*, in the year 1484, from which æra both their history and chronology have been preserved and conveyed to us by abler hands, and may be better relied on. *The capital of their duchy. The Kongoese history uncertain till the arrival of the Portuguese.*

^p CAVAZZI ap. Labat, lib. ii. c. 11. p. 344, & seq.

VAZZI ap. Labat, lib. ii. c. 11. p. 351.

^q De his, vid. sup. p. 429, & seq.

^r CA-

swers her in a polite manner, that it is God that hath raised him to the throne, which he intends to transmit to his own successors; and that her masters ought to be contented with their lot, and live quietly under it, lest their attempting any innovation should bring a greater misfortune upon them. After which he makes her some considerable present, and also sends others by her to her masters.

(T) The *Kongoese* pretend, that *Luqueni*, designing to build that city on this high, and till then almost inaccessible mountain (2), in order to make it the metropolis of his new kingdom, was obliged to employ a vast number of his forces to cut a way to it, mostly through the hard rock, which was not done without immense labour.

When they were got up to the top of it, they found the much greater part of it covered over by a spacious lake of very great depth, which he caused to be filled up, and to be turned into that delightful plain, since called the green, on which their yearly numerous reviews are made. To this they add, that the ponderous weight of stone and earth which he caused to be flung into it, pressing hard upon the springs that fed the lake, forced the water out at several vents on the sides of the mountains, from whence flow a multitude of delightful fountains and cascades, of the clearest and sweetest water in the world (3). Our readers may remember that we have given elsewhere an account of some of those springs, which supply the city and adjacent villages with that delicious water, in our description of that capital (4).

(2) De hoc vid. sup. pag. 430, & seq.

(3) Labat ex Cavazzi lib. ii. c. 11. p. 348.

(4) See before. ibid.

HERE we shall not need to remind our readers of the vast discoveries which the *Portuguese* nation made, not only on these and other coasts of *Africa*, but in the *East* and *West-Indies*, under the patronage of their excellent prince don *Henriques*, of which a full account hath been given in the general history of *Africa*¹; much less shall we concern ourselves in the dispute whether the *Portuguese* were the first discoverers of these *African* coasts; an enquiry which would both carry us too far, and be but to little purpose; but begin our account with the first *European* vessel that discovered the mouth of the river *Kongo*, or *Zair*, and cast anchor in it.

Diego Cam
first discovers
the coast of
Kongo.

It well received
by the na-
tives.

THE design of king *John* of *Portugal* in making discoveries on the coasts of *Ethiopia*, was in order to facilitate, as he rightly judged it would, the finding out a way into *India*. It was therefore with this view, that he pitched upon the famed *Diego Cam*, one of the expertest b sailors in his service, and a gentleman of the most enterprising genius, to be sent upon that expedition. *Cam*, upon his arrival near the *Ethiopian* coasts, fell insensibly upon the rapid stream of the river *Zair* above-mentioned, as he was endeavouring to double the cape *Catalina*; and its vast breadth and depth quickly determined him to sail nearer, and to cast anchor at the mouth of it, not doubting but there must be inhabitants on both sides of it. He had not rowed far up before he saw a number of the natives, whose shape, complexion, and hair, greatly resembled the other *Ethiopians*, whom he had already seen; neither were they in the least alarmed at the appearance of these new comers, but came up to them in the gentlest manner, and presented them with some of their fruits and other refreshments, which *Cam* gratefully accepted, and requited by some equivalent presents. The misfortune was, c that they could not understand one another by any other way but by signs; so that it was not without some difficulty that he was apprised at last that they belonged to a very powerful prince, whose residence was a few days journey up into the inland^d.

1484.

Sends some of
his men to
court.

Sails away
with four
young natives;

whom he
teaches the
Portuguese
tongue.

CAM, highly delighted with their account and behaviour, and no less desirous to know who this powerful prince was, and, if possible, to make some alliance with him, prevailed upon four or five of the natives, by some presents which he made to them, to conduct an equal number of his officers to *St. Salvador*. These were charged with considerable presents for the king and court, and were allowed a certain time for their return; but the rapidity of the river, contrary winds, and other obstacles, joined to the length of the journey, prevented their being back so soon as he expected; so that, after having tarried double the d time assigned, he resolved to leave them behind, and to sail back for *Portugal*; and taking with him four natives who were in his ship, and proved to be men of noble extract and excellent understanding, as hostages for his own countrymen, weighed anchor and sailed away (U). Some say they willingly offered themselves to accompany him into *Portugal*. However that be, it is certain that he took great care of them all the voyage; so that by the time of their arrival at the *Portuguese* court, they had made such surprising progress in learning that language, that they could inform his majesty of several important matters which he enquired of them; with which king *John* was so highly delighted, that having made them several very considerable presents, he ordered *Cam* to sail with them back to *Kongo*, and sent by him other very valuable presents and *European* rarities to their king and e his court; charging him, moreover, to exhort that monarch, in his name, to become a convert to the worship of the only true God, and to permit the Christian religion to be propagated thro' his dominions^f.

1485.

Cam's return
to Kongo.
Sends an em-
bassy to court;

makes an alli-
ance with it;

CAM, upon his return to *Kongo*, on the following year, was greatly pleased to find his men in good health, and highly satisfied with the kind reception they had met with at court, as well as from the rest of the natives. It was not long before he sent a formal embassy to the king, accompanied with the rich presents from *Portugal*; whilst the four young natives, no less charmed with all they had seen, and the noble treatment they had received in that country, were blazing both at their own court, and where-ever they came, the magnificence of the *Portuguese* monarchs and nation. A firm alliance was quickly agreed on between the f two crowns, which subsists to this day, tho' often suspended by some intervening wars, of which we shall speak in the sequel.

¹ Before, vol. v. b. xxi. c. 1. sect. 3, & seq. ² JOHN DE BARROS, Decad. EMAN. DE FARIA, Decad. JARRIC Thesaur. vol. ii. c. 2. p. 26, & seq. OSSORIO, hist. of Portugal, vol. i. lib. 3. LABAT Ethiop. Occid. l. ii. c. 12. PIGAFET, l. ii. c. 2. & al. plur. ³ Ibidem ibid.

(U) We cannot find out from what author the late Mr. Le Quien, who, after Jarric and others, calls this noble adventurer *Can* and *Canus*, took a singular circumstance which he relates of him; viz. that, during his short abode in *Kongo*, he erected on one of the coasts a column which he had brought with him from *Portugal*, with a cross on the top, and the arms of the kings of *Portugal*, and an inscription under them in *Latin* and *Portuguese*, to inform the reader of the time in which, and the person by whom, that coast was first discovered; seeing

neither the decades of either *John de Barros*, nor of *Emanuel de Faria*, make the least mention of it; it being scarcely credible, that either of those two authors should have omitted or overlooked so material a circumstance, which was a kind of taking possession of that country, and ascertaining the first discovery of it to the *Portuguese* nation. Neither do we know of any other writer who hath taken any notice of it, except the author above-mentioned (5).

(5) De hoc, vid. Labat, lib. ii. c. 12, p. 363, & seq.

a WHILE this alliance was transacting at the *Kongoese* court, *Cam* set sail for the discovery of the *Ethiopian* and *African* coasts, as far as the 22d degree north, and, at his return, went to pay a grand visit to the king, to thank him for the favours done to him and his nation, and was received with all possible magnificence. At his request he gave him an ample account about the grandeur of king *John's* dominions, of the *Portuguese* laws, customs, and government, and more particularly of their religion; the result of which was, that that prince conceived the highest esteem and regard for the *Portuguese*, and an earnest desire of becoming a profelyte to their church. At his departure, the king appointed *Zachut*, one of the young nobles who had sailed with him into *Portugal*, to go now as his ambassador at that court, with orders to entreat his *Portuguese* majesty to send some holy men to instruct him and his subjects in the Christian faith; he likewise sent a number of other young *Kongoese* with him to be educated in it, together with a large quantity of elephant's teeth, carpets, and cloaths made of the leaves of palm-trees, as presents to his *Portuguese* majesty. *Cam* departed soon after, and, at his arrival at *Lisbon*, presented the *Kongoese* ambassador, and the other young gentlemen, to the king; who was highly satisfied with the success of that expedition, and gave those noble strangers a most gracious reception.

goes himself to the king. His splendid reception.

Zachut sent ambassador to Portugal.

Cam's departure, and leave.

DURING the time they staid in *Portugal*, which was near three years, great care was taken that they should be instructed not only in the principles of Christianity, but in all such other polite exercises as were suitable to their rank; and, at length, they were baptized at *Beja*, to which place the court was retired on account of the plague which raged with uncommon fury in the city of *Lisbon*. The ceremony was performed with the utmost splendor and magnificence, king *John* himself vouchsafing to stand godfather to the ambassador *Zachut*, to whom he gave his own name. Not long after the solemnity was performed, he caused them to be conveyed into their own country, in three ships which he had ordered to be fitted for that purpose, the command of which was given to *Gonzalez de Souza*, a person descended from a noble family, with whom he sent likewise several priests, together with fonts, mitres, chalices, and other church vessels and ornaments of great value. The misfortune was, that several of those who embarked with them from *Lisbon*, carried the dire contagion with them on board; many of whom died in their passage, and among them the commander *Gonzalez de Souza*, who was succeeded by *Roderigo Souza*, a near relation, by the unanimous consent of all the officers¹.

1489.

Zachut's reception at Lisbon;

is baptized with great splendor.

His return to Kongo.

Ri. b presents sent thither by K. John.

THEY all arrived safely, and landed at *Sogno*, on the river *Zair*, on the *August* following, and were joyfully received by the governor of the province, a prince of the royal blood, who had fixed his residence in that capital for the sake of carrying on a commerce with the *Portuguese*, and had been so well instructed by them in the Christian faith, that he was baptized by some of those holy men, soon after their arrival, by the name of *Emanuel*, which was that of the king of *Portugal's* brother. The ceremony was performed in the open country, in the presence of the *Portuguese* admiral, who had caused a sumptuous altar to be erected for the purpose; and where, after mass was ended, this noble profelyte, with one of his sons, and some of his officers, were received into the church before a vast concourse of the natives, who flocked thither on that occasion, and expressed their satisfaction by their joyful shouts. All this while the *Portuguese*, leaving the care of making converts to the monks and priests they had brought with them, were very busy in making new discoveries and settlements on the *African* coasts, and had by this time settled so considerable a commerce, as, tho' but then in its infancy, failed not to raise the jealousy of several *European* crowned heads^m.

Souza's reception at *Sogno*.

The governor of *Sogno* baptized.

IN the mean time admiral *Souza*, taking leave of his noble converts, hastened to *Banza Kongo*, where the court then was (W), and there gave the king an account of his uncle's conversion and baptism; with which he was so highly satisfied, that he enlarged his dominions, and gave him full power to pull down and destroy all the heathen temples, and other monuments of idolatry, within his government. His majesty was no less delighted with the commissions, holy vessels, and ornaments, which he brought from *Portugal*; but he was still more charmed, when, at his request, they were brought to him, and exposed to the view of the whole court, amidst great crowds of his subjects, who all beheld them, we are told, with the deepest veneration, particularly the cross, before which the *Portuguese* falling upon their knees, the *Kongoese* followed their example in their own way, and prostrated themselves before it. His majesty was very curious in observing every vessel and vestment, and uncommonly attentive to the explication which the priest gave him of every particular;

Souza's reception at court.

Church ornaments exposed to public view.

¹ OSSORIO, JARRIC, & al. ubi sup. See also vol. iv. p. 107, & seq.

^m See before, vol. v. ubi sup. OSSORIO, LABAT, & al. ubi sup.

(W) It may be necessary to remind the reader of what hath been formerly observed, that the word *Banza*, which signifies excellent city, is always used to signify the capital of a province, and is commonly joined with the proper name of it, as *Banza Kongo*, *Banza Sogno*,

Banza Batta, &c. By *Banza Kongo*, therefore, here is only meant, the capital of a small province of that name, and not of the whole kingdom; which, as have shewn elsewhere, is called *Banza San Salvador* (6).

(6) See before, page 430, note (P).

The king builds
a sumptuous
church;

is baptized in
it, with his
queen, &c.

gains a com-
plete victory
over the
rebels.

1491.
Souza's return
to Portugal.

The king's
eldest son bap-
tized;

his youngest
perverts him
to idolatry,
and under-
mines his bro-
ther Alphon-
so, who is ban-
ished by his
means;
but quickly
recalled.

His law
against idol
worship.

1492.
The king dies,
and Alphonso
succeeds him;

the result of which was, that he immediately resolved upon building a sumptuous church ^a in his capital, for the reception of these holy men and utensils; and, tho' he was obliged to have the chief materials for it from some of the remotest parts of his kingdom, yet his zeal, and the great number of hands which he employed in that work, quickly completed the edifice according to his desire; some say it was finished in three months, and soon after consecrated by those holy men, under the name of the church of the *Holy Cross*.

THIS solemnity was quickly succeeded by a greater; *viz.* the public baptism of the king and queen, and several of the nobility, with extraordinary magnificence, in his new church. The king took the name of *John*, and the queen that of *Eleanora*, in compliment to the king and queen of *Portugal*, and in the presence of their ambassador, who assisted at the ceremony as their representative. Their example was followed by many thousands of their subjects; and the king did the more zealously encourage them to it, as he was going at that juncture to engage some rebellious subjects who were up in arms in the province of *Macocco*, and ravaging some of its best territories. Upon this occasion, *Souza*, the *Portuguese* ambafador, presented him with a royal standard, on which the cross was embroidered, and, in his master's name, exhorted him to put his whole confidence in that divine Saviour, whose religion he had now embraced, and to rely solely on his assistance for the success of that expedition, to which he himself would accompany him with an hundred of his armed *Portuguese*. The king accordingly gained a most complete victory over the rebels, and had the satisfaction to see his newly converted troops behave with an intrepid bravery, which they had never shewn before. He was just upon the point of entering into their territories, with a full resolution to chastise those revolvers with the utmost severity, according to the custom of the country, when *Souza* was so generous as to divert him from it, and, by his timely mediation, to prevent that province being put to fire and sword. ^b

Souza took leave soon after of that monarch, with great civilities on both sides, and left with him a great number of *Dominicans*, to carry on the affairs of religion, and to preach the gospel to the people. About the same time the king's eldest son, who had been sent upon an expedition against some rebels in one of the southern provinces, when his father and mother were baptized, returned victorious to court, and was no sooner informed of it, and of the success which attended his father's arms, than he earnestly requested to be instructed, and admitted to baptism; which being readily granted, he received the name of *Alphonso*, ^c which was that of the eldest infant of *Portugal*. He continued a zealous proselyte to, and great promoter of Christianity, during his whole life, and more especially after his accession to the crown; but his younger brother proved quite the reverse: his name was *Panzo Aquitima*; and his signal fondness for the heathenish superstitions in which he had been brought up, made him an irreconcilable enemy to the Christian religion, inasmuch that he left no stone unturned to extirpate it out of the kingdom. What topics he used to render the *Portuguese* and their religion suspected by his father, we can only guess; yet they were such as but too easily prevailed upon that weak prince, not only to apostatize, but to persecute all the Christian converts that refused to follow his example. Among these, his eldest son, prince *Alphonso*, having resisted all his caresses and menaces, and endeavoured with all his might to defeat all his brother's cabals, was accused by him of treasonable practices, and rashly condemned to banishment into some remote province, and his younger brother appointed his father's successor, who saw himself quickly surrounded by a numerous court, and at the head of a most powerful party. ^d

HIS father having soon after detected his treachery against *Alphonso*, not only recalled him from banishment, but gave him the government of one of the chief provinces of the kingdom, and at the same time ordered *Panzo* to return to court. *Alphonso*, with his usual zeal, began his government by forbidding all worship of idols, under the severest penalties; which not only drove a vast number of his new subjects over to his brother, now the declared patron of idolatry, but obliged his father to recall him, unless he immediately repealed his law against it. *Alphonso* excused himself from complying, and at the same time sent the king word, that he had then such a multitude of business upon his hands, that he could not possibly leave his government to come to court. ^e

By this time the king, worn out with age, fatigues, and infirmities, was visibly hastening to his end. *Alphonso* was advised by his friends to march against his brother, and to seize upon the capital; which he however declined till he was fully assured of his father's death; after which he ventured to enter in the night time, according to his mother's advice. On the next morning he appeared upon the spacious green before the royal palace, at the head of his friends and Christian forces: by whom, after a short speech, acquainting them with the king's death, and his being the next heir to the crown, he was proclaimed with the usual formalities, and joyful acclamations. *Panzo* was at that time at the head of a numerous army, which, upon his receiving the news of his brother's being in possession of the throne, he divided into two columns, and marched directly against him. *Alphonso*, who had only a handful of Christian soldiers, and about thirty-seven *Portuguese*, expected him with ^f undaunted ^g

- a undaunted courage, and both by his words and example inspired his men with such intrepidity, that they behaved with surprizing valour, gained a complete victory, and drove the disconsolate *Panzo*, accompanied only by an old experienced officer, into a wood; where, in their flight, they both fell into a large trap, set up to catch wild beasts. The prince died about two days after, partly by the hurt he got by the fall, and partly of grief and despair: whereupon the old officer sent a submissive message to the king, acquainting him, that it was indifferent to him, whether he obtained his pardon from him, or an order for his execution, such as his treason justly deserved; but begged, that if his majesty chose the latter, he would permit him to be first admitted into the Christian church by baptism. He added, that as he could not but look upon his late victory over so superior an army as altogether miraculous (X); it was his earnest request that he might die a worshipper of that great God from whom he had obtained it^o. Whether his behaviour was sincere, or mere artifice, the king was so highly pleased with it, that he freely pardoned and promoted him, and caused him to be instructed and admitted into the Christian faith. The rest of *Panzo's* army readily offered to submit to him; but he refused to admit them to take the oaths of fidelity to him, unless those who were idolaters consented to become converts, and those who had apostatized from the faith, were regularly readmitted into it.

- THIS zealous resolution of the new king, joined to the good example he set before them, was quickly followed by the conversion and reduction of myriads of his other subjects; so that we may justly look upon his accession to the crown, as the æra of the re-establishment of Christianity in his dominions^p. And, if we may believe *Ossorio*, and other *Portuguese* writers, he, being no less excellent a preacher, than he was a zealous king, was wont to make long discourses upon the truth and excellency of the gospel, the certainty of future rewards and punishments, of a future life, and other such momentous topics as were most likely to confirm them in their belief and practice^q. But that which most effectually contributed to it, next to the strict conformity of his example to the Christian precepts, was the great regard he shewed both to the *Portuguese* nation in general, and especially to the *Dominican* monks, who had been sent thither by their monarch to convert his subjects. To the former he granted the extraordinary privilege of settling in what part of his kingdom they liked best, gave them considerable lands and immunities, and enacted severe penalties against such of his own subjects as should venture to molest them in their new possessions and settlements. As for the latter, that is, the *Dominican* friars, whom his late father had so ungratefully and cruelly treated, during the short time of his apostasy, and stripped of all the lands, houses, and slaves, formerly granted to them for their maintenance, these he took more particularly under his protection, and not only restored them all their old, but added sundry new grants, by way of compensation for the extreme disgrace and misery they had been reduced to by him. He built several new monasteries and churches for their use, in several parts of his kingdom, and omitted nothing that could render them respectable and beneficial to all his subjects. He even vouchsafed to learn the *Portuguese* tongue, that he might interpret to them the sermons of those preachers, and at the end strove to inculcate them the deeper into their minds by some judicious remarks, or pious exhortations of his own^r.

EMANUEL being now on the *Portuguese* throne, and highly delighted with the progress which the Christian religion had made in the *Kongoese* dominions, earnestly intreated *Alphonso* to send his eldest son to be educated in *Portugal* in the *Latin* tongue, and all other polite literature. *Alphonso* not only thankfully complied with his generous request, but sent with the young prince a number of other young noblemen to *Lisbon*, to reap the same benefit. *Emanuel* took upon him the charge of their education, and spared neither pains nor cost to

^o JARRIC, ubi sup. OSSORIO, vol. ii. lib. 3. & al. ubi sup. ^p Ibid. ibid. LABAT, lib. ii. c. 12. p. 171, & seq. ^q De his, vide OSSORIO, & al. ubi sup. ^r Ibid. ibid.

(X) And so it must have been indeed, if what some of our *Portuguese* authors tell us be true; that the *Virgin Mary* appeared in a gigantic form, standing by *Alphonso's* side, just before the onset began; which injected such an universal panic into the rebellious army, that none of them dared to stand out against his handful of forces, but betook themselves to a precipitate flight.

Labat, who, in this particular, differs from the good father *Cavazzi*, whom we have followed in the text, adds one or two more circumstances to his account, which we shall subjoin in this note. One is, that the rebel prince *Panzo*, and his lieutenant-general were taken, and brought before the king, by whom they expected to have been condemned to immediate death. But, to their surprize, the good prince went and embraced his rebellious brother with the utmost tenderness, and offered to forgive and promote him, if he would

embrace Christianity; which he absolutely refused, and died of the wounds he had received in the fight, notwithstanding all the help which *Alphonso* provided for his cure; and that to his death he continued obstinate in his idolatry, in spite of all his brother's endeavours to convert him; so that he was the only one in the whole army that did so, all the rest having been readily induced, by their late wonderful defeat, to embrace Christianity.

As for the lieutenant-general, he tells us, that he was pardoned; but upon condition that he should dedicate the rest of his life to the service of the church of the *Holy Cross*, and bring thither all the water that should be wanted for the baptizing of all the new converts from paganism; which office he discharged with such pious simplicity and exactitude, as left no room to doubt of the sincerity of his conversion (7).

(7) *Labat, Ethiop. Occident. lib. ii. c. 13. p. 389, & seq.*

procure them the ablest teachers and best helps: some of those youths gave themselves up a to the study of divinity, and made such progress in it, that, upon their return into *Ethiopia*, they vastly increased the number of converts by their learned discourses and exemplary piety.

K. Emanuel
sends a grand
embassy to him,
with a stand-
ard and coat
of arms.
His letter to
him.

IN the same year he sent a splendid embassy thither, accompanied with magnificent presents; particularly a noble standard, with arms which the king and his successors were afterwards to bear, richly embroidered upon it, with all their proper colours and ornaments. They were a cross argent, upon a ground gules, cantoned with four other scutcheons of the same, charged with five torteaux fables, faulterwise; and these are the arms which the *Kongoesse* monarchs have borne ever since. These were likewise accompanied with a most obliging letter, wherein Emanuel gave Alphonso the title of brother, highly applauded his zeal for the Christian faith, and earnestly exhorted him to persist in it, and his friendship to the *Portuguese* nation; with all which Alphonso punctually complied, during the whole course of his reign; and such b
veneration had he for king Emanuel, that he used to say, he should never have any real pleasure in life, till he went to *Portugal*, and threw himself at his feet, to acknowledge all the many obligations he had to him, particularly that of enjoying, thro' his means, the light of the gospel, worshipping the true God, and aspiring to eternal happiness. But that pleasure the state and circumstances of his kingdom would never permit him to allow himself; the fear of a relapse among his fickle and unsettled subjects, and the too small number of monks and priests that were left by this time in his vast dominions, many of whom had died through want and misery, or were withdrawn into the farthest provinces, made it appear dangerous to leave his dominions, till Christianity was better settled, and a more c
considerable number of preachers could be obtained from his good new brother Emanuel. He therefore wrote very pressing to him for a fresh supply of them, and that good prince immediately ordered that his request should be granted with all possible speed.

entreats him
for a fresh
supply of mis-
sionaries;

his gracious
reception of
them.

A NEW set of them was accordingly ordered to be conveyed to him, consisting of five *Dominicans*, five *Augustines*, and five capuchins, besides a great number of secular priests, all of them men of uncommon learning and piety, who, upon their arrival, met with a most affectionate reception, and were dispersed among the several unconverted provinces; where the divine providence blessed them with such surprising success, that they added myriads of new converts to the old ones.

1521.
His excellent
character;

ALPHONSO, who lived five years since their arrival, had the satisfaction to see the major d
part of his subjects confirmed in the Christian faith before he died. A little before his death he sent for his son Don Pedro, and in the most pressing terms exhorted him to use his utmost power to preserve and protect the true religion, and to extirpate idolatry out of his dominions, as the most effectual means of procuring the divine protection on himself and his subjects. He gave him his last blessing with his last breath, and died universally lamented, as may easily be inferred from the most excellent character he left behind him; a short extract of which the reader will find in the margin, out of the learned bishop of *Silves* (Y).

and death.
1525.

Succeeded by
his son Pedro,
who augments
the revenues of
the church.

HE was succeeded, without any opposition, by his worthy son Don Pedro, the first of that name; a prince who not only possessed all his father's virtues, but strove to outshine him in his liberality, by the considerable augmentation he made to the revenues of the church, for the better maintenance not only of the missionaries, and of the divine worship, but likewise of those *Portuguese* who were settled in his dominions, and promoted arts and commerce in them.

A bishop sent
to Kongo.

IT was in the beginning of his reign that the pope granted unto the bishop of *St. Thomas* the spiritual jurisdiction of the whole kingdom of *Kongo*; in consequence of which he took upon himself the title of bishop of *Kongo* (Z). It is hardly to be expressed what joy his arrival

* OSSORIO, LABAT, JARRIC, & al.

† PIGAFET, JARRIC, LABAT, & al.

(Y) He was, says that learned prelate, a prince of the most excellent qualities, most severe to the wicked, and no less generous to the poor and virtuous, and indefatigable in settling the affairs of his kingdom; irreproachable in his morals, and zealous to render every thing subservient to religion, a constant regard to which he always preserved in all his conduct, whether in peace or war. He opened public schools for the instruction of youth, not only in arts and sciences, but in piety and virtue, and endowed them with a royal liberality. He was a great reader, well versed in the holy scriptures, and had acquired a great deal of his knowledge by frequently conversing with priests, to whom he paid a deep attention. He frequently addressed himself in discourse to the people, in order to inspire them with piety and religion. He was a person of sound understanding and retentive memory. He read over five books of the

Portuguese laws, and greatly admired their constitution, but thought them in some instances too minute, and swollen to too great a multiplicity; and would sometimes ask, in a jocular manner, what punishment they had for throwing a louse on the ground. He always preserved the deepest gratitude towards king Emanuel, and wished for nothing so much as an opportunity of passing into *Portugal*, and at his feet to acknowledge the vast obligations he had to him; and that it was entirely owing to that excellent prince, that he enjoyed the light of the gospel, the knowledge and worship of the true God, and aspired to a blissful immortality (8).

(Z) The reader may remember, that we elsewhere mentioned the island of *St. Thomas*, as inhabited at first only by poor fishermen, but it was afterwards given to the *Portuguese*, who quickly made a considerable settlement in it, and drove so great a commerce, that they

(8) Ossorio, *Hist. Portug.* vol. i. lib. 3.

became

- a arrival caused, not only at court, but in the whole kingdom, when he came to take possession of his new bishopric. The king in particular distinguished himself in the magnificent reception he gave him; he caused the roads through which he was to pass from the sea-side to his cathedral, which is above 150 miles, to be plained, and covered with mats, the trees and hedges on each side to be trimmed, whilst the way was crowded all along with myriads of his subjects, who testified their joy and reverence by the humblest prostrations as he passed by, and by joyful acclamations when he was gone, and as they followed in the rear. Many of them presented him with suckling lambs, kids, or pigs; others with partridges, chickens, and other tame and wild fowl, and several sorts of venison. Multitudes of both sexes and of all ages came and entreated him so earnestly to be baptized by him, that he was obliged to comply. This much retarded his arrival, and obliged him to go furnished with water, salt, and other holy ingredients used in baptism by the church of *Rome*; but there was no other way of satisfying their importunity *.
- UPON his approaching near the city of *S. Salvador*, he was met by the king and court, and the whole clergy, and conducted to the church of the *Holy Cross*, which he appointed from thenceforth to be his cathedral; and after having performed the divine service, was conducted in the same splendid manner to a sumptuous apartment prepared for him. In a word, the good king spared neither pains nor cost to express his high regard to so worthy a prelate, and to engage him to make that capital the place of his chief residence. The bishop, on the other hand, to shew his gratitude to his majesty, and how worthy he was, both of the singular honours done to him, and of the new dignity he was now possessed of, immediately ordered the cathedral to be magnificently adorned, appointed twenty-eight prebendaries, some chaplains, singers, and other inferior officers to serve in it; he presented it with a stately organ, altar-piece, and other costly ornaments, and with a handsome ring of bells, and with every thing that was requisite for the performance of divine service. His next care was to divide the city into parishes, and to appoint proper pastors in each of them, and to regulate the several districts of the missionaries thro' the kingdom. He had several other designs of the like pious nature in view; but whether the air of *St. Salvador* disagreed with him, or the conduct of his prebends and priests displeased him, he made so many journies by water to and from the island of *St. Thomas*, that death put an end to all his other religious prospects, to the inexpressible regret of the king and court, who had conceived extraordinary hopes from his learning, piety, and munificence. Before his death he expressed an earnest desire to be succeeded in his diocese by a hopeful prince of the royal blood, who had been educated in *Portugal*, and whom he had admitted into priestly orders, before his departure thence. His choice was highly approved both by the king of *Kongo* and that of *Portugal*, who sent him immediately to *Rome*, where the pope, after due examination, having found him sufficiently qualified for that dignity, readily confirmed him in their choice, and sent him home with his new title of bishop of *Kongo*, laden with considerable presents, blessings, and indulgences. But he was unfortunately seized with a violent distemper in his passage to his diocese, which carried him off suddenly; by which accident that diocese continued vacant several years, as we shall shew in the sequel.
- HIS death was followed not long after by that of the pious king *Don Pedro*, who dying without children, left the crown to his brother *Don Francisco*, a prince no less worthy of succeeding him, as inheriting all his excellent qualities, and in particular his sincere and exemplary zeal for the Christian religion, and for the abolishing of idolatry throughout his dominions; a zeal the more commendable and requisite at this critical juncture, as the church was now destitute of a prelate, and the clergy were more solicitous about their own, than for the interest of Christianity. But he likewise enjoyed but a short reign of two years, before he left the crown to a first cousin, named *Diego*, or *James*, and died highly regretted by all his good subjects.
- DON DIEGO failed not to notify his accession to the crown to *Don John III.* now on the throne of *Portugal*, by a particular embassy, which was at the same time to inform him of the state of Christianity, and to beg of him a fresh supply of missionaries, to supply the place of those whom the heat of the climate, and fatigues of travelling thro' such barren deserts, and variety of seasons, from province to province, had deprived his subjects of. King *John*, who inherited all the zeal of his predecessors, readily complied with his request; and, with the congratulatory embassy which he sent him some time after, made choice of a pretty large number of jesuits, whose order had been instituted, about forty years before, by *Ignatius Loyola*, chiefly for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, and who voluntarily offered

His grand reception.

Joy of the people.

Numbers baptized by him in the way.

Arrival at St. Salvador.

Regulations and presents to the church.

1528.

Ill conduct of the prebends. His death.

A prince of the blood succeeds him;

1529. dies in the voyage.

1530. The king dies; succeeded by Don Francisco,

1532. who dies, and is succeeded by Don Diego.

His embassy to Portugal.

Receives new missionaries from thence.

* PIGAFET, l. ii. c. 4.

became rich and populous enough to have a prelate set over them, with the title of bishop of *St. Thomas*; and this was the prelate whom the pope now appointed bishop over the whole kingdom (9).

(9) See before, p. 445, (C). Pigafet, l. ii. c. 4. Barros Decad. De Faria, Cavaz. & al.

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themselves

1540.

His courtesy to
the Portu-
guese;sumptuous
dress, &c.A new bishop
sent to him.

The king dies.

The Portu-
guese presume
to chuse his suc-
cessor;are all cut in
pieces by the
natives.The clergy are
spared.Don Henri-
quez raised to
the throne;

themselves for that purpose, to go upon that mission, instead of the *Dominicans*, capuchins, and other friars, who had been sent thither by his predecessors. These did not, however, arrive at *Kongo*, till a little before Don *Diego*'s death, tho' he had been some years expecting them with no small impatience. All this while he was studying every method he could think of to oblige the *Portuguese* nation; he conformed to their ways, and imitated them even in their luxury, affecting to have his palace adorned with all the sumptuous furniture he could procure from them, and to go dressed like them in the richest apparel, which, after having worn once or twice, he liberally bestowed on some favourite courtier, and appeared in a new one^a. During his reign, a new bishop, a *Portuguese* by nation, was sent to *St. Salvador*, who was received with no less magnificence than his predecessor both by the king and people. The prebends and priests were the only ones who took a dislike to him, on account of his too strict morals, which were such a reproach on their loose lives, that they made no difficulty to disown his authority. The good king thought fit to interpose his own in behalf of the bishop, and sent some of the most unruly and debauched prisoners into *Portugal*, and others to the island of *St. Thomas*; whilst others privately conveyed themselves away with all their wealth^b. Don *Diego* did not long survive this disaster; but, after a short reign of eight years, during which Christianity had made a more than ordinary progress thro' his dominions, died without children; which proved the source of a long series of evils to the *Kongoese* nation, but more especially to the *Portuguese* that were settled amongst them, in some of the best provinces of that kingdom.

THESE were indeed no more than they justly deserved, as they were the prime cause and first promoters of all the troubles that ensued. They were by this time become so numerous and opulent, thro' the great privileges and immunities which had been granted under the three former reigns, that they took it into their heads to fill up the throne with a person of their own chusing, and to think themselves powerful enough to maintain him in it, as they knew him to be well affected to their nation, tho' he was not of the royal blood. Such a bold enterprise did not fail of alarming the whole court, and to stir up, in a little time, the whole kingdom against them. The princes of the blood, the governors of the principal provinces, and the rest of the *Kongoese* nobility, justly looked upon it as an open and avowed attempt to subvert their constitution and government, and to reduce the whole nation into a downright slavery. They soon rose up in arms against them, wherein their party were not slack in standing up in their own defence; but proving too weak to withstand the fury with which the *Kongoese* fell upon them, they were all massacred to one man without mercy or distinction (A). Only the clergy and missionaries were spared, out of regard to religion, and were allowed to enjoy all their revenues and privileges, and to pursue the concerns of their vocation with as much quiet and freedom as if no such disaster had happened^c. They used the same moderation towards the *Portuguese* that lived in other parts of the kingdom; for it doth not appear that this slaughter extended farther than to those who were concerned in this conspiracy, and had taken up arms in defence of it, the rest being permitted to live as unmolested as formerly^d; tho' this bold attempt could not but render them suspected to the *Kongoese*, and oblige them to keep a more watchful eye over them.

As soon as this bloody execution was ended, which restored to the natives their freedom of electing their monarchs, the states assembled again, and raised Don *Henriquez* to the throne, without any opposition. Some authors tell us, that he was the real brother of the late king *Diego*, but had, for some secret reasons, been privately detained by him at a great distance from the court, and sequestered from public affairs, tho' a prince of great valour and excellent qualities^e. However that be, his reign proved but short and troublesome, and his success vastly short of his merits. He was, soon after his election, obliged to engage in a dan-

^a PIGAFET, l. ii. c. 4, & al. ubi sup.
LABAT, & al. sup. citat.

^b Ibidem ibid.

^d PIGAFET, ubi sup.

^c Ibidem ibid. Vid. & BARROS, FARIA,
LABAT, ex Cavaz. & al.

(A) We must inform our readers, that *Pigafet*'s account of this transaction differs in some particulars from that which we have given from the authors above quoted; and our readers will not wonder to find it more favourable to the *Portuguese*, seeing he had it from *Odoardo Lopez*, who was of that nation, and may reasonably be supposed to have written more partially than the rest in favour of it.

According to him, Don *Diego* left a son, who was one of the three competitors to the crown; but, for want of friends to support his claim, was quickly made away by the two opposite parties. The other two candidates were princes of the blood royal, one of whom was elected by his partisans, with the good liking of the

majority of the people, but utterly against the minds of the *Portuguese*, and some few lords who were on the opposite side, and therefore determined to go into the church, and slay the new chosen king, not doubting but if he was once taken off, the other would succeed of course. But whilst they were taken up with this bloody enterprise, the opposite faction, resolved to do the same on that which the *Portuguese* had elected, had already dispatched him; so that both kings were murdered at one and the same hour. Upon which the people, seeing themselves deprived of a legal successor, and laying the whole blame on the *Portuguese*, fell upon, and massacred them all, but spared the churchmen, in the heat of their resentment. Thus far our *Portuguese* (1).

(1) *Pigafet ex Odoardo Lopez, lib. ii. c. 4.*

a gerous war against the *Anzichi*, or, as others call them, *Anzicans*, a barbarous nation of *canibals*, mentioned in a former section ^f, in which he was defeated, and died of grief, after a short reign of two years ^g. *dies in the war against the Anzichi.*

He was succeeded by his son *Alvarez*, whom he had left regent during his absence, a wise and brave prince, a zealous Christian, and every way worthy of a happier reign than fell to his lot. His first care, after his election, was to send a solemn embassy to Don *Sebastian*, at that time king of *Portugal*, to excuse the late massacre of the *Portuguese*, before his father's election; and, in order to render it more acceptable to that prince, he recalled all the *Portuguese* whom the war above-mentioned had dispersed into several parts of his kingdom, received them with the utmost kindness, and *1542. Succeeded by Don Alvarez. His embassy to Portugal. Courts the Portuguese.*
 b acknowledged them innocent of all that had been laid to their charge, with relation to the late disasters, assuring them that he would quickly inform the king their master, and the bishop of *St. Thomas*, of it, by letters under his own hand. He concluded with giving them fresh assurances of his protection and favour, and of his taking the most effectual means to dissipate all former animosities between his subjects and them, and earnestly recommended it to the priests and missionaries to use their utmost efforts to restore peace and a good understanding between them. He was as good as his word, and dispatched his ambassador with all speed, but gave him express charge to take the island of *St. Thomas* in his way, and deliver his letter to the bishop, which he accordingly did, and withal intreated him in the most pressing terms, as the king did by his letter, to hasten over to *Kongo*, where nothing but his presence could *Sends for the bishop to court.*
 c put a stop to sundry crying abuses, which had crept in among the clergy. This message had made so deep an impression upon the good prelate, that he presently set sail for *St. Salvador*, which he had not dared to attempt during all the time of the late troubles; but he was obliged soon after to return to that island, where a fit of sickness quickly ended his days, and left the kingdom of *Kongo* a third time destitute of a prelate ^h. *who complies, but dies soon after.*

To return to the *Portuguese* embassy. The person who was at the head of it, being a man of great penetration as well as intrepidity, instead of palliating the late conduct of the *Portuguese* in *Kongo*, made no scruple to expose it in its true colours, as an attempt to overturn their constitution and government, seeing they could not pretend to raise a stranger to the crown, without the most manifest violation of their laws, and crying injustice to the princes of the blood, who laid claim to, and were then contending for it. He stopped not there, but represented to his majesty how odious his subjects there had made themselves to the natives, by their intolerable pride and avarice, and the tyranny they treated them with in all the parts of the kingdom where they settled. In a word, he gave so many instances of their misbehaviour, and backed them with such irrefragable evidence, that Don *Sebastian*, who was then on the eve of sending a powerful army thither, to revenge the slaughter of his subjects, was easily persuaded to listen to more amicable terms, and to live in peace and friendship with the new king and his subjects ⁱ. This happy reconciliation proved of singular benefit to the kingdom of *Kongo*, the greatest part of whose inhabitants must, some time after, have perished with the extremest misery, had not king *Sebastian* sent orders to his subjects in those parts to behave with less pride and arrogance towards the natives, and to live in peace and friendship with them. *The ambassador accuses the Portuguese to Sebastian, and pacifies him for the late massacre.*

This storm was no sooner thus happily blown over, but king *Alvarez* saw himself and realm surrounded with a fresh one, but more dreadful and destructive than the former could have been. It was no less than an irruption of the *Giagas*, or *Giachas*, a fierce and barbarous nation of canibals ^k, who invaded his dominions on all sides at once, before he had time to raise an army sufficient to put a stop to the horrid devastations they every-where committed, putting all to fire and sword, without distinction or remorse. So that seeing himself altogether unable to stand against such numerous forces, he was obliged to retire, with his court, to one of the islands in the *Zair*, where a grievous famine and pestilence, which closely followed them, destroyed a vast number of his men, and some of the chief officers of his court (B). *A dreadful irruption of the Giagas. The king retires to an island;*

As

^f See before, p. 450, (F).
 CAVAZ. & al.

^g PIGAFET, & al. ubi sup.

^h Ibidem ibid.

ⁱ PIGAFET, LABAT,

(B) These complicated judgments are ascribed by some historians to the great degeneracy, licentiousness, and vile apostasy, which reigned under his mild government, to the great dishonour and decay of Christianity. A great part of the missionaries were dead by this time; and those whom the king recalled were too much intimidated to endeavour to stop the torrent of vice and impiety, which raged every where, without check or opposition; and the new ones, who were expected from *Portugal*, with the *Kongoese* ambassador, were hardly embarked there. So that, according to those authors, it was that inundation of immorality, irreligion, and apostasy, that drew down those dreadful judgments from

heaven upon the nation, not without some visible displays of the divine interposition; one remarkable instance of which we shall here subjoin, which is said to have happened about the very time we are speaking of.

One Don *Francesco Bulla Mataro*, or, as others write it, *Bulla Mantani*, a person of high rank, who had apostatized from Christianity, that he might give a greater scope to his licentiousness, died about this time in his infidelity, and without the least shew of remorse for having so strenuously opposed the progress of Christianity. Yet, out of regard to his quality, being a privy-counsellor, some say a relation to the king, he was permitted

As soon as the *Giagas* were retired, with all the plunder they could carry with them, the king returned to his capital, and caused all the houses which those barbarians had burned, to be rebuilt. The natives, who had retired into the woods and inaccessible mountains, to avoid their fury, likewise returned to their habitations, with the few goods they had saved, and began to till and sow their lands as usual; but, for want of a ready crop, to supply their present wants, a grievous famine soon ensued, which carried off vast numbers of them. The next year proved still more terrible and afflicting, their hoped-for harvest being wholly devoured by the locusts, which covered the earth in such swarms, that they left not one blade of grass, nor grain of corn, upon it after them. The very leaves and barks of their palm and other trees were eaten up; which reduced them to such extremity, that the parents were forced to decimate their children, and to sell one of them to help to support the rest; insomuch that the markets for slaves were so over stocked, that the *Portuguese* merchants had not ships enough to transport them into the *Brazil* colonies.

WHAT was still more shocking and deplorable was, that those famished wretches fell greedily upon any carcases they found rotting upon the ground, whether of man or beast, whether lately dead, or half corrupted, to satisfy their excessive hunger; which quickly occasioned a more grievous pestilence than any they had ever felt before, and which broke out in loathsome blotches all over their bodies, and were more virulent and infectious than the worst small-pox; all which was occasioned by the stinking and corrupt aliments above-mentioned; insomuch that the whole kingdom must have been depopulated by it in a short time, if the *Portuguese* had not come to their assistance, and furnished them with proper physic and more wholesome food. But here it was that king *Sebastian* shewed himself truly generous, not only in the timely supplies of both, which he ordered to be conveyed to them, but in the orders he sent to his subjects there to cultivate a greater extent of ground, in order to assist them with corn, and such other provisions as they stood in need of.

THE reader may best guess at the dreadful condition this miserable country was in, before the *Portuguese* came to their succour, when he is told by an eye-witness^m, that many persons of quality, and even princes of the blood, voluntarily sold themselves for slaves to them, and readily submitted to be sent chained among the common herd, into their plantations, in hopes to meet with some relief, even in this sad exchange of misery. How long these calamities continued before the divine providence saw fit to remove them, whether any of these unhappy princes and nobles ever returned from slavery, and how many years it took up to restore the country to its pristine state, we cannot be sure. As for the still unfortunate king *Alvarez*, he had scarcely begun to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing it on the mending hand, before he was seized with a violent dropsy, occasioned by the badness of the aliments, and unwholesome air of the island, to which he was retired during the late famine and pestilence, of which he languished to the time of his death. He was likewise engaged in some other wars, both against the *Giagas*, and some of his rebellious subjects, in which he was greatly assisted by the *Portuguese*, under the command of Don *Francesco de Govea*; and as soon as peace was restored in his dominions, he married the lady *Catharina*, by whom he had four daughters, besides two sons and a daughter, whom he had by a concubineⁿ; the eldest of

¹ PIGAFET, l. ii. c. 5. CAVAZZI ap. Labat, l. ii. c. 13. BARROS, & al. ubi sup. ^m ODOARD LOPEZ, ap. PIGAFET, ubi sup. ⁿ De his, vid. sup. p. 448.

mitted to be buried with the usual solemnities in the church of the *Holy Cross*, by the degenerate prebends; and in spite of the opposition which some zealous missionaries made against it; there being then no bishop to interpose his authority: so that the sacred edifice must have continued in its polluted state, had not Providence speedily interposed, in a miraculous manner, to cleanse it from it.

For (believe it who can) on that very night, part of the roof of the church was taken off by some evil spirits, and with such horrible noise, as alarmed the whole city; and the apostate's carcase was conveyed away, the church-doors still continuing close shut all the time, till, on their being opened, as usual, on the next morning, the tomb was found without the dead body. Thus far *Lopez* (2). He adds likewise, that the king, who, tho' a Christian, preferred a licentious life to the married state, was, by this wonderful accident, made truly sensible of his error and remissness; though not thoroughly cured of it till he was chastised into it by some heavier strokes of the divine discipline.

Father *Cavazzi*, or his translator for him, for we have not been able to procure the original, differs in

some particulars from *Lopez's* account; 1st, in the character which he gives us of the king *Alvarez*, which is that of a pious, mild, and peaceable prince, without giving the least hint of his licentiousness; 2dly, he takes no notice of the uncovering of the roof of the church, but says that the hideous noise that was heard in the body of it having affrighted the whole city, they flocked thither from all parts; and that, taking it for granted that the terrible hurly-burly they heard within was owing to the apostate's body being interred in that holy place, they burst open the doors with a resolution to convey it away. But as the frightful noise still continued, and none of them dared to venture in, they agreed to stay till the next morning, when they went all in a body; and, after due search, finding that the corpse had been really conveyed away, they concluded it was gone after the soul into hell, without waiting for the resurrection (3).

This last account is, indeed, by far the more probable of the two; inasmuch as the whole contrivance may have been carried on without the help of a miracle; and what is farther mentioned by *Pigafet*, may be no more than a pious addition, to give it the appearance of one.

(2) *Pigafet*, lib. ii. c. 4.

(3) *Labat ex Cavazzi*, lib. ii. c. 13. p. 397, & seq.

which

a which sons succeeded him, according to the custom of the country, which makes no difference between bastards and legitimate children °.

DURING captain Govea's stay in Kongo, king Sebastian, having been informed that there were several rich mines of gold, silver, and other metals in that kingdom, had sent some expert men thither, who had been formerly employed in those of Castile, to search for them, and send him a true account of them. But, as we have already shewn, king Alvarez had been dissuaded before, by his father confessor, *Francesco Barbuto*, a Portuguese, from suffering those mines to be discovered, lest it should tempt that monarch to make himself master of them, and by degrees of his whole realm^p; so that, instead of telling those artists where they lay, he sent them into some other provinces, where there were none to be found. This ill-timed policy, as *Lopez* styles it, cost him dear; king Sebastian and his Portuguese subjects, being disappointed of their high expectation, quickly altered their behaviour towards him in such manner as left him no room to doubt what was the principal object of all their zeal: it was not long before he had the mortification to see the wealthy Portuguese merchants abandon his dominions, and the public commerce daily run into decay. On the other hand, his splendid embassies to the court of *Lisbon* were received with a formal coldness, and his most earnest and unwearied entreaties for a fresh supply of missionaries, to revive the spirit of religion, which was, in a great measure extinct, were answered by affected promises and delays, without perceiving that one single step was taken towards a performance. Christianity lost ground every day, whilst licentiousness and apostacy gained new proselytes and promoters; king Sebastian and his court were apprised of it, and of the noble efforts which *Alvarez* made to suppress the one, and to support the other, not only by a fresh embassy, of which Don Alvarez, his own kinsman, was the chief, but likewise by the frequent accounts which the residue of the missionaries sent thither gave of the melancholy state of religion; yet was that ambassador obliged to return to Kongo, without one single missionary, or religious person^q.

ABOUT three years after, Don Antonio de gli Ova arrived from *Lisbon*, at *St. Thomas*, with the title of bishop of that island, and a commission to visit the kingdom of Kongo. Some quarrel which he had soon after with the governor, obliged him to cross over to the continent, where he met with a very rude repulse; the governor having represented him as a haughty turbulent person, an express had been dispatched to him from court, to forbid him to set his foot in the kingdom. But, upon better information, the king not only invited him thither, but sent his son to conduct him to his capital, where he stayed about eight months, and left two monks behind him, and departed a little before king Sebastian sailed for Africa, where he was afterwards overthrown, as we shall see in a subsequent part.

By this time king Alvarez was become so sensible of the ill step he had taken in concealing the gold and silver mines from the Portuguese, that, upon the accession of Philip of Spain to the crown of Portugal, he sent him a letter by the same messenger who came to notify it to him, named Sebastian de Costa, and who was then returning to Madrid; wherein he offered that monarch to discover them to him, and sent him, at the same time, an account of several trials he had made of them. This offer, however, was on condition that that monarch should send him a new recruit of missionaries, for which he had so earnestly solicited king Sebastian to no purpose. De Costa did not live to deliver this letter to king Philip, the ship which carried him over being cast away on the coasts of Portugal, and every person in it drowned. It was, however, found in a little casket which was thrown on shore by the waves, together with some memorandums and directions with which the king of Kongo had charged De Costa, which were carefully conveyed away to the court of Madrid.

In the mean time king Alvarez, finding his distemper gaining daily upon him, and impatient to have his request granted by Philip, that he might have the satisfaction to see Christianity restored in his dominions before he died, dispatched Odoard Lopez, often quoted in this chapter, as the chief person from whose memoirs Pigafet compiled his history of this kingdom, with fresh letters both to king Philip, and to the court of Rome, with proper credentials, passports, and other recommendations, to treat with both courts, about the discovery of the said mines, and a fresh supply of missionaries; and at the same time to give them a full account of the great decay and deplorable state of Christianity throughout his kingdom, as he was a person of age and experience, and had made so considerable an abode in it, that he was perfectly well acquainted with every matter he was to lay before them (C). Lopez, notwithstanding-

° Ibid. p. 448. Vid. & PIGAFET, ubi sup. c. 6.

ubi sup. JARRIC, l. ii. c. 5.

^p Before, p. 453, (I).

^q LOPEZ ap. PIGAFET, ubi sup.

^q ODOARD LOPEZ,

(C) The substance of Don Lopez's commission from the king of Kongo, was, "That he should first go to the court of Madrid, and present his letters to king Philip, and thoroughly inform him of the miserable condition his realm was reduced to; with regard to religion, by the late wars, and the scarcity of priests; and thereupon to request his majesty to procure him such a competent number of confessors and preachers,

"dition his realm was reduced to; with regard to religion, by the late wars, and the scarcity of priests; and thereupon to request his majesty to procure him such a competent number of confessors and preachers,

His bad voyage.

Alvarez sends a fresh embassy;

1587.

Alvarez dies.

Lopez's ill success at Madrid.

Goes to Rome;

solicits in vain for fresh missionaries;

founds a seminary at Kongo.

Alvarez succeeded by his son Alvarez II.

Sends an embassy to Madrid.

King Philip sends fresh missionaries to Kongo.

notwithstanding the king's eagerness for his departure, was eight whole months before he a
set sail, and was forced to do it in an old crazy ship, which sucked in so much water, that
they were in continual danger of sinking, and were at length obliged to take the wind in
their poop, and, after weathering many storms and disasters, arrived at last at the kingdom
of *Cumana*, or, as it is since called, *Granada*, in a very shattered condition, and was obliged
to stay there eighteen whole months before he could set out again for *Spain*°.

In the mean time, king *Alvarez*, still as impatient as he was unsuccessful, determined to
try the fortune of a fresh embassy, and made choice of Don *Pedro Antonio*, the second person
in his realm, to go on that expedition. He appointed one *Gaspar Dias*, a wealthy *Portu- b*
guese, to accompany him, and to furnish him with what sums he should want to obtain a
speedy compliance from either court. He gave them farther orders, that if they should
chance to meet *Lopez* in their way, they should take him with them, and be directed by his
counsel. This last embassy had still worse luck than the former; the ship being taken by
an *Englishman*, and wrecked upon the *English* coasts, where Don *Pedro Antonio* and his son
were unfortunately drowned. Don *Gaspar* had the good fortune to escape, and to get safe
to the court of *Spain*, where he met with *Lopez*, who was but newly arrived thither, and
was just entering upon his embassy. Upon which he committed the whole conduct of it to
him, and returned to *Kongo* to acquaint the king with the ill success of both embassies.

By this time king *Alvarez*, worn out by his distemper, and so many grievous disappointments,
had departed this life after a long but thorny reign of above forty years, and left the crown to
his son *Alvarez II*. The news of his death soon reached the court of *Madrid*, where king *Phi- c*
lip, now wholly intent upon the conquest of *England*, was glad to put off the negotiation of the
embassy to a more favourable time, and to advise him to go to *Rome*, and try his fortune
with the pope. *Lopez* accordingly set out for that court, where he met at first with a very
kind reception, and failed not to lay before his holiness the miserable state of Christianity
thro' the whole *Konguese* dominions, in the strongest terms. He not only apprised him of
the extreme want it laboured under of missionaries and other clergy, to attend on the fer-
vice of religion, but added, that having gained great riches during his abode in that coun-
try, he had made a vow to found a seminary of priests in it, for the administration of the
Christian sacraments, the instruction of the people, and the revival of the Christian religion,
which was almost extinguished; to which end he begged of his holiness, that he would d
grant him his approbation, together with such indulgences, dispensations, and jubilees,
as might best promote his pious views. The pope readily complied with his last request;
but as to the main subject of the embassy, and the sending of a new supply of priests, he was
pleased to refer it to the king of *Spain*, to whom, he said, it did more properly belong°. We
have dwelt the longer upon the transactions of this long reign, as the greatest part of them
serve to point out clearly to our readers the true causes of that surprising and deplorable
decay of religion in this unhappy kingdom, of which we gave them an account in a former
section°, and how happily it might have been prevented, if the pope, and the other catholic
crowned heads, had shewn the same zeal for the interest of Christianity as their deceased
monarch had done, during his long and painful reign.

We hinted above that he was succeeded by his son *Alvarez*, the second of that name: This
new prince, not at all discouraged by the ill success of his pious father, renewed the same
requests from his first accession to the crown, which he could the more easily do, as he ascended
the throne without any opposition. His first care, therefore, was to send a most solemn em-
bassy to *Philip II*. of *Spain*, in which, after having expatiated on the great services which his
predecessors had received from the *Portuguese* monarchs, and the strict alliance which still
subsisted between that crown and him, he entreated him to revive all the antient treaties with
him, and withal that he would procure to his dominion a new prelate from *Rome*, and send
him a new set of missionaries, to repair the extraordinary losses which the Christian religion
had sustained during so long a series of years. *Philip*, now more at leisure to listen to his f
ambassador, not only complied with all his requests, but obtained from the pope a peculiar
bishop for the kingdom of *Kongo*, who was not long after convoyed thither on board a

° Ibid. ubi sup. lib. ii. c. 6.

° LOPEZ, ap. Pigafet, l. ii. c. 6.

° Before, p. 446, & seq.

“ as might be sufficient to maintain the gospel in those
“ remote countries, which were but lately converted to
“ Christianity.

“ Moreover, that he should shew him sundry trials of
“ metals which he had made, and many other things
“ worthy his notice; and that he should offer to him in
“ his name the free and liberal traffick of them, which
“ had been heretofore denied to his predecessors.”

That to the pope was in substance, “ That he should

“ in his name kiss his feet, and deliver his letters to him;
“ represent to him the miserable troubles and detri-
“ ments which his subjects had suffered for the Christian
“ faith: and that he should recommend these poor souls
“ to his holiness, and beseech him, as the universal fa-
“ ther of all Christians, to take pity of so many faithful
“ souls, who, for want of priests to preach the gospel,
“ and to administer the sacraments to them, were, by
“ little and little, sinking into everlasting perdition (4).”

(4) Pigafet, l. ii. c. 6.

a *Portuguese* vessel, accompanied by several eminent ecclesiastics, and a considerable number of missionaries, of different orders, who were, quickly after their arrival, dispersed over their several districts, and, by their indefatigable zeal, restored, in a great measure, the Christian religion to its antient state, in a smaller number of years than could have been expected, *Their zeal and success.* considering its extreme decay, and the much greater difficulties they had to surmount than any of the first preachers ever met with.

For, by this time, the far greater part of the nation, apprehending some fresh invasion from the barbarous *Giagas*, had left the plains, and were retired to their inaccessible mountains, with all their families and effects, and had lived in such a licentious and abandoned manner, that they were dwindled into mere savages; such were the people whom the missionaries were obliged to seek for, and encounter, among the rugged barren rocks, and afterwards to civilize, before they could make them converts to a religion, which was not only quite obliterated among them, but the most opposite to their bestial way of living. Providence, however, so far blessed their labours, that they gradually brought them away into their antient habitations; where finding themselves secure from the inroads of the *Giagas*, by the various fortresses which the *Portuguese* had built upon their frontiers, they became by degrees more inclined to listen to their spiritual guides, and better disposed to receive the gospel. The benefit of their preaching did not confine itself to these numerous conversions which were every-where made, but help to suspend, if not wholly to suppress, the revolts which so frequently happened under almost every reign; so that *Alvarez* had the double satisfaction to see at once the surprising progress of Christianity, and to enjoy a peaceable reign during the space of twenty-seven years; after which he left the crown to *Bernard*, the eldest of all his sons.² *Religion restored to its antient state.* *King Alvarez II. dies.*

BERNARD, the first of that name, and eighth Christian king, had hardly reigned one year before he was killed, according to common report, by his next brother *Alvarez*, in a duel (D); or, according to others, assassinated by his order. *Alvarez* was then duke of *Bemba*, and the eldest of all his other brothers; and, immediately upon *Bernard's* death, caused himself to be proclaimed king, under the name of *Alvarez III*.³ *1614. King Bernard killed. 1615. Alvarez III. ascends the throne;*

ONE of his first cares after he mounted the throne, was to disculpate himself the best he could from having had any hand in the death of his brother; and, among other public acts, he ordered a church to be built on the field of battle, and on the very spot on which he fell; and as soon as he was well of the wounds which he had received in the fight, went himself to the stone quarry, attended with a numerous retinue; and, the more effectually to hasten the work, took up a stone upon his shoulder, and carried it to the place where the church was to be built. His example was followed by his attendants, and the next day by his queen, at the head of her court, and attended by some of the *Portuguese* nobility. He likewise dispatched a sumptuous embassy to the court of *Madrid*, and another to pope *Paul V.* from whom he received a fresh supply of jesuit missionaries. But whether he had by that time taken any dislike to their society, or had conceived a higher opinion of the capuchin order, his ambassador was particularly ordered to beg of that pontif to favour him with a number of them, and to bring them with him at his return. *tries to disculpate himself from the murder of his brother.*

THIS last embassy, at the head of which was one of the first nobles of the kingdom, attended by sixteen young persons of quality, met with a gracious reception from *Paul V.* who defrayed all their charges during their stay, and readily complied with all the king's requests, one of which was, that he would favour him with some new regulations, which his council thought extremely needful at that time, for the better support and government of a *begs that some*

* De his, vid. sup. p. 448, & alib. pass. JARRIC, l. ii. c. 5. LABAT, & al.

* LABAT ex Cavazzi, l. ii. c. 13, p. 442, & seq. y Vid.

(D) Or rather in single combat, and at the head of his army. The two brothers had been then, according to our author (5), furiously engaged for some time, each at the head of a numerous force, and *Alvarez* had received already some slight wounds, by which he had lost a quantity of blood, when *Bernard*, eager to end the contest in the most expeditious way, sought him out amidst all the fire and volleys of arrows, and found him fighting at the head of his troops, his cloaths and arms stained with his own blood. *Bernard*, as yet unwounded, and in the utmost height of his vigour and fury, rushed upon him with his arm uplifted, and with a design to have cut him in sunder with one blow with his scymitar; when *Alvarez*, who, in spite of the inequality of the match, stood his ground firm against him; and taking that opportunity to run him through the body, laid him dead under his feet. The consequence of

which was, that *Bernard's* forces betook themselves to flight, but found all avenues so closely stopped by those of *Alvarez*, that they were forced to submit, or be cut in pieces.

This account, if it might be depended upon, doth doubly justify the conduct of *Alvarez*; 1st, as it makes him to be the legitimate successor to the crown, and *Bernard* therebèl and aggressor; and 2dly, as it represents his killing his brother as done in his own defence. But, besides that it so manifestly contradicts that which we have from other authors, we must observe to our readers, that this comes to us by the hands of the jesuits, to whom that prince, after his accession to the crown, was an extraordinary friend, and had granted very singular privileges, which may be seen at the end of the chapter last quoted (6).

(5) Jarric, Thesaur. lib. ii. c. 5, p. 107, & seq.

(6) Ibid. ibid. p. 109, & seq.

capuchins may be sent to him. Christian flock, just growing up to maturity, and surrounded with barbarous idolaters, whose priests left no stone unturned to prevent its growth, and pervert the feeble and wavering to their impious superstitions and idolatries. Such regulations, coming immediately from the fountain head, were by this time become so much more indispensable, as the kingdom was then stocked with plenty of priests, both secular and regular, and the latter consisting of different orders, as *Dominicans*, *Augustines*, jesuits, and capuchins, between whom it may reasonably be supposed the same discords and animosities reigned in as high degree in this, as we have seen them do in all other missions; as in *China*, and other parts of the *East-Indies*^a, in *Abissinia*, and other parts of *Africa*^a, and in most of those of *America*, as we may have further occasion to shew in the sequel of this work, to the great offence and discouragement, not only of the new, but of the old and best confirmed converts.

His ambassador dies; and is magnificently interred. 1622. The king's death and character. THE misfortune was, that whilst the ambassador was waiting for completing of those regulations, the change of air, diet, and way of living, joined to the fatigues of so long a voyage, and of attending the *Romish* court, threw him and most of his retinue into a severe fit of sickness, which carried him off in a little time, notwithstanding all the care and pains which the pope took to have him attended by the best physicians, and plentifully supplied with proper restoratives. His death was attended with all the marks of a sincere Christian; and that pontif, who had often visited him in person during his illness, caused him to be magnificently interred in the church of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, and a noble epitaph to be engraven upon his tomb^b. What the farther success of this embassy was, or the effect his holiness's regulations had upon the missionaries and clergy, we are not told, only in general we find Christianity making a considerable progress during the short reign of the then pious monarch, who died in the 7th year of it, greatly regretted both by his subjects, and the *Portuguese*, who enjoyed very great privileges under him, as well as other strangers who were settled in his dominions. He was, by all the accounts we have of him, a wise and generous prince, valiant and liberal, a zealous promoter of Christianity, and a most liberal benefactor and protector of those who propagated it, a great lover of his native subjects, and a singular friend and patron to strangers^c.

Xth. Succeeded by Don Pedro II. A noble instance of his wisdom and justice. FRIENDSHIP to the Portuguese. HE was succeeded by his son Don *Pedro II.* of that name, and tenth Christian king of *Kongo*, who reigned only two years, but in that time had an opportunity of giving one or two signal instances of his wisdom, moderation, and justice, one of them especially upon a critical juncture, which might else have been attended with some fatal consequences. The occasion was no less than an open rupture between his subjects and the *Portuguese*, the particulars of which our author doth not inform us farther of, than that both parties had taken up arms against each other, and were come to blows, and that the latter had been defeated. Upon the first news of this, the king's council, the nobles, and chief officers of his kingdom, without enquiring into the matter, or who were the first aggressors, unanimously expressed their resentment in the highest terms, and insisted upon his ordering them to be plundered, and cut in pieces out of hand, and the rest to be banished out of his dominions without farther trial or delay. The king was the only person who declared himself against such a rash and unjust proceeding, or against resolving upon any measures, till a full and equitable enquiry had been made into the occasion of that hostile breach, and it was not long before he was fully convinced that his subjects were in the wrong, and had been the first aggressors. Upon which, tho' much against the liking of his court and council, he honourably acquitted the *Portuguese*, gave them fresh assurances of his favour and protection, and took the most equitable method to accommodate matters between them; so that he quickly compromised the whole affair with the *Portuguese* governor of *St. Paul* of *Loanda*, without the least derogation to his royal dignity^d.

A fresh instance of it. HE gave not long after a fresh proof of his justice and friendship to the *Portuguese* nation on the following occasion. Five of their merchants who were settled at *St. Salvador*, as they were travelling thro' part of the frontiers of the kingdom of *Micocco*, laden with their rich merchandizes (E), fell into the hands of a troop of soldiers, or rather banditti, who stripped them of all they had, and brought them to that prince, who loaded them with fetters, and confined them in a strait prison. The king of *Kongo* was no sooner informed of it, than

^a See before, vol. iv. p. 446, & seq. 569, & seq. & al. Labat, l. ii. c. 13.

^a See before, p. 304, & seq.

^b CAVAZ. ap.

^c *Idem* *ibid.*

^d *Idem* *ibid.*

(E) The kingdom of *Micocco* is situate on the most northern frontiers of that of *Kongo*, and is tributary to it, but frequently revolts, especially when the kings of *Kongo* are engaged in any war with the *Gingars*, or other neighbours, or in suppressing any rebellion within their own dominions; the people are idolaters, very barbarous, and live mostly upon plunder (7). The *Portuguese* carry on a considerable trade, as far as, and even beyond, those parts; and, as they have no current coin,

they barter their merchandizes for others, and must be supposed to make a vast gain by it, to compensate for the length of the way, the heavy carriage, and the difficulties and dangers of travelling through those hot countries, from robbers, wild beasts, &c. of which we have formerly spoken (8); for many of those *Portuguese* merchants, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, are immensely rich (9).

(7) *Linshot*, *Pigafet*, *Davity*, *Dapper*, & al. *sup. citat.* *Pigafet*, l. i. c. 5, l. ii. c. 2. Labat ex Cavaz. l. ii. c. 13, & alib. *pass.*

(8) See before, p. 415, & seq.

(9) *Vid.*

a he sent an express to reclaim them and their effects, and, upon his refusal, determined to declare war against him. Two great difficulties were started against it by the *Portuguese* general, who was to assist him in that enterprize, *viz.* the impossibility of transporting their troops into those remote parts time enough, and the danger lest the king of *Micocco*, a barbarous prince, should cause those merchants to be massacred in their prison, out of revenge. Upon which they agreed upon redeeming them; but the friar who was sent thither to treat about their ransom dying in the way, they must in all probability have perished in their jail, had not a grievous famine and pestilence which followed soon after, and was interpreted by that prince and his priests as a judgment for his injustice and cruelty to those strangers (joined most probably to a dread of the king of *Kongo's* resentment, who was then making some hostile preparations against him) determined him to set them at liberty. His fear, it seems, was such, that he not only caused the full value of all their effects to be restored to them, but ordered one of his officers to conduct them safe to *St. Salvador*, and to excuse his former conduct to the king of *Kongo*. As soon as the king was apprised of their arrival, he sent for the officer, and gave him a gracious reception, commended this last action of his master, and sent him home laden with rich presents for him.

Don *Pedro* did not live many months after this generous action, but died justly regretted by all his subjects, who had conceived the greatest hopes of him from those instances of wisdom and magnanimity which they had observed during his short reign. He had, it seems, proposed to himself the example of his predecessor and name-sake, Don *Pedro* the first; and they were all in high expectation that he would have even out-done that great and noble monarch, when his unexpected death threw the whole realm into real mourning^d.

He was succeeded by Don *Garzia*, the first of that name; but whether his son, or a near relation, our author doth not inform us; there is, however, no room to doubt his being a prince of the royal blood, because none but such, as we have shewn before, are ever allowed to ascend the throne^e. He was, moreover, an excellent prince, and highly esteemed by his subjects; but his reign proved as short as that of his predecessors, and he died about the latter end of *June*, in the 2d year of his reign.

His successor, named Don *Ambrosio*, the 12th Christian king, was no less excellent and pious a prince, and as much beloved by all good Christians as he was hated by the merchants, whose male practices he punished with great severity. We have no other particulars of his reign, except that it lasted only some months less than five years, he dying in the month of *March*.

He was succeeded by *Alvarez* IV. of that name, the son of *Alvarez* III. of whom we read little else, but that he died in the month of *February*, in the 5th year of his reign.

His successor *Alvarez* V's reign was as unfortunate as short; he being killed in the second battle which he fought against the duke of *Bamba*, six months after his accession to the crown. The occasion of this quarrel was a secret but unjust suspicion he entertained of that duke, who was indeed very wealthy and powerful, but no less loyal towards him. He had a brave brother named *Garzia*, who was then marquis of *Chourva*, who was equally suspected by *Alvarez*; inasmuch that his ill treatment of both obliged them to join forces in their own defence.

THEY soon came to a decisive battle, in which they had the good fortune to defeat the royal army, and took the king himself prisoner; but, contrary to the usual custom of those barbarous nations, who seldom fail of putting them to death, these two brothers contented themselves with confining him in one of their palaces, where he was treated with as much respect as if he had been in his own, they themselves attending, and serving him upon their knees, and giving him daily fresh assurances of their inviolable fidelity; none of which, however, could gain credit with that mistrustful prince. At length, to his great surprise, they resolved to give him such a proof of it, as they doubted not would at once rid him of all his fears; which was to restore him to his throne, and to carry him in his hammock upon their shoulders into his own capital, attended with a numerous escort, royal music, guards, and other marks of royalty.

THE ungrateful monarch, however, instead of becoming more flexible towards them by this singular mark of respect and loyalty, grew the more incensed against them; and looking upon it as a disgrace to owe his life to his subjects, was no sooner restored to his throne, than he began to levy new forces, marched directly against them, and attacked them with the greatest fury. The fight was long and bloody; but at length his forces were totally overthrown, and a vast number of them slain. The king's body being found dead among them, the duke ordered his head to be cut off, and carried in triumph, on a lance, to the capital; where the states of the kingdom being soon after convened, the duke was unanimously chosen and proclaimed king, and crowned with the usual solemnities, amidst the universal acclamations of the people, and took the name of the deceased^f.

^d LABAT, DAPPER, & al. ubi sup. p. 441, & seq.

^e See before, p. 448, & seq.

^f CAVAZZI ap. Labat. ubi sup.

His zeal for
Christianity;

is murdered by
his brother.

1641.

XVth.

Don Garzia;

who causes
himself to be
chosen.

XVI.

Garzia II.

pretends great
zeal for
Christianity;
kindness to the
capuchins;

murders the
princes of the
blood.

Ill treatment
of the monks
and clergy.

Falls into more
enormous
crimes.

Consults the
idolatrous
magicians;

deprives his
eldest son of
the succession.

His death, and
last legacies.

1663.

XVIIth.

Antonio I.

proves a more
bloody tyrant:

ALVAREZ, now the VIth of that name, and 14th Christian king of *Kongo*, proved a wise and pious prince. His first care, after his accession to the throne, was to send a magnificent embassy of homage to pope *Urban* the VIIIth, and to entreat that pontif to send him a fresh supply of missionaries, to retrieve the decay of Christianity. He seemed wholly bent upon restoring it to its pristine flourishing state, when he was unfortunately murdered by his own brother *Don Garzia*, above-mentioned; who became no less odious to his new subjects by that black action, than he did by his other cruelties and tyranny, and more particularly by the methods he took to force the states of the realm to elect him to the crown. As he had murdered the noble *Alvarez* with no other view but to ascend the throne, so he had taken care to appear at the head of such a numerous force before the electors, as should at once suppress all reproaches on account of that enormous and unnatural crime, as well as all opposition to his election; so that no one daring to utter a harsh word or complaint against him, they found themselves obliged to declare him successor to his deceased brother. We do not find that he changed his name like his predecessors; at least he is only known in the list of Christian kings by that of *Garzia II*. However, in the beginning of his reign, he made a great shew of imitating their zeal and piety, by the pains he took to promote Christianity, and to increase the number of converts among the idolaters. But more especially by his kind and generous reception of the capuchin missionaries, whom his brother had obtained from pope *Urban VIII*. to whom he assigned convents and churches, lands for their maintenance, and slaves to cultivate them, upon their arrival at his capital, and took them under his special favour and protection, above all the other orders of monks. Inasmuch that his subjects began to conceive a high respect for him, and to think that he was endeavouring to atone for his fratricide and ambition, by his zeal for Christianity, and liberality to the preachers of the gospel.

He did not, however, continue long in this good disposition, before his eager desire to secure the succession to the crown to his eldest son made him alter his conduct, and degenerate into a downright tyrant. He began with persecuting all the princes of the blood, who could lay the least claim to the throne, and putting them to the most cruel deaths; neither did he cease this bloody conduct, till he had cut off every one of them that could give him the least umbrage, excepting some few of them who had the good fortune to escape into the kingdom of *Angola*, where the *Portuguese* governor readily took them under his protection. These horrid cruelties, which did but too openly discover his ambitious views, failed not to alarm the states of the kingdom; yet none of them had the courage to expostulate with him. The clergy, the missionaries, and particularly the lately arrived capuchins, did indeed venture to represent to him, in the humblest terms, the guilt and danger of his proceedings; but the repulse they met with from him quickly cooled the zeal of the greatest part of them; and those who still persisted in condemning his conduct, became the objects of his hatred and resentment. Some of them were cruelly persecuted, and, with the utmost inhumanity, left to rot in loathsome jails, laden with fetters, and in the most extreme misery and poverty.

ALL these dreadful examples, which he clearly perceived rendered him more and more odious and detestable to his subjects, served only to alarm his fears the more, that they would put an invincible obstacle to his son's succession; and this obliged him to have recourse to more execrable measures, especially after a desperate fit of sickness had reduced him to the necessity, as he thought it, of recalling all the crew of pretended diviners, forcerers, and enchanters, whom his pious predecessors had banished out of their dominions, to his assistance. These vile wretches, thinking this a proper time for introducing once more their abominable rites and superstitions, and finding at their arrival at court, that his eldest son, prince *Alphonso*, was of all his other children the most averse to their idolatries and diabolical practices, quickly agreed to embrace that favourable opportunity of taking him off; and to that end, did but too easily persuade the credulous prince that his sickness was occasioned by some charm or enchantment which that ambitious youth had made use of in order to open his way to the throne. *Garzia*, without giving himself leisure to hear what his son had to say in his own defence, convened the states of the kingdom, at least such as were nearest at hand, and in their presence declared the eldest prince, *Alphonso*, unworthy and incapable of succeeding him to the crown, on account of his unnatural parricide; and caused his next son, named *Antony*, to be elected and crowned king. He lived long enough after this to commit sundry other crimes, and acts of cruelty and tyranny; and did not end his detested reign till the 21st year of it, and till he had charged his successor, who inherited all his vices, with some other dreadful commissions to be executed after his death.

DON *Antonio*, the first of that name, and seventeenth Christian king, if such a bloody tyrant can deserve so honourable a name, had no sooner performed the obsequies of his father, than, like a true offspring, he set about performing his dying commands, and perhaps with a greater degree of inhumanity than had been enjoined him. He began with his eldest brother *Alphonso*, whom he ordered to be cruelly butchered, and deprived of the benefit even

^a De his, vid. sup. p. 442, & seq.

^b CAVAZZI ap. Iabat, lib. iii. c. 13. p. 414, & seq.

- a of the meanest burial; he closely pursued his father's maxim in putting to death all the remaining princes of the blood who had not escaped into *Angola*, not sparing even his younger brethren, lest any of them should, with the assistance of his discontented subjects, attempt to dethrone him. Those nobles and officers of his kingdom, of whom he entertained the least suspicion of disrespect or disaffection, were sure to undergo the same fate; till the shedding of blood became as familiar a practice with him, as if he had been brought up among the worst of canibals. He grew, at length, to such a height of cruelty, that he could hardly get any servants or slaves to attend on him; all his subjects shunning him as a ravenous monster, and his very slaves chusing to flee into the thickest forests, upon the most frightful rocks and deserts, and at the hazard of being starved to death, or devoured by wild beasts, rather than be exposed to his more inhuman treatment.

puts his elder brother to death, and many of the nobles: hated and abandoned by all.

- b HE was, however, much affrighted at some dreadful appearances in the air, which happened about that time, some threatening comets, and other phænomena of the like alarming nature, which continued visible for a considerable time; but especially a dreadful raging pestilence, which destroyed myriads of his subjects, and carried off the stoutest of them in less than two or three days, had so far terrified his superstitious mind, that he seemed to be deeply touched with remorse at the vast quantity of blood which he had caused to be unjustly shed. But no sooner were those judgments removed, than he fell into other enormous impieties; one of which was marrying, contrary to the laws of the church, a very near relation, with whom he was enamoured, whilst his own wife was still alive; and, when the clergy and missionaries opposed it, behaved himself with such haughtiness towards them, as plainly convinced them, that if he had not really apostatised from, yet he paid but very little regard to, the Christian religion; and of this he ventured to give them such signal proofs, as drew upon him the censure of the bishops, vicar-general, and of the whole church (F).

Affrighted by some prodigies.

His incestuous marriage;

contempt of religion.

- THE king, now no longer able to bear the opposition of a set of men who were become odious to him, resolved to pull off the mask, and to declare himself an irreconcilable enemy not only to all ecclesiastics, of all denominations, but to all the *Portuguese* in his dominion, whom he stiled a set of beggarly indigents, who were forced by hunger and poverty to abandon their native country, and to seek for a livelihood among all distant nations that would harbour them. These he not only threatened to exterminate, but, to shew that he was in earnest, made all the haste he could to raise all the forces (or as they may be more properly called, the militia) of his kingdom, which, when brought together and mustered, amounted, as we are told, to 900,000 men; a prodigious number this! But it will appear less incredible to our reader, if he remembers what hath been said before, of the extraordinary populousness of that country, and of their method of raising such stupendous armies^a.

Enmity to the church and the Portuguese;

raises a vast army against them.

- ALL this while the *Portuguese*, well informed of his threats, and that those vast preparations were intended against them, had found out a specious pretence for being before-hand with him, and revived their former demands for finding out the gold and silver mines, pursuant to the offer which king *Alvarez* had made of them to *Philip* king of *Spain*, as was lately mentioned, and were come to a resolution to be no longer baffled with the delays of the *Kongoesse* court, but to go and seize upon them *vi & armis*; so that, under that pretext, they had not only raised a sufficient force to make head against that blustering monarch, but had already penetrated pretty far into his dominions by that time he had got his numerous army together.

The Portuguese are before hand with him;

seize on the gold mines.

HE did not, however, depend so far upon that dastardly multitude, as to venture them against the known valour of the *Portuguese*, without previously consulting his idolatrous

He is deceived by his idolatrous priests.

^a See before, p. 439, & seq. 453, & seq.

(F) As an instance of his disregard to religion, he took it into his head one day, as he assisted at the solemn procession on *Corpus Christi* festival, to have the royal umbrella carried over his head; which none of the Christian princes before him had ever done, because it is borne on that day, out of respect, over the sacrament, which is carried about. One of the principal dignitaries of the church ventured to approach him, and, in the humblest terms, to represent to him, the scandal it gave to the people, who would not fail of interpreting it, as if his majesty was putting himself upon a level with the body of Christ that went before him.

The king contented himself with casting a scornful look; and turning about, left the procession, and marched directly to his own palace, his whole court following him thither; but he sent soon after to one of his head officers, to tell the clergyman, who was the bishop's vicar-general, that if ever he presumed again to make any such remonstrances to him, he must expect nothing but the severest effects of his resentment. The vicar,

though but too well acquainted with his vindictive temper, answered the king as became his character, That if his majesty carried his disregard to religion so far as to insult it in so public a manner, and in the midst of their most solemn devotions, he must not be surprised, if he thought it his duty to admonish and expostulate with him, as became his function and dignity. But that if his majesty had still any worse designs against it, he should find him and his whole clergy ready to lay down their lives to maintain the honour of their holy faith, for which his majesty's ancestors had shewn so laudable a zeal, and profound regard.

This answer, which would have mollified the king's resentment if he had had the least regard for Christianity left, only enraged him the more; so that, in the height of his rage, he swore he would be speedily revenged, not only on the vicar-general, and the whole clergy, but on all their friends and supporters, meaning the *Portuguese* (1).

(1) *Labat ex Cavaaz. lib. ii. c. 13. p. 419, & seq.*

diviners and magicians about his success, and offering some sacrifices to render their pretended deities propitious to him. The answer he received from those juggling priests, was, that he should certainly enter in triumph into *St. Paul de Loanda*, which is the metropolis of *Angola*, and belonging to the *Portuguese*; and that the prime officers of that nation should carry him thither upon their shoulders. This assurance, so confidently given to the superstitious king, made so strong an impression on his mind, that he thought himself already victorious, and in possession of that important place, and all the *Portuguese* either dead at his feet, or laden with his chains; and, in this confidence, accelerated the march of his troops as much as possible against them.

1666.
Defeated and
slain.
His head
carried in tri-
umph.

BOTH armies came soon after in sight of each other; and our good capuchin assures us, that the divine providence so far interposed in favour of the *Portuguese*, as to send a miraculous rain of fire, driven by a hot scorching wind, full in the face of the enemy; which so grievously annoyed them, that great numbers dispersed themselves and fled, whilst the *Portuguese* fell upon the rest, and made a most dreadful slaughter among them (G). The king, who had posted himself on a small eminence, to observe the fight, was soon after surrounded and slain by them; which, being perceived by the remainder of his army, occasioned an universal flight; and the *Portuguese*, weary by this time of butchering them, neither offered to stop or pursue them. They contented themselves with cutting off the impious king's head, and carrying it in triumph to their capital of *Loanda*, into which he made indeed a solemn kind of entry, though very different from that which he had promised to himself, from the answer of his juggling priests¹.

XVIIIth.
Don Antonio
seizes upon
the crown.

HE had reigned above three years, when his defeat and death put an end to that war, which seemed to threaten not only the total extirpation of the *Portuguese* nation, but of the Christian religion, out of his dominions. But the kingdom was not yet free from the danger of falling under the power of even a more impious and merciless tyrant: this was a prince of the blood, but one of the lowest class, whom the late king had spared, as appearing too despicable in his eye to be worth his notice, or raise his jealousy; but who, taking advantage of the confusion that reigned every-where, after the late bloody overthrow, and the king's death, gathered up a sufficient force to enable him to seize upon the crown by downright violence, and caused himself to be proclaimed under the name of *Alvarez VII*.

His vices
cause him to
be dethroned.
Is succeeded by
XIXth,
Alvarez
VIII;

HE was a monster of impiety, cruelty, and lewdness, and no farther a Christian, than as he had been baptized in his infancy, but had neither been instructed in the principles of Christianity, nor ever made any profession of it. His reign, whilst it lasted, was one continued series of the most horrid murders, extortions, and licentiousness of all kinds, till he became so odious to all his subjects, that they rose up in arms; and, with the assistance of the count of *Sogno*, drove him from thence, in the month of *June* of that very same year². The count immediately caused the states of the kingdom to be convened, who made choice of another prince of the blood, about twenty years of age, who took upon him the name of *Alvarez VIII*. and was the 19th Christian king. He was a wise and promising prince, and might have made his subjects once more happy, and himself have enjoyed a longer and more peaceable reign, had he not found the kingdom distracted by factions, and so miserably exhausted of all its wealth and strength by the dreadful wars and horrid butcheries of the two former reigns, which furnished the then marquis of *Pemba*³, a prince no less ambitious than powerful, an easy opportunity to revolt from him, and in a little while, to wrench the crown from him, before he had enjoyed it full four years. And with this remarkable epocha our author concludes his history of the *Kongoese* monarchs^m; since which we do not hear of any author who hath thought fit to continue it farther.

who is de-
throned by
the duke of
Pemba.

¹ CAVAZ. ap. Labat, ubi sup. ² Id. ibid. ad fin. cap. 13. ³ De hoc, vid. sup. p. 427. ^m CAVAZ. ibid. vol. ii. p. 425, & seq.

(G) It is most likely that the whole miracle consisted only in the blowing of one of those burning winds which are so frequent in all these hot regions; the dreadful effects of which we have elsewhere described (2); and in the advantageous choice made by the *Portuguese* of their situation, so as to have it upon their backs, whilst it blew full in the enemy's faces.

But our author is so fond of miracles, that he could not forbear adding another to that, which we leave to the reader's choice to believe or reject.

He tells us, that the king, from his eminence, beheld a fine majestic lady, surrounded with luminous

rays, and holding a child in her arms, who stood all the time of the action at the right hand of the *Portuguese* general, and seemed to direct all his motions; and that he could not but know her, as he had been brought up a Christian, to be the *Virgin Mary*, as several of his retinue deemed her, who saw the apparition as well as he. Yet could he not forbear crying out, in a sarcastical manner, What strange people are those *Portuguese*, who carry their wives and children to the wars with them! immediately after which, he received a mortal wound, which put a stop at once to his profane jest, and his impious life and reign (3).

(2) See before, p. 181, & alib. pass.

(3) Cavaz. ap. Labat, ubi sup. c. 13. p. 423, & seq.

C H A P. XII.

The history of the kingdom of Angola, or Dongo.

- a **H**AVING gone through the history of the kingdom of *Kongo proper*, we come now The kingdom of Angola. to speak of those other provinces which formerly made a part of that vast empire, and were subject to its monarchs, but were, in process of time, dismembred from it; and from inferior lordships, or governments, erected themselves into considerable kingdoms, under their own monarchs, though in some respects still tributary to those of *Kongo*^a: in the describing of which we shall avoid as much as possible repeating any thing which has been said in the last chapter, concerning the *Kongoese* nation in general, with respect to their religion, government, commerce, produce, customs, and other such particulars, wherein they differ from each other only in very inconsiderable matters; and confine ourselves to such wherein we find an essential difference between them: so that where-ever the reader meets with
- b nothing of this kind in the following description of them, he may conclude them to agree with the general description already given of the kingdom of *Kongo*^b. We there observed that the two principal provinces which dismembred themselves from it, and erected themselves into independent kingdoms, were those of *Angola* on the south, and *Loango* on the north^c. We shall now begin with the former, as the most considerable of the two, if not in extent, yet in wealth, commerce, fruitfulness, and other advantages, which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel.

S E C T. I.

The situation, extent, limits, climate, &c. of the kingdom of Angola.

- c **T**HIS country, which was antiently called *Abonda*, or *Ambonda*, and since *Dongo*, and Its antient names. by the *Portuguese Angola*, and is most commonly known by this last among the *Europeans*, may be, for distinction sake, divided into *Angola proper*, or that which was antiently a province of *Kongo*, and the kingdom of *Angola*, as it was afterwards formed Division of Angola. into, and vastly enlarged by its new monarchs, after they had made themselves independent of it. In the first sense, it is confined between the two rivers of *Danda*, which part it from that on the north, and that of *Coanza*, or as others write it, tho' more improperly, *Quansa*, on the south. In the second sense, that is, with its additional conquests, it extends itself Extent and limits. along the *Ethiopic* coasts, from the mouth of the *Danda* above-mentioned, situate in 8 degr. 10 min. of S. latitude, to that called *St. Francis*, in 13 degr. 15 min. according to some;
- d but according to the most accurate geographers, quite to *Cape Negro*, in 16 degr. 21 min. According to this last extent the kingdom of *Angola* forms a coast of eight degrees and some minutes, that is, 160 leagues, or 480 miles, and upwards, but, with its winding, reckoned a great deal more still^{*}; and the *Cabo das Vaccas*, or the *Cape of Cows*, which lies in 12 degr. 22 minutes, cuts it in the middle: what is its breadth from west to east, or its extent from the sea coast into the inland, is very different, and, for the most part, unknown, especially as one advances farther towards the south; but its greatest depth eastward is in the province of *Angola proper*, which we are now to describe.

- e **T**HIS part of the *Angolic* kingdom, and by far the most considerable, is situate, as hath been already hinted, between the two great rivers of *Danda* on the north, which part it on that side from *Kongo proper*, and that of *Coanza*, which parts it from those of *Cabezo* on the south^d. It hath on the east the kingdoms of *Metamba* and *Higher Ganghela*, and the ocean on the west. The whole country is very mountainous, there being but few plains to be met with in it, except on the maritime side, and between the huge ridges of the mountains.

- f **W**E have described the former of these rivers in the last chapter^e. The *Coanza* is large, Rivers. Coanza; its mouth and cascades. deep, rapid, and empties itself into the same ocean with the *Danda*, about the 9th degr. 20 min. south latitude, and about 12 leagues south of *Loanda San Paulo*, capital of the kingdom. It is navigable 150 miles upwards, quite to *Cambamba*, where the *Portuguese* have a fortress and capetaneria, or settlement, under a governor stiled by them captain. It abounds with variety of fish, forms several islands, and has some cataracts, one in particular, which bears its name. As for its source, and the length of ground it crosses from east to west before it comes to the *Portuguese* settlement, it is altogether unknown, as well as the eastern countries which it waters, and the many rivers it receives in its course. The chief of these

^a See before, p. 418, & seq.^b Ibid. p. 419, & seq.^c Ibid. p. 420, & seq.^{*} LOPEZ apud

Pigafet, c. 7. LINSCHOT. DAVITY, DAPPER, JARRIC, vol. ii. c. 6. LABAT ex Cavaz. lib. i. c. 5. & al.

^d LINSCHOT. Kongo. JARRIC, lib. ii. c. 6. CORNEIL. DAVITY, DAPPER, CAVAZZI ap. Labat lib. i. c. 5. & al.^e Before, p. 427.

are the *Mocos*, *Luenta*, and *Calucala*. Its mouth, which runs between the capes *Palmerino* ^a and *Lego*, is above a league wide; the northern shore is the deepest, and that at which the vessels sail in. It hath a good depth all the way up to *Cambamba*, but afterwards is full of rocks and dreadful cascades, which render its course so rapid that there is no possibility of going higher. Its fall into the ocean is likewise so rapid, that the sea appears quite muddy ^b two or three leagues below it. Its mouth is not easily perceived from the open sea, by reason of an island quite covered with high trees, which lies just before it. About fifteen or sixteen leagues above it, it divides its waters into two streams, of which the southern is the deepest and most frequented ^c.

Islands in it. THE two chief islands that are formed by this river are that of *Massander*, which is six leagues long, and about two miles broad, and is very fertile in maize, or *Turkey* wheat, millet, and some other grains, which are reaped at three different seasons of the year. It produces likewise a vast quantity of manhioc, a root of which they make a coarse kind of meal, which serves them instead of bread; and nourishes vast numbers of palm and other fruit-trees, of which we have spoken in the last chapter ^d. The other island is called *Motchiama*, about four or five miles long, and one in breadth, mostly plain, and producing variety of roots and herbs, and breeds plenty of cattle. There were formerly five or six *Portuguese* families settled upon it, who carried on a considerable trade in them, especially in slaves ^e. Other rivers, which cross the kingdom of *Angola* between the *Danda* and *Coanza* above mentioned, are the *Beango*, or *Zemza*, which runs in the same westerly course, through the province of its name, of which we shall speak in the sequel, and empties itself into the same ocean; and some other small ones, of which we shall make mention hereafter. One thing more we must add concerning these two rivers of *Danda* and *Coanza* making the northern and southern boundaries of the kingdom is, that tho' their mouths are hardly above 70 or 80 miles from each other, yet their distance grows so considerably wider by their deflection, as you penetrate farther eastward into the inland, as to be much above twice, if not three times, that number, tho' how much cannot be exactly known ^f.

Other provinces south of the river. BUT besides the provinces inclosed between these two rivers, there are several others included formerly within the boundaries of the *Angolic* kingdom, which our capuchin had likewise visited, and are situated on the south of *Coanza* above mentioned, and extending themselves as far as, or even beyond, the *Lutano*, or *Lutina*, or, as the *Portuguese* have since named it, *Rio San Francisco*, or *St. Francis's River*, which is another very considerable one, and which disembogues itself, after receiving many others into its bosom, into the same *Ethiopic* ocean, about the 13th degree of S. latitude, or about three degr. and a half south of the *Coanza* ^g. These provinces are still, or the greatest part of them, involved in the same barbarism of manners, and abominable idolatries, as the *Giagas*, formerly described ^h; being little better than savages in human shape. In this most geographers, as well as our capuchin, who have gone thro' them all, unanimously agree; but as to their situation, extent, limits, and even their names, they all differ from each other. We shall therefore chiefly follow him in the division and description he hath given us of them in the same order he hath set them down, and only take notice of what is peculiar and most remarkable in each of them ⁱ.

The division of Angola into 17 provinces. THE kingdom of *Angola*, according to him ^j, is divided into seventeen provinces, among which that of *Benguela* still retains the title of kingdom, tho' in other respects reduced to a level with the rest. 1. The province of *Chissama* holds the first rank, and is situate under the 11th degree of south latitude, near the mouth of the *Coanza*. It is now become a *Portuguese* settlement, or captainrick: the people there pretend to some peculiar immunities and privileges above the rest; but the *Portuguese* governor and officers have thought fit to deceive them from this fond conceit, by using them with more arbitrariness and harshness than any of the other provinces. Here are three commanderies, whose despotic governors behave more like tyrants than inferior officers over the natives; which is perhaps one cause, why the country, which is mostly mountainous, is so poorly cultivated by them. It abounds however with a peculiar salt, which the peasants make from a briny kind of water which they dig for, and, being congealed, they cast it into oblong square cakes like bricks, of about five or six inches in length, like those we have formerly described in *Abissinia* ^k; and those they exchange with the *Portuguese* for meal, oil, and other commodities. It is reckoned so excellent, not only for food but for physic, as being a pleasant diuretic, that the merchants convey it thro' all *Ethiopia*, and make an extraordinary gain of it. The province abounds likewise with fine honey and wax, but labours under an extreme scarcity of fresh water, because they have no rain from *May* to *October*, and their mountains are without springs or rivers; so that those who are near the *Coanza* are glad to fetch their water from that river, tho' at the hazard of being devoured by the wild beasts, which swarm along its banks ^l.

^f CAVAZ. DAPPER, & al. sup. citat.

^g Before, p. 422, & seq.

^h Ibidem ibid.

ⁱ DAVITY,

DAPPER, & al. sup. citat.

^k CAVAZZI ap. Labat, lib. i. c. 5.

^l Before, p. 418, & seq.

^m LABAT

ubi sup. p. 60, & seq.

- a 2. THE next province is that of *Sumbi*, situate under the same climate with the former. The natives are tall and strong, but, like the rest of the *Ethiopians*, are so lazy and indolent, that, tho' their country is, for the most part, flat and well watered by the *Rica*, *Caiba*, *Calacombola*, and other smaller rivers, and consequently very fit for breeding vast herds of cattle of all kinds, as well as for sowing of grain; yet, partly thro' indolence, and partly thro' the vast numbers of wild beasts, which they neglect to destroy, they do not improve these advantages by a tenth part so much as they might, unless it be in some of the islands that lie at the mouth of the *Calacombola*, which are very rich, populous, and free from voracious beasts, and where they breed vast quantities of excellent cattle. 2d. Sumbi. The people lazy tho' stout.
- b 3. THE third province is that of *Benguela*, which, as we hinted above, still retains the title of kingdom, and is permitted to enjoy some small privileges by its masters the *Portuguese*. The river *Rimba*, called also *Cumani*, borders it on the east, and the *Coanza* and *Cubogi*, on the north, and its extent westward reaches quite to *Cape Negro*. It produces abundance of salt, tho' of an inferior nature from that lately spoken of, but which is yet in great request, and the merchants lade their vessels with it for exportation. The zimbis, or cockle money, formerly mentioned ^o, are caught upon its coast, and pass in payment either by weight or measure. The country, which is mostly mountainous, swarms with wild beasts, particularly elephants, rhinoceroses, and wild mules; the former of which is a dainty dish with the Negroes, especially after it begins to crawl with worms. The lions, tigers, crocodiles, and other carnivorous kinds, destroy vast quantities of their cattle. They have but few flat lands, except towards the sea-side, where the *Portuguese* have erected a stout fortress, called *Fort Benguela*, in which they maintain a strong garrison, to keep the savage *Giagas* in awe, who had almost ruined the whole country, during the reigns of their ancient monarchs; who, tho' they stiled this province alone their kingdom, yet never resided in it, but committed the government of it to some faithful Sona, or noble, but who were hardly ever powerful enough to withstand the inroads of those plundering barbarians. So that it was a happiness for this province that it was conquered by the *Portuguese*, and put under the government of the viceroy of *Angola* ^p. But with all their care and power, they have not been able to restore it to its pristine state of plenty, when their fertile plains produced numberless herds of cattle, both small and great, and of excessive bigness, which are now become very scarce. Nor hath their zeal been able as yet to reduce the natives from their old idolatry; tho' our author tells us some of them began in his time to give a little more attention to the missionaries. 3d. Benguela; bearing the title of kingdom. Its fall. Zimbi, or shell-money. A strong fortress and garrison. Its ancient fertility impaired.
- d 4. THE province of *Rimba*, situate between that of *Sumbi* on the west, *Lubolo* on the north, *Tamba* on the east, and *Scetta* on the south, is divided into twenty lordships or districts, whose lords take care to entertain a good number of militia. It produces great store of grain, and abundance of fish. They are mostly idolaters; but our author, who was there *an. 1658*, tells us, that he found them very docile, and had the satisfaction to baptize a good number of them ^a. 4th. Rimba, and its 20 lordships.
- e 5. THE province of *Scetta*, on the south of the former, and on the north of *Benguela*, is one of the most rocky and mountainous in all the kingdom, particularly on one side, where a ridge of perpendicular rocks covers a space of thirty miles in length, without interruption, and looks like a whole solid piece cut straight downwards, as if done by the plummet. The top of it however, dreadful as it looks, is both well inhabited and cultivated, enjoys a serene and wholesome air, and plenty of fresh water; which may be well looked upon as a wonder in such a burning climate as this, and is yet no more than, as we have shewn in a former chapter, is to be met with in several parts of the kingdom of *Abissinia* ^r. The low lands are likewise fertile, and well watered, and feed prodigious herds of cattle; which would be still more numerous, were it not for the wild beasts that devour them. The rivers and torrents which come down from the hills, carry with them vast quantities of iron ore, which the inhabitants gather carefully, by laying of straw and other such materials across the stream to receive it; and, having laid it up in heaps, convert it into metal by dint of fire, and make an excellent iron of it. There are found likewise in this country great quantities of a kind of transparent ore, pointed at one end, which they call *Tarc*, and believe to be engendered in the air, and fall from thence in thundering weather; nor is it possible to convince them of the contrary. In this province the residence of the governor is built on the declivity of a high mountain, called *Lombo*, on the frontiers between this and the province of *Rimba*, and he is so powerful that he hath twenty-two inferior governors under him ^s. 5th. Scetta. Its stupendous ridge of rocks. Well inhabited and watered. The low lands fertile. Iron hath been made here.
- f 6. THE province of *Bembea*, which is divided into *Higher* and *Lower*, extends itself on one side along the sea, and on the other divides the kingdom of *Angola* from the other foreign states on the south. The country is large, populous, and abounds with large and small 6th. High and Low Bembea.

^o Vid. supra, p. 453.
fore, p. 200, & seq.

^p CAVAZZI ap. Labat, ubi sup. p. 68, & seq.
^{*} CAVAZ. ubi sup. p. 70.

^r Ibid. p. 70.

^s See be-

More savage
than the rest.
Stratagem in
war.

cattle, with the fat of which they anoint their heads and bodies, and clothe themselves with their hides, coarsely dressed. They are addicted to the same idolatrous superstitions with other parts of the kingdom, but speak a quite different language. They use a politic stratagem in war, which is to drive great numbers of their cattle towards that side on which the enemy is expected, whilst they lie perdué either under the high grass, upon their bellies, or lurking among the heath or copses, which seldom fail of enticing them out to the plunder; upon which they furiously fall upon them, in the height of their disorder, with their armed clubs, and force them to surrender themselves, in order to be sold for slaves to the *Europeans*. The great river *Lutano*, or *San Francisco*, waters and fertilizes most part of this province, but swarms with crocodiles, sea-horses, and monstrous serpents, which, besides destroying much of its fish, do a great deal of mischief to the adjacent grounds.

7th. Temba.

Abounds with
wild cattle,
and wholesome
roots.

7. TEMBA is a flat low province, full of small rivers and rivulets. The *Rio Longo*, or *Long River*, springs there out of a rock, on which the *Portuguese* have built a fortress, which defends the whole district. Four other rivers fall into the *Rio Longo*, which swell it very much, and make it navigable a considerable way. The whole country abounds with wild cows and mules, which might be of great service, if the natives had the sense to tame them, instead of hunting them for food. It produces likewise some excellent roots, one in particular, much like to our parsnips, but of a finer taste, and affirmed to purify the blood, and attenuate the phlegm. The province is divided into twelve lordships, whose chiefs, tho' under the protection of the *Portuguese*, yet live free and independent, and are only obliged to furnish them with a certain number of militia, in case of need. And though they often quarrel with each other, yet they could never be subdued by the *Portuguese*, but were as quickly reunited as they perceived themselves in any danger from that quarter. Our author had the satisfaction to convert and baptize a good number of the natives, *an.* 1658, whilst he was among them, and to find in many of the rest a ready disposition to forsake their abominable idolatries.

8th. Oacco.

Abounds in
springs, &c.

The people
stinted in their
lands.

8. OACCO, situate between the *Coanza* on the north-east, and *Lubolo* on the south-west, is beautifully variegated with hills and plains, without any of those high rocky mountains which cover some other provinces, and is so well watered with rivers and springs of excellent water, as to render it one of the most delightful provinces in that kingdom. The misfortune is, that the natives have not industry enough to cultivate it as it deserves; and, what is still worse, the lords of it will not allow their subjects any greater quantity of land than what is barely sufficient for their families, and suffer the rest to go untilld. The *Kongo*, which falls into the *Coanza*, runs thro' the province, and renders it very fertile, but its fruits, we are told, are more insipid than in other provinces.

The lord of it
baptized.

Twenty gover-
nors under him.
Their militia.

Distempers and
cure.

QUINZAMBABO, who was lord of this province, and was baptized *an.* 1657, induced, by his example, a great number of his subjects to become Christians. He hath twenty Sunos, or governors, under him, whose principal business is to discipline and exercise the militia, in the use of all their martial weapons, and even in that of fire arms: so that it is esteemed by far the best in the whole kingdom. There is a distemper peculiar to this climate, which commonly begins with a violent head-ach and vertigo, and is followed by convulsions, which quickly reduce the patient to a mere skeleton. Their remedy against it is a plant not unlike our hyssop, which they pulverise, and drink the infusion of. They likewise extract an oil from it, with which they anoint the parts convulsed. Our *Europeans* who live there, use the above-said powder in their drink, broths, &c. by way of prevention, with good success.

Swelling in the
neck.

A venomous
insect.

The sting how
cured.

THE natives of this province are likewise subject to a kind of terrible swelling, which begins at the mouth, and spreads itself all over the neck, which it often swells to the bigness of the head, causes excessive pains, and is often attended with suffocation.

HERE is likewise an insect not unlike our horse flies, but under the belly like our millepedes, whose sting is so dangerous, that if a quantity of blood be not drawn very speedily, the person is immediately thrown into a burning fever, attended with excessive tortures, that commonly end in a total delirium, and, if not speedily relieved, in convulsive death. The natives use a remedy against it, which, tho' altogether superstitious (A), is yet so effectual,

* *Iidem* *ibid.* p. 75, & seq.

(A) The poor idolaters, in this case, have recourse to their conjuring priests (1), who seek out for an insect of the same kind, and put it into a hole which they have dug in the earth, adding sundry fumigations, exorcisms, and superstitions, understood only by them; after which they fill the hole with water, and replenish it as that sinks, stirring it, and letting the earth settle again several times. At last, without staying till it is quite clear, and divested of its disagreeable earthy

taste, they give the patient plenty of it to drink, which seldom fails of throwing him into a violent fit of vomiting, by which so great a part of the poison is thrown out, that their natural strength may easily get rid of the rest. But yet our author adds, that even those that are cured by this odd method, are, for the most part, seized, some time after, with pains and convulsions in their nerves, which commonly end in a settled lameness, and often in a dead palsy (2).

(1) *De his*, *vid. sup.* p. 465.

(2) *Labat ex Cavaz. lib. i. c. 5. p. 81, & seq.*

that

a that the *Europeans*, unable to bear the excessive pain, will have recourse to it, in spite of the express prohibitions of the church. What is still more surprising is, that those who have been cured seldom fail of a relapse, occasioned by the bare remembrance, without being stung afresh; and some of them feel such excessive torture, that they have killed themselves to be rid of it.^t

9. THE province of *Cabexzo* joins to *Oacco* above mentioned on the north, to *Lubolo* on the south; hath the *Coanza* on the north-east, and *Rimba* on the south-west. It is populous, and well stored with cattle and other provisions, and hath a mine of iron on a mountain, called from thence *The Iron Mountain*, which yields great quantities of that metal, which the *Portuguese* have taught the natives to purify, and forge it into warlike and other useful tools. Its fine iron.
b The *Rio Longo*, and other small rivulets, lakes, &c. supply them with plenty of water. Their trees are vastly large, and they have one sort of them not unlike our apple-trees, the bark of which, being slashed with a knife, yields an odoriferous resin, of the colour and consistency of wax, and very medicinal, only of a little too hot a nature for our *Europeans*, unless qualified by some cooling drug. A fine resin.
Malamba-Angy, the lord of this province, was baptized an. The lord of it baptized.
1658, whose example excited many of his nobles and officers, and a great number of his subjects, to be the same. The avenue to his palace had, among other embellishments, twelve palm-trees, of such exquisite largeness and beauty, that the curious came far and near to see them; but they were originally brought hither from the adjacent province of *Lubolo*.

10. LUBOLO, situate along the southern banks of the *Coanza*, between the provinces of *Cabexzo*, last mentioned, on the east, and that of *Quissama* on the west. Some geographers include the ten provinces above described under the general name of *Lubolo*; nevertheless they most of them agree that this we are upon is the only one to whom that name more properly belongs. It is much famed for its noble and excellent palm-trees, mentioned in the last article; and it seems as if its soil and climate was peculiarly adapted to them, so greatly doth the oil, wine, and other produce, which they yield^u, exceed all that is to be met with in all the other parts of the kingdom^w. The greater part of the people of this province are Christians, after the example of their chief lord, but not much to be depended upon for their zeal and constancy. They are tributary to the *Portuguese*, and the militia are at their command. All these ten provinces are on the south side of the *Coanza*; but as to their extent, limits, number of their governments, and other such particulars, authors differ so much from one another, that we dare not rely on any, much less attempt to direct our readers to which of them to give the preference (B). Tributary to the Portuguese.

WE come now to the other seven provinces within the *Coanza*, the principal of which is that of *Loanda*, an island on the coast of the kingdom of *Bengo*, and which is chiefly remarkable for the capital of *Angola*, called from it *San Paulo de Loanda*, built upon it by the *Portuguese*, as we shall see in the sequel, an. 1578, under the direction of *Paulo dias de Novais*, the first governor of that nation in these parts. It is large and populous, pleasantly situate on the declivity of a hill near the sea-coast, and facing the south-west. It is not surrounded with any walls, but only with churches and monasteries, which answer the same end. It is, however, defended by a stout and spacious fortress, which hath in it a church dedicated to *St. Amaro*, and a convent of *Sestertians*, besides some few bulwarks that serve to guard the entrance of the port. Near and about the above mentioned fortress are the castimbo, or ditches, which are a kind of reservoirs of water, for the use of the Negro slaves belonging to the town. Its castle.

THE jesuits, who are here held in great esteem, have their convent in the center of the city. It is a large stately edifice, endowed with a considerable revenue. On one side of it is the hospital called *The Misericordia*, which hath twenty-four rooms or wards, besides the apartments of the directors, physician, surgeon, apothecary, and other attendants. The revenue of this house consists in some portion of lands appropriated to it, and a tax of two rees which every vessel pays to it that comes into the port. On the other side of the jesuits college is the church belonging to the fraternity of *St. John the Baptist*. The cathedral, which stands at a small distance from those three, is a large stately structure, dedicated to our *Lady of the Conception*, under which is another dedicated to the *Holy Sacrament*, like our Convent.
Hospital; how maintained.
Churches.

^t LABAT ex Cavaz. ibid. p. 80, & seq. 84, & seq.

^u De his, vid. sup. p. 422, & seq.

^w CAVAZ. ubi sup. p.

(B) We cannot but suppose here, that *Cavazzi* was mistaken in the extent he gives those ten provinces, or that his translator *Labat* has either misunderstood him, or hath suffered some errors to creep into the numbers of his version, when he tells us from him, that they all put together extended only about 25 leagues from north to south, and no more than 12 from east to west; when his map of it, affixed to the first book, would

induce one to believe (had not the numbers been wrote at full length) that he had omitted at least the last figure; there being above seven degrees, or, according to him, 140 leagues, between the mouth of the *Coanza* and *Cape Negro*, which is the southern limit of the kingdom: which is pretty near the distance which *Lopez*, and other authors quoted at the beginning of this section, give us between these two boundaries (3).

(3) See before, p. 419, & seq.

St. Faith under *St. Paul's*. The capuchins, carmelites, and other friars, have likewise their a monasteries and chapels, which, together with some other parochial churches, as that of *St. Anthony de Lisbon*, but vulgarly *St. Anthony de Padua*, that of *Our Lady of Nazareth*, the chapel of *St. Mary Magdalen*, and some others, do so surround the city, that they answer the end of walls and fortifications, for the safety of the inhabitants *.

Their confidence in their saints.

YET do the *Portuguese* place less confidence in these kinds of bulwarks than they do in the protection and prayers of those saints to whom they are dedicated; which plainly appears from the exactness and magnificence with which they celebrate their festivals, above all other popish towns; sparing no cost nor profuseness upon those occasions, to express their high veneration for, confidence in, and gratitude to, those imaginary protectors; insomuch, that among the several fraternities of that city which are composed of mere laics, merchants, b handicraftsmen, &c. each of which hath a patron belonging to their respective trades, there are no less, we are told, than 30,000 crowns spent every year on such their anniversary festivals.

Courts spiritual and temporal.

THIS city is very populous, and much resorted to (C), as it is the residence of the *Portuguese* governor, or viceroy, of the bishop, and the chief courts of judicature, for the whole kingdom. The public buildings are sumptuous, as are those of the merchants, and officers

How supplied with water.

both spiritual and temporal. The town is supplied with excellent fresh water from a curious spring in a neighbouring island, which we shall speak of by-and-by; and the whole country round about is fertile, well cultivated, and delightfully variegated with villas, gardens, and stately fruit-trees, and other fine vistas, besides that of the open sea. On the north side of c the city, at a small distance from it, is a hill somewhat higher than that on which this is built, and which still bears the name of *San Paulo*, and upon it are still to be seen some few houses, together with the ruins of a monastery formerly belonging to the jesuits. As for the new city, it suffered very much when the *Dutch* took it, an. 1641; and, after the ensuing peace, the *Portuguese* have in vain endeavoured to restore it to its former splendor, tho' they have spared neither pains nor cost to do it *.

Its port and island of Loanda.

Its port is spacious, safe, and commodious, tho' the town is not built upon any river, and is sheltered by the small island of *Loanda*, which lies almost over against it, at about half a mile distance from it. The island is about five leagues in length and one in breadth; and it is upon the coasts of it that they fish for the zimbis, or simbos, formerly mentioned, d

Fine springs.

as the current coin in most parts of *Western Ethiopia* *. This little island doth moreover supply the capital above mentioned with excellent water, from the curious springs they have dug in it; insomuch, that you need not go farther than two or three feet into the earth before your pit is filled with fresh and delicious water, clear and light, and excellent to drink. But here, as in several islands of *America*, and even nearer in the little one of *Cadis*, you must draw your water during the high tide; for as that sinks, it becomes more and more brackish, till, at low tide, you find it quite salt, almost like that of the sea itself. This is a phænomenon that hath not yet been accounted for by any of our naturalists, tho' too well known here and in other parts of the world to admit of a doubt †. The *Portuguese* have built abundance of houses on this little island, and keep a great number of gardens upon it e well cultivated and stored. They have likewise several handsome churches, and a convent of the jesuits upon it; besides which they keep up a good number of lime-kilns, in which they burn oyster shells, and which make excellent lime.

Vast numbers of slaves.

THE reader may guess by this one article, what a number of slaves must be employed in the supplying so populous a place with a sufficient quantity of that element only, for the month; but the goodness of it makes amends for the trouble of carriage. The bread that is commonly eaten by the inhabitants, being made of the meal of the root called maniock, brought thither originally by the *Portuguese* from the *West-Indies*, is neither pleasant nor wholesome. They have plenty of good meat of all sorts, but their pork is reckoned the best of all, at least by the *Europeans*; for among the *Angolans*, dogs flesh is esteemed by far f the daintiest meat, and as such they fatten and kill, and expose them at the public shambles, where they bear the best price. However there are few *Europeans* that care to eat of it, any more than of their common mutton, which is here of that large kind, whose great tails are heavier than any other quarter.

Flesh of dogs a great dainty.

* De hac, vid. BAUDRAND, DAPPER, LABAT, & al. y LABAT, & al. ibid. † Before, p. 428, & (L), 453, & alib. pass. ‡ LABAT, l. i. c. 5. p. 88, & seq. * PIGAFET, l. i. c. 7. DAPPER, & al.

(C) Baudrand tells us, that, in his time, it was reported to have no less than 3000 houses belonging to the *Portuguese*, all built of stone and mortar, and covered with tiles, and most of them very sumptuous and richly furnished. The streets are strait, wide, and regular, the convents and their chapels neat and decent, and suitable to their different orders. As for the houses of the native negroes, though they are much more nu-

merous, they are mostly mean and plain, built only of earth, and thatched with straw. The town hath likewise a prodigious number of slaves, employed in tilling the ground, carrying of burdens, and in other inferior offices; insomuch, that the Jesuits, who here officiate as parish priests, and preside over the schools, have no less than 12,000 under them (4).

(4) Baudrand Dictionar. sub. voc. La Martiniere, & al.

^a THE *Portuguese* have a great many noble seats and villas in the neighbourhood of this capital, all of them richly furnished, and adorned with gardens, orchards, and other embellishments, and some of them with very handsome chapels, in which the divine service is performed by priests, to whom they allow a sufficient salary for that purpose. About three miles from the city is the seat of an *Angolan* nobleman, in which are to be seen two very singular rarities. The one is a fountain of sweet water, which issues out at the bottom of a rock that is compassed round with the sea. In the other for above 50 yards around that fountain, there are found great quantities of serpents eyes, tongues, &c. petrified, like those that are dug in several parts of the island of *Malta*, and which are said to have the same virtue: infomuch, that the *Portuguese* and other *Europeans* wear them about them chased in silver and gold, and export vast quantities of them *. They use no coin in their traffick, but substitute instead of it the zimbis, or shells, lately mentioned ^b, or a kind of *Venice* bead, the largest of the bigness of a nut, but others smaller, and all of them of divers colours and fashions, on which account they also wear them for ornaments about their necks, arms, and wrists; the one they call anzolos, and the other mizangas ^c. Greater payments are frequently made with pieces of cloth of their own manufacture, of a stated breadth and length, and the largest of all with slaves ^d.

Fine seats about the city.

Two great rarities.

Traffick how carried on.

BUT it is time now to take a view of the six remaining provinces, on the north-side of the *Coanza*. The first in course is that of, 12. *Benga*, or *Bengo*, situate along the river of its name, but more commonly known by that of *Zenza*. It hath the sea on the west, and the province of *Mofche* on the east. The *Portuguese* have grubbed and cultivated vast tracts of lands in it, which now abound with maize or *Turkey* wheat, and the maniock root, with which they make their bread. It produces also plenty of banana and bacova trees. The province is divided into a great number of districts, of which the chiefs are natives, though tributary to *Portugal*, and obliged to till their lands by way of average. They are all Christians, and have eight churches; three of which are stiled parishes, and one belongs to the Jesuits, who officiate in it with great pomp on all festivals, and preach to the people.

13. On the north of *Bengo* is the province of *Danda*, situate on the south of the river of that name, which divides *Angola* from the kingdom of *Kongo*. It is very well watered by that and others that fall into it, and is very fertile in grain and fruits of all kinds, but is much infested with crocodiles, and monstrous serpents, which swarm in those rivers. The people are, for the most part, Christians, and have several churches, regularly served by secular priests, the most considerable of which is situate on the mouth of the *Danda*. About eighteen miles higher up is another, besides several chapels and oratories, all which belong likewise to the Jesuits.

12th. Bengo.

13th. Danda.

14. THE province of *Mofche*, which extends itself along the northern banks of the *Coanza*, is very fertile, and sends no less than between 3 and 400,000 sacks of maniock meal to the city of *Loanda* yearly, for the use of the garrison. It hath two considerable fortresses, called *Massangano* and *Cambamba*, distant between six or seven leagues from each other, and each under its particular commander. Those two have twelve Sowi, or native chiefs, under them, who are obliged to maintain a numerous militia for the defence of the kingdom, at their own charge, though chiefly for the service of their *Portuguese* masters. In this province are mines of several metals, particularly in the government of *Cambamba*; and, if our author's observations be true, each mine rings the complexion of the inhabitants who live in that territory; for though they be all of a black hue, yet those who live near the silver mines differ in their complexion from those that live near those of gold or lead. This he ascribes to the effluvia which exhale from those different mines, and tan the inhabitants, each of a different tinge; and assures us farther, that he never was once mistaken in his judgment on any of them ^e.

14th. Mofche.

Its mines tinge the skins of the negroes.

THE king of *Portugal* maintains a good number of churches and chapels in this province; the two most considerable of which are those of *Massangano* and *Cambamba*, which bear the title of royal chapels, and the priests which belong to them are endowed with considerable privileges. The territory of *Cubocco* produces zimbis, or shell-money, of such exquisite beauty, that the *Kongoese* will give a slave for a collar of them; and persons of the highest rank, especially the ladies, look upon them as their principal ornament about their necks, arms, and legs, and about their middle ^f.

Fine zimbis used for ornament.

15. THE province of *Ilamba* is divided into *Higher* and *Lower*, which are situate, the latter between the *Danda* on the north, and the *Bengo* on the south; and the former between the *Bengo* and the *Calucata*. They are both very fertile, and tributary to the *Portuguese*. Tho' they be both Christians, yet, thro' the knavery or indolence of the officers, they have great numbers of idolatrous priests, and pretended conjurers, who live unmolested among

15th. Higher and Lower Ilamba.

* LABAT ex Cavazz. l. i. c. 5. p. 90.
DRAND, ed. 1705.

^b Before, p. 494.

^c CAVAZ. ap. Labat, ubi sup. p. 95.

^e FIGAFET, l. i. c. 7.

^f Idem ibid. DAVITY, DAPPER, FIGA-

Mines of iron. them. The *Higher Illamba* hath mines of excellent iron, and is covered almost all over a with little hills, in the midst of which is a vast high mountain, from the summit and sides of which flow a prodigious number of springs and rivulets of fresh water, clear and light, and wholesome to drink, and communicate a most delightful coolness, verdure, and fertility to all that quarter. This province pays a considerable tribute to the king of *Portugal*, and is obliged to maintain a numerous militia for his service. The principal governor of it, in our author's time, was called *Mubanga*, and was lineally descended from the antient monarchs of *Kongo*, of whom we have given an account in a former section².

16th. Oarii. 16. THE province of *Oarii*, situate on the northern banks of the *Coanza*, and contiguous to that of *Moseche*, is well watered by a good number of small rivers which fall into that great one, but which, in the time of the great rains, become large, rapid, and dangerous. b In this province is the *Libatto* (D), called *Maopongo*, which was once the residence of the prince, whom the *Portuguese* permit to stile himself still the king of *Angola Oarii*, though he enjoyed little else than an empty title, being tributary to *Portugal*, and having only a few *Sovi*, or *Sovas*, or governors, under him. This *Libatto*, which we may however stile his metropolis, or regal residence, was situate on the top of a high rock, or mountain, of near thirty miles in circuit, of such a prodigious height, that its top seems to be above the clouds, and so rugged and steep, that it is accessible only on one side; so that he had little to fear from any enemy. The prince, however, kept a kind of mock court in this place; and, in imitation of the *Kongoesse* monarchs, breeds a vast number of peacocks, a privilege which he reserved to himself; it being no less than capital, or, at least, loss of liberty, for a subject to do the c like, or even to pluck a feather from off one of these birds. This rocky situation of his dismal residence, as it is in other respects, hath, however, one considerable advantage, that it is surrounded with a spacious and fertile plain, watered by a vast quantity of springs and rivulets of excellent water*.

Seized by the Portuguese. THE *Portuguese* have since made themselves masters of it, in their war with *Zingha*, queen of *Angola*, and gave it the name of the *Stony Fortrefs*. They lost it not long after; but having recovered it a second time, have kept it ever since, as we shall see in the sequel. This stupendous group of rocks, which, at a distance, appears only as a huge d city, surrounded with high walls, and variegated with steeples, turrets, pyramids, obelisks, triumphal arches, and other eminent structures; at a nearer approach shews itself to be no other than a heap of gigantic rocks, parted from each by intervals of a vast depth, and several fathoms wide; and the summit of it appears to be a vast barren and uncultivated plain. The reader may see a fuller account of it in our author^b, who took a particular view of it: all that we shall add is, that tho' it be near 100 leagues from the sea, yet it abounds with variety of springs of brackish water, very proper to make salt of, and which, rising and falling with the tide, mount up at high water, in large streams, sixty or seventy fathoms above the level of the plain. And what adds to the wonder, these salt e springs are mostly intermixed with an equal number of fresh ones, of clear and excellent water. About five or six miles from this place are still to be seen the sepulchres of the antient monarchs of *Kongo*, called by the *Portuguese* *Las Pubuillas de Cabazzo*. They have two fortresses in this province, in each of which they keep a stout garrison; the one is built at *Maopongo* above mentioned, and the other at *Quitongo*, an island of great importance, on the *Coanza*. The natives are most of them good Christians, and remarkable for their zeal for the propagation of the gospel among them.

17th. Embacca. 17. THE last province, called *Embacca*, or *Membacca*, is situate on the north side of the river *Lucala*, and between that and the higher *Illamba*. It is wholly subject to the *Portuguese*; for the *Giaga Calanda*, who governs it under them, assumes a claim to a kind of independency, yet it is granted to him only on condition that he shall maintain, at his own charge, a numerous militia for their service; those troops, tho' idolaters, being more warlike, stout, and better disciplined, than any in the kingdom; and never betraying any fear f of death when they engage an enemy; upon which account the *Portuguese* prefer them to all the rest†. And thus much may suffice for the seventeen provinces which composed the antient *Angolic* kingdom, before the *Portuguese* made themselves masters of the greatest part of them. We say the greatest part, because there are still some of them which neither pay tribute to, nor acknowledge any dependence on, them, except when they stand in need of

² Before, p. 447, & seq. Vid. LABAT, ubi sup. p. 97.

^b LABAT ex Cavazzi, l. iv. c. 13. p. 429, & seq.

* DAPPER Angola, LABAT & al. ubi sup.

† De his, vid. sup. p. 415, & seq.

(D) A *Libatto*, in the *Angolic* language, signifies a parcel of houses, or rather poor and low huts, built of earth, or mud, and thatched with straw or reeds, and surrounded about with a thick thorn hedge, of a sufficient height to keep out the beasts of prey, with which

this kingdom swarms. This fence, which surrounds the whole hamlet, hath but one door, which is carefully fastened every night; without which precaution the inhabitants would be in danger of being all devoured by them in a very little time (5).

(5) Labat ex Cavazzi. lib. i. c. 5. p. 98. Vid. & Pigafet, Dapper, & al.

a their assistance. Those that own a real subjection to the king of *Portugal* are the eleven following; viz. 1. *Danda*. 2. *Moseche*. 3. *Bengo*. 4. The *Higher* and *Lower Illamba*. 5. *Oarii*. *Provinces subject to Portugal.* 6. *Embacca*. 7. *Benguela*, in the capital of which the *Portuguese* have a stout and large fortress, and maintain a garrison of about 200 white men, and a much greater number of blacks, the whole under a capitano *. 8. *Scella*. 9. *Cabezze*. 10. *Lubolo*. And, 11. *Oacco* ^b.

FROM the brief survey we have taken of the seventeen provinces of this kingdom, our reader will easily form a judgment of its government, religion, strength, wealth, and fruitfulness. We observed in the foregoing chapter that it was originally a part of that of *Kongo*, *The antient and present government of it.* and was governed by a deputy under those monarchs; since which those deputies, or governors, had made themselves so far free and independent from them, and had so far enlarged their conquests, as to reduce all those provinces under their subjection, and to be powerful enough to oblige those princes to live in friendship with them, without paying them either tribute or allegiance. They sent their governors into every province, and obliged them to maintain a sufficient number of forces in each to keep the antient Sivi or lords under tribute and subjection, and, on that condition, permitted them to live according to their old laws and form of government. These chiefs had a tribute imposed upon them by the governors, *Tribute paid by the chiefs.* in proportion to the extent, wealth, fertility, and populousness of their respective districts; and, provided they punctually discharged it, were permitted to exercise the same authority over their respective vassals, as they did before their reduction. Among that great variety of lordships which were in every province, some were hereditary, and others elective, *Some hereditary and others elective.* and allowed to continue in *statu quo*; the subjects of the former were kept under better regulations, and stricter discipline; whereas those of the latter were headstrong and ungovernable, and scorned to submit, not only to the slightest punishments, but even to the justest and mildest reproofs of those who owed their rank and authority to their choice.

SUCH was the state of the *Angolic* government, and the power and authority of their monarchs, at the time in which the *Portuguese* first came amongst them. They paid a kind of small tribute to those of *Kongo*, or for the most part rather interchanged amicable presents and embassies with them, without troubling themselves much about the right of sovereignty which they claimed over them; their subjects carried on a peaceable traffick with each other, and both monarchs were ready to send each other mutual assistance, upon all emergencies, *Amity and commerce between Kongo and Angola.* whether it were against the inroads of an enemy, or to suppress a revolt in any of their provinces: so that, upon the whole, the *Angolic* kings were little inferior to those of *Kongo*, when they first admitted the *Portuguese* adventurers into their territories. How much these have abridged them of their wealth and power, as well as of their dominions, the reader may judge from what hath been lately hinted of the number of provinces they have since stripped them of, but will be still more fully shewn when we come to give the history of those monarchs in the next section.

IN the mean time, as we confined ourselves in the beginning of this, to mention only such articles as are peculiar to this kingdom, it will not be amiss to say something of their commerce with the *Europeans*, and more particularly of that of slaves, in which it is so well known to have exceeded all other countries on the *African* coast, and hath furnished the *American* plantations with so many millions, besides the myriads it constantly maintains at home. It was this inhuman commerce that first invited the proud and lazy *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* *The Portuguese and Spaniards the chief promoters of it.* hither for hands to cultivate their lands in their *American* plantations; to which both the king of *Kongo* and *Angola*, especially the latter, gave them such encouragement, that *St. Paulo de Loando* became quickly the principal mart, and the *Portuguese* the chief merchants and brokers of that unnatural bartery and traffick ⁱ. It was with the same view that the politic *Hollanders* wrenched that *emporium* out of their hands, though they were forced soon after to relinquish it to its old masters. And here we cannot but observe, that, even according to a *Dutch* author's confession ^k, the *Portuguese* treated those slaves which they thus bought and sold, whether from a principle of humanity or self-interest, we will not decide, with much greater care and tenderness than the *Hollanders* did theirs. For as the greater part of them were brought thither some hundreds of leagues by land, and suffered very much by the way, they never put them on ship-board, till they had rested themselves a considerable time in large houses, built for that purpose. There they plied them with good food and physic, with palm oil to anoint, and wine to cheer themselves up with. If any of them were sick, they were kept in a separate chamber, and carefully attended; and if the transport ships were not ready to sail, they set those that were in health on some kind of work, such as grubbing and tilling some fresh parcel of land, in planting, sowing, reaping, and such-like labours. When they embark them, they take care to provide them with a sufficient quantity of limons, ceruse, and other drugs, to preserve, or cure, them from diseases, and particularly the dangerous one called *Bittios de Cu*, which is very rife in, and in some

* Vide Voyag. de MICH. ANG. a Congo, ap. Labat, vol. v. p. 119.
BARROS, FARIA, DAPPER, & al.

^k DAPPER Afric.

^b Ibid. ibid:

ⁱ PIGAFET,

measure peculiar to, that kingdom (E); and seldom fails of seizing on those slaves that are brought thither for sale, especially if they stay any time in it before they are shipped off. On board, besides good wholesome food, they are allowed a fresh mat every ten days to lie upon, and room enough to rest easily. And it is for want of such precautions that the *English* and *Dutch* commonly lose such vast numbers of them before they can reach the *American* colonies.

Commodities
exchanged for
them.

THE commodities which these dealers in human flesh exchange for them with the natives are broad-cloths, crimson and other coloured silks, velvet, cambrics and hollands of all sorts, gold and silver lace, broad and narrow striped tickings, black serges, *Turkey* carpets, threads of all sorts and colours, sewing silks of all colours, *Canary* and other wines, brandy and other spirituous liquors, oil, spices of all sorts, loaf sugar, knives, large fishing-hooks, large pins three or four inches long, others of the common size, needles of all sorts, little bells, variety of other trinkets and baubles, glass beads of all sizes and colours, rings of the same or other materials, fire-arms, swords, cutlasses, and other warlike weapons^k.

The martial
discipline of
the Angolans.

WE observed a little higher, that the *Angolic* monarchs obliged all the lords under their dominions to maintain a certain number of troops for the common service of the realm; but our readers must not suppose them from thence to be worth much either for their discipline or bravery, their arms or accoutrements. With regard to the first, they are even worse disciplined than those of the king of *Kongo*, who commonly musters them all at least once a year, on the green before his palace, and sees them make some kind of exercise and evolutions, tho' they are such as would sooner excite laughter than terror in an enemy, or courage

They use no
cavalry, and
their infantry
good for little.

in the soldiery. Those of *Angola*, which are all infantry (for they use no cavalry in their wars) are only a kind of national militia, in which every man that is able to bear arms is obliged to be inrolled; and these seldom or never appear before their commanders, but when summoned upon any expedition, and where the best appearance they make consists chiefly in their prodigious multitude. Neither are those who are kept up for the *Portuguese* service in any respect better than the rest. So that, tho' their kings could heretofore, and the *Portuguese* since, raise an army of 100,000 men, or even of three or four times that number, yet it would be no other than an unwieldy corps of arrant cowards, easily broken and discomfited by a few hundreds of regular troops; two eminent proofs of which they gave in the years 1584 and 1585, in the former of which 120,000 were routed by 500 *Portuguese*, and about twice that number of *Kongoes*; and in the latter, 10,000 were defeated by 200 *Portuguese*, as we shall see more fully in its proper place^l.

Way of
fighting.

THOSE over-grown bodies commonly divide themselves, against an engagement, into three or more, for the conveniency of the ground, as the general, who is always in the center, thinks best. He likewise directs all their motions, when they engage, by the sound of several warlike instruments, which the reader will find described in the margin (F). They move

^k PIGAFET, DAPPER, LABAT, & al. p. 454, & seq.

^l JARRIC, vol. ii. c. 6. DAVITY, LABAT, & al. See also before,

(E) This is a kind of violent dysentery which often rages in this unhealthy country, and is very fatal to its inhabitants, as well as to strangers, who live among them, over and above a great number of others, which they have in common with the kingdom of *Kongo*, and of which we have given an account in the foregoing section (1). They call it *Bittio de Cu*, from the inflammation and violent pain it causes in the rectum, which is one of its first prognostics, and is accompanied with a kind of deep melancholy, pain in the head and eyes, and, if not timely remedied by proper suppositories, made of lemon-peel, and thrust as far as can be done into the part affected, is quickly succeeded by a violent discharge of a greyish acrimonious matter, which excoiates the bowels, and causes the most exquisite pains.

In this case they have recourse to clysters of tobacco leaves, steeped for some hours in vinegar and salt, or bruised in it; which, being more painful than the disease itself, the patient must be held by some strong persons to prevent their putting an end to their misery by some speedy death.

The wiser sort of physicians have however found out a milder one, which is compounded of the juice, or infusion, of an herb which they call *Orore de Bittios*, and rose-leaves, mixed with two yolks of eggs, and some oil of roses; and this they commonly try before they venture upon the other.

They have, however, an easy method of preventing if used upon the first preception of the above-mentioned

symptoms; viz. by a timely application of one or more suppositories, made up of lint, dipped in a new-laid egg, well beaten with rose-water, white sugar candy, and a small quantity of ceruse. But as to the poor slaves, they only ply them with the rind of new lemons, pounded with a small quantity of ceruse, or white lead, made into suppositories (2).

(F) One of the loudest of them is not unlike the dull ill-contrived *Kongoes* drum, with one skin, formerly described, but is beaten with ivory sticks, which makes it give a greater, and, if managed by a skilful hand, a more warlike sound.

The next resembles an inverted pyramid, with the point fixed on the ground, and consists of a certain quantity of pieces of metal, thin and round, like bells turned upside down. This instrument is of such significancy in an engagement, that the persons who touch it with wooden sticks often crack the metal by striving to make it give a louder and more dreadful sound.

The third sort is made of elephants teeth, and not unlike our German flutes, and of variety of sizes. This is much more musical and warlike than either of the other two, and gives a sound like that of the cornet, and with a greater variety of notes; for which reason it is supposed to have been at first brought in, or at least much improved, by the *Portuguese*, who have likewise introduced the use of drums, kettle-drums, trumpets, haut-boys, and other *European* instruments, both in the war and in the churches. The kings likewise had them

(1) See before, p. 465, & seq.

(2) Dapper *Afric.* & al. *sup. citat.*

a move forwards, retire, or wheel about, as those direct, and fall on with horrid shouts, and seeming great fury. But if any accident or panic once chance to disconcert them, neither general nor all his warlike instruments can rally them again, nor all the drums and cornets of *Africa* be sufficient to drown the hideous outcries of one of their flying hosts.

The military dress of the *Angolic* officers is much the same with that of the *Kongoese*, only they endeavour to appear taller and more terrible, by the length and variety of ostrich, peacock, and other feathers, with which they embellish their caps. They fight naked down to the girdle, but hang about their necks, both on the right and left side, several links of iron chain, to which are fastened some rings, of the thickness of a man's little finger, which make a loud jingle at every motion they make, and, for the same end, they hang a parcel of bells about their middle, which they think inspires the soldiers to fight with more ardour, and at the same time gives those commanders an air of pomp and grandeur. They wear buskins on their legs after the *Portuguese* manner. Their weapons are the bow, sword, target, and dagger; but they that carry the bow are not allowed to wear the target, but only the sword and the dagger^m. The common soldiery go naked from the waist upwards, and fight with bow and dagger. These are they which fall out promiscuously at first against the enemy, accompanied with a number of stout nimble fellows, who spirit them up with the ringing of their bells to provoke the fight; but both take care to avoid the enemy's arrows, by leaping and winding about, either till they are tired and recalled, or till the general onset begins. In other respects their way of fighting is much like that of the *Kongoese*, mentioned in the last chapter, to which the reader is referredⁿ.

WITH respect to the religion of this kingdom, we have formerly observed that it was over-run with the same deplorable idolatry and superstition with that of *Kongo**: but when this last had been in part converted by the missionaries whom the kings of *Portugal* had sent thither, the king of *Angola*, then in amity with that of *Kongo*, sent several pressing messages to desire him to spare some of those missionaries to come and preach the gospel in his own dominions; designing himself to be baptized one of the first, as soon as he could be sufficiently instructed in the principles of it. The king of *Kongo* would, in all probability, have been glad to second so laudable a design, had it been in his power; but the misfortune was, that he had not a sufficient number of them to supply the tenth part of his own; the court of *Portugal* sending them to him but sparingly, and the greatest part of them dying after their arrival, through their fatigue and change of climate and diet; and so was forced to excuse himself, and put off the complying with his request till the long-promised supply of a good number of new ones arrived, which did not happen during either of their lives; so that the king and his subjects continued in their idolatry a considerable number of years, that is, till the *Portuguese* had fixed themselves in several parts of the kingdom.

It was then they began to solicit the courts of *Rome* and *Madrid* for fresh supplies of missionaries and other priests, over and above those they had brought with them, and that the prospect of so plentiful a harvest induced great numbers of all religious orders, especially of that of the Jesuits, then lately founded, to offer themselves volunteers to go and labour in this vineyard. Upon their arrival, they all dispersed themselves into the several provinces where the *Portuguese* were already settled, and thence went to preach to the idolatrous natives with such emulous zeal and success, that between the years 1580 and 1590, they had made above 20,000 converts, who all made public profession of Christianity. Since that time their number hath gone on still increasing, and the kings of *Portugal*, as well as the popes, have kept sending new missionaries, especially capuchins; new churches have been built in the several provinces subject to that crown, and are maintained out of the royal treasury. Many more, as well as chapels of ease, have been built, and are maintained, at the public charge; besides which the governors of those provinces oblige every *Sova*, or lord, that is under him, to have a chapel and a chaplain in his lordship, to baptize and say mass. All this appears very considerable at first sight; but when we compare the extent of those provinces, and the length and difficulty of the way, not only between one church, but even between one chapel and another, with the natural indolence and superstition of the natives, who, tho' converts, are more inclined to consult the idolatrous priests and conjurers near at

^m PIGAFET, lib. i. c. 7. JARRIC, ubi sup. vide PURCH. Pilgr. l. vii. c. 9. JARRIC, vol. ii. lib. vi. LABAT, & al.

ⁿ Before, p. 454, & seq. & auct. sup. citat. * De his, PIGAFET, lib. i. c. 7. DAVITY, DAPPER, CAVAZ.

to play before them where-ever they went, and the nobles entertained a number of them in their houses. But the three first sorts are those which the natives chiefly use in their wars (3).

We observed above, that they were of different sizes, those of the largest are appropriated to the head general, whose orders are to be heard by the whole army; the

next size is used by those who command the several bodies into which it is divided; and the inferior sizes are for the use of the colonels and captains; so that the sound of the larger instrument is no sooner heard, than all the inferior ones answer in the same concert, and by this method the general's orders are communicated to the whole army (4).

(3) See before, page 464, & seq.

(4) Jarric. lib. ii. c. 6. Pigafet, Labat, & al.

hand,

Angola erect-
ed into a
suffrage and
bishopric.

hand, than to go so far to mass or confession, we shall be forced to doubt, whether we have a most reason to deplore or congratulate the state of Christianity in that kingdom. However that be, it hath been long since erected into a bishopric, suffragan to that of *St. Thomas*, mentioned in the foregoing chapter°. It may be from that see that the first missionaries were sent who brought the gospel into *Angola*, and began their preaching at *San Paulo de Loanda* above-mentioned, which was by that time a considerable settlement of the *Portuguese*, and became soon after the metropolis of this kingdom, and of course was made the residence of their new prelate.

Uncertain
which was the
capital of the
kingdom.

WHAT was the capital of the kingdom is hard to guess; *Pigafet*, after *Lopez*, calls it *Cabazzo*^p, about 150 miles from the sea. *Jarric* likewise calls it *Cabazzo* in one place, but in another tells us, that the royal residence was at *Dongo*^q, which last was the antient name of the kingdom. On the other hand, neither Father *Cavazzi* nor *Labat* mention any thing of the latter, nor of the former as a capital, but only as a province of the kingdom^r; nor do either of these authors take any notice of any royal residence except that on the monstrous rock of *Maopongo*, lately described, of which the *Portuguese* have since got the possession. And as they have found means to make themselves masters of the best provinces, is it not as likely that they left free the best cities of the kingdom, and, by degrees, drove its poor monarchs from one residence to another, till they were glad to refuge themselves on one of the ruggedest and most inaccessible rocks in their dominions? *Dongo* might formerly have been the metropolis, and either have taken its name from, or given it to, the whole kingdom, which is no unusual thing; the *Portuguese* might have stripped the king of it, and obliged him to exchange his residence for that of *Cabazzo* in *Pigafet*'s time, and, after a number of years, have driven him and his successors out of all, even from his last refuge, the *Maopongian* rock.

The kings
forced to shift
their residence.

The language
of Angola.

THE *Angolic* language is almost the same with the *Kongoese*, and differs only from it in the terminations and pronunciation of the same original words, in the accent, and some few other accidental changes occasioned by the length of time and distance of places; which difference increases still more, as the provinces are more remote from the fountain-head. This is no more than may be observed among us in every kingdom and state in *Europe*, where, tho' every province speaks the same language, yet, by reason either of their distance, or other causes, they differ so much in the above-mentioned particulars, that they can hardly understand one another^s.

Funeral
obsequies.

SOME other customs they have in this kingdom which are peculiar to them, and which we shall just mention in few words. In their funeral obsequies their first care is to wash and comb the deceased with great nicety; after which they deck them with collars and bracelets of glass beads of divers colours, and then wrap the body in a white sheet. The friends then carry it on a kind of bier upon their shoulders to the burying place, where they place it, in a sitting posture, on a seat of turf, raised for that purpose, in a vault arched over their heads. They then throw some of his household goods, weapons, and utensils into it, concluding the ceremony with killing of some victims, the blood of which, together with the wine of their offerings, they pour plentifully upon the ground both above and below^t. This we suppose to be only practised among the idolaters, and those perhaps also that were but half-Christians, of which there are still vast numbers. As for those who are thoroughly converted, they bury their dead after the rites of the church of *Rome*. We are, moreover, told, that some of the idolatrous provinces are so inhuman still as to feed on human flesh, and prefer it to any other; inasmuch, that a dead slave shall sell for more at the public market than a live one^u. These cannibals are, in all probability, of the barbarous race of the *Giagas*, of whom we have given an account in the foregoing chapter^v, and by whom the far greater part of the eastern and southern provinces are still inhabited.

Some inhuman
laws and
customs.

The traffick of
slaves the
cause of much
cruelty.

NOR are the western and northern ones, even those who make profession of the Christian religion, exempt from laws and customs, which, though of a different nature, are no less cruel and inhuman. The abominable commerce of slaves, which they drive on by myriads, seems wholly to have divested them of their very humanity, and driven all social affection out of their families. Parents readily selling their children, or even their wives, tho' pregnant, to purchase a *Portuguese* commodity, or even a gewgaw; and, for a little wine or brandy, will betray or kidnap their neighbours and relations, and sell them for slaves. The *Sovi*, or *Sovas*, or lords, will sell a vassal, and perhaps his whole family, in the same manner, for a small arrear or trespass; and as the *Angolans* are very quarrelsome and vindictive, they will frequently, out of spite or revenge, accuse one another falsely before the *Sova*, merely to get their antagonist sold for a slave; whence it frequently happens, that the voracious chief will find out some plausible pretence to condemn both the accuser and accused to

° Before, p. 446, and note. ^p Lib. x. c. 7. ^q Lib. viii. c. 43. ^r DAVITY Afric. ^s LABAT, lib. i. c. 5. p. 82 & 97. ^t PIGAFET, DAVITY, DAPPER, LABAT, & al. ^u PURCH. Relat. lib. vii. c. 9. ^v DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ^w Vide JARRIC, tom. ii. c. 6. ^x See before, p. 414, & seq.

a the same punishment *. It fares still worse with those provinces which are become tributary to the *Portuguese*, whom their greedy governors and their harpies oppress with the utmost tyranny, not only in the heavy tribute they levy upon, and the rapacious manner in which they exact it from, them, but much more in the barbarous punishments which they inflict on all delinquents of what rank soever, not only confiscating all their effects, but even condemning whole noble families to be sold for slaves, for arrears or debts vastly less considerable than what they raise out of their estates and the sale of their families; so extensive is the power which these governors exercise upon them, and so little redress is there to be had from those who are set over them. *The Portuguese tyranny over their vassals.*

EVERY province, or, as they are there called, Mirindo, is divided into four different ranks. The first is that of the Macotas, who are a kind of noblemen, or gentlemen, of the realm. The second consists of those who are stiled children of the Mirindo, who are the original natives of the country, of either sex, whether merchants, artificers, or husbandmen, who are all esteemed free. The third is that of the Quisicos, who are properly the slaves belonging to the Mirindo, and are the property and inheritance of the lords of that province, which devolve, like all other real estates, to their heirs and successors. The last is that of the Mabicas, who are slaves, either taken in war, bought with money, or condemned to forfeit their freedom for some crime or misdemeanour; and of that the Sova, or lord, is the sole judge, and, we may add, the only evidence, the accusers seldom appearing, and the Sova's word being reckoned sufficient to vouch for the validity of the witnesses. This is no small inducement to a rapacious Sova to condemn persons to this deplorable doom, not only for inconsiderable faults, but, as is often the case, for no fault at all. *The Angolans divided into four ranks.*

To that we may add another most inhuman custom, which, tho' abolished among the Christian converts, is still but too much in vogue among the rest, and was formerly practised thro' the whole kingdom, as a mark of the greatest respect to the deceased; we mean the butchering a vast number of human victims at the funeral obsequies of their relations, which is greater or smaller according to the rank or wealth of the deceased, and whose carcases are piled on an heap over their tombs. *Another inhuman custom.*

THERE is still another particularity relating to the morals even of those who make open profession of Christianity; viz. their allowing themselves the same shameful plurality of women that the idolaters do, and with this difference only, that the latter call them all wives alike, whilst they give that title to the first, and that of concubines, or wives of the second rank, to the rest; which is done rather to avoid the censures of the missionaries, than out of any notion that can be preached into them of the unlawfulness of polygamy. In other cases they all live promiscuously within the same inclosure; neither do they stint themselves in the number of them, unless they be so in their circumstances †; and this is another melancholy proof of what we hinted a little higher, of the small effects the gospel hath had upon their minds, notwithstanding the boasted myriads that are pretended to have embraced it. *Polygamy in great vogue among them.*

THE last particular we shall mention concerning this kingdom is their mountains, of which there is a remarkable ridge extending itself north-eastward from *Cape Negro*, some of which, on account of their vast height and coldness, are called by the *Portuguese Monti Freddi*, and some others, still higher, *Monti Nevosi*, by reason of their snowy tops, the waters of which falling in great plenty, during the summer season, form a considerable lake below. Such snowy tops are justly looked upon as a great rarity in so burning a climate, especially as these last draw still nearer the equinoxial line *. But the most considerable one of all is that called *Cambamba*, about seven leagues east of *Mefingon*, on which is a mine of excellent silver. The *Portuguese* have long since made themselves masters of it, and have built a stout fortress and settled a capitaneria upon it, which, by reason of its vicinity to the great river *Coanza*, carries on a great commerce of slaves †. *Cold and snowy mountains.*

S E C T. II.

The origin and foundation of the kingdom of Angola, and history of its monarchs; their reduction by the Portuguese; particularly the reign and surprising history of their queen Zingha, or Xingha, and her long and bloody wars against them.

f WE have already observed that this kingdom, or at least that part of it which was called *Dongo*, and inclosed between the rivers of *Danda* and *Coanza*, if not farther, was subject to the kings of *Kongo*, and governed by a deputy or Sova; but how long it had been so before the arrival of the *Portuguese* thither, would be labour lost to enquire after; there being nothing satisfactory to be met with concerning their history before that epocha, *The foundation of the Angollic kingdom.*

* JARRIC, DAVITY, DAPPER, LABAT, & al.

† JARRIC, vol. ii. c. 6.

DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

‡ CAVAZZI, & al. sup. citat.

* FIGAFET, lib. i. c. 7.

† DE LISLE, LA CROIX

Relat. d'Afrique. & al.

t.
Ngola, governor of Dongo, shakes off the Kongoese yoke, assisted by the Portuguese.

Becomes powerful and assists the king of Kongo.

His reign.

The time of his reign and death uncertain.

Great number of wives.

His three daughters by his queen. Designs the crown for the eldest of them.

Betrayed by his chief minister's horrid stratagem,

and their tradition being too fabulous and absurd to give us any light whereby to disentangle what is truth from what is not. All that can be depended upon concerning the first of those deputies, or governors, who shook off the *Kongoese* yoke, and erected this province off *Dongo* into an independent kingdom, is, that he was called *Ngola*, or, as the *Portuguese* write it, *Angola*, who, being an ambitious person, and become wealthy and powerful by the reduction of sundry neighbouring states under his dominion, was easily induced, soon after, with the assistance, or, as other say, by the instigation, of the *Portuguese*, who were become very numerous there, and with whom he entered into an alliance, to make himself independent, and to assume the title of Jneve or Great ^a. Nevertheless, to prevent his being suspected by the king of *Kongo*, and bringing a war upon himself from that quarter, which might have disconcerted all his views, he chose to send him the usual tribute annually, accompanied with other presents; and this he continued doing till he had settled himself sufficiently on his new throne, and had secured it to his descendants; by which time he was become so potent, by the conquests he had made of several other provinces, that he looked upon himself as on a level with that monarch; after which he made no scruple to take off the mask, and assume the royal title. What greatly contributed to facilitate his measures were the wars which the king of *Kongo* had then upon his hands, not only against some revolted provinces, but against the barbarous *Giagas* ^b, who had made a powerful inroad into his dominions, and against whom he was glad to beg *Ngola's* assistance, not now as from his subject, but as from a friend and ally. And such they continued ever since, sending presents and assistance to each other, and encouraging a mutual commerce between their subjects (A).

^c *NGOLA* lived to a very great age, highly respected by his subjects, and in friendship and alliance with the king of *Kongo* and the *Portuguese*; but in what year he began or ended his reign, no author hath been able as yet to inform us; the *Angolans*, and in general all the *Ethiopians*, being such bad chronologers for want of the use of letters, that, instead of aiming to preserve a traditional account of the years of their kings reigns, they could only point out the epocha of any material transaction by saying that it happened in such a king's reign ^c. The most that we can say of it is, that it must have been a considerable time after the first discovery of this coast by *Diego Cam*, an. 1484, seeing the *Portuguese* were become powerful and numerous enough to assist, if not instigate, the new monarch in his rebellion. However that be, *Ngola* had got great numbers of wives and concubines, after the manner of the country, but had made one of them his chief queen, and gave her the title of *Erganna Eniene*, or the Great Lady, on account of her singular prudence and oeconomy, and her particular affection to him. He had three daughters by her, *Zunda Riangola*, *Tumba Riangola*, and a third, whose name is forgot, but he had no son by her; and it was his chief care, towards the latter end of his life, to secure the succession to his eldest daughter, and, to that end, he often consulted his beloved queen about the most proper means of effecting his design, which she failed not to encourage with all her power and eloquence.

^d *NGOLA* being by this time grown extremely old and infirm, agreed with her that he should send for his lieutenant-general, a favourite slave, whom he had gradually raised to that dignity for his signal services and other good qualities, and since created him his viceroy over his whole realm, to apprise him of his resolution. The artful minister failed not to approve and applaud it, tho' his chief design was to supplant the young princess, and to seize upon the throne. He took accordingly the opportunity, one day, when that princess and the whole court were employed in sowing their lands, with the usual superstitious ceremonies, to spread a rumour that some of their enemies had penetrated into the *Angolic* dominions, and were putting all to fire and sword where-ever they came. He took care to have the false alarm so well confirmed by several of his partisans, that it had spread itself all over that whole canton, and every one was consulting whither to flee for safety.

^a *PIGAFET*, lib. i. c. 7. *JARRIC*, vol. ii. c. 6. *DAPPER*, *DAVITY*, & al. 414, & seq.

^c *LABAT* ex *Cavazzi*, in fin. l. ii. p. 457.

^b De his, vid. sup. pag.

(A) The *Angolic* tradition (probably to take off the odium of their monarchy being founded on rebellion) gives it a much softer and more laudable origin. It tells us that *Ngola*, its founder, whom it surnames *Muffari*, was originally an iron smith, and the first inventor of that manufacture; in the improvement of which he had been instructed by the idols or demons of the country. That having, by their assistance, found out the way of forging and working that metal into all manner of tools for husbandry, weapons for war, and other utensils, he became exceeding rich, not only by the use he made of them himself, but by letting them out to hire at certain prices, not of gold, silver, or shell money, which were not then in use, but of corn, fruits, cattle, and other commodities, which were then exchanged in

traffick. The country being not long after visited with a grievous famine, *Ngola* generously opened his store-houses, and assisted his poor famished countrymen with provisions, and, by his charitable distribution of them, saved the lives of some thousands of them, who must have inevitably perished without it. In gratitude for which generosity, and as the only acknowledgement they could make him for it, they all unanimously chose him for their king. His fame and merit soon increased the number of his subjects, and he became the first *Ngola* of the whole province of *Dongo*. And hence it is, that the iron manufacture and smith's trade are reckoned among the royal arts by the *Angolans*; and hence it is also that the *Portuguese* have given this new kingdom the name of its first monarch, and called it *Angola* (1).

(1) *Pigafet*, *Labat*, & al.

- a In this confusion, the treacherous viceroy conducts the three princesses to the royal palace, and acquaints the king, who was then bedridden, with the pretended danger, and urges him to betake himself to a speedy flight. The frightened monarch, unable to stir, desires him to consult for his safety; whereupon, being a stout young fellow, he takes his royal master upon his shoulders, and conveys him into a neighbouring wood, with the utmost speed and precipitation, under pretence of saving him from the fury of the enemy. But he no sooner saw himself out of sight of those that accompanied him than he set him down, and plunged his dagger into his heart. This was the fatal end of the brave *Ngola*, whose treacherous murderer did not long go undiscovered. Many of the nobles of the kingdom quickly appeared in arms against the traitor, but soon found his party too powerful to be opposed, and were at length obliged to submit, and suffer him to ascend the throne, without any farther opposition, upon his publicly declaring that he had not seized upon it but with a full design to secure it for the young princess *Zunda Riangola*.
- b *The villain seizes the crown, and is the 2d king of Angola.*

- In the mean time, as such a step was the farthest from his thoughts, and he had great cause to fear lest she should, sooner or later, find friends enough in the realm to force him out of it, as she was no less respected both on account of her father and of her own amiable qualities, than he was detested for his horrid treason, he thought it his safest way to wait upon her, and try to extenuate the heinousness of his crime, by representing to her that what he had done was merely to free her aged father and herself from becoming a prey to the enemies of the state, who he knew, better than any one (having governed it during such a number of years) were just ready to take the advantage of the king's imbecility to cause a total subversion in the realm. And that, tho' the method he had taken was indeed a violent one, yet that it was the only one that could enable him to secure the crown to her, which was his whole and sole aim in all the steps he had taken, in order to set it more firmly upon her head, as soon as she should be of age sufficient to take the reins into her hands.
- c *Excuses his crime to the princess Zunda;*

- THE princess, young as she was, could easily see thro' the whole meaning of his artful and specious speech, but being taught to dissemble by her too just fears and imminent danger, seemed so wholly to acquiesce with all his measures, that nothing escaped from her that might alarm his jealousy; and in the conclusion assured him that she wholly relied on his faithfulness and generosity, being fully satisfied that he could never forget that she was the daughter of a prince who had so affectionately loved and distinguished him. So that several years elapsed without performance of promise on his part, or attempt on hers to dethrone him. At length a sudden death carried him off, and opened to her a more easy way to the throne, and she was universally acknowledged and crowned queen of *Angola*, and behaved with such surprising moderation and prudence, even in the first years of her reign, as gained her the admiration and affection of all her subjects.
- d *who dissembles her resentment.*
- III.

- BUT her repose was much disturbed towards the latter end of her reign, thro' her giving too great a way to her jealous temper. It was that which prevented her marrying, because she would not have any rival or controuler; and the same mistrust inspired her by degrees with a growing envy against her sister *Tumba*, who had two charming sons by her husband, that were become the hopes and darlings of the realm, as being the presumptive heirs to the crown. The thoughts lest her subjects, grown weary of being governed by a woman, should set the crown upon one of their heads, gave her such continual apprehensions, that she resolved to take them both off; but how to effect it, was equally difficult and dangerous, whether she did it by private means or by open force. She at length ordered them to be brought to court, under pretence of having them educated under her eye, as her children, and heirs to the crown. But this her sister and her husband *Chilvagni Quisama*, a wise and politic nobleman, judiciously declined for some time, under one pretence or other; till at length the artful and mistrustful queen found means to prevail upon them to send their eldest son to her; who was scarcely arrived at her court, before, like a second *Megara*, she caused the illustrious youth to be sacrificed to her jealousy, together with all the numerous attendance that had accompanied him thither, one only excepted, who, tho' covered with wounds, happily escaped, and brought the dreadful news to the princess and her husband.
- e *His sudden death.*
- IV.
- f *Grows jealous of her sister.*
- g *Sends for her two sons.*
- h *Murders the eldest.*

- THE horror which seized the noble parents at this report was too excessive to suffer them to express their grief in helpless lamentations. They both sallied out of their palace, at the head of all their vassals, and made the utmost haste to surprize the bloody queen, and found her ready to receive them at the head of a numerous force; but which, at the first sight of the dead prince's parents, quickly abandoned her to their resentment. These did not suffer her to wait long for her just doom; the afflicted mother was the first that rushed upon her unnatural sister, and, having plunged her dagger in her heart, ordered her entrails to be taken out and flung into the hole into which she had caused her nephew's body to be cast. The deed, inhuman as it was, was yet highly applauded by the *Angolic* states, who immediately conferred the crown upon her, and she, with their consent, as readily invited her husband to share it with her, alleging, that the management of public affairs was more suitable to
- i *Is herself murdered by her sister.*
- IV.
- j *Tumba crowned, but resigns it to her 2d son.*

to one of his than of her sex. *Chilvagni*, however, had his reasons for declining her generous offers; and, in the most affectionate and polite terms, begged to be excused from accepting of them, to the great admiration of the whole court. At last the tender conflict between them was happily compromised by their mutual consent to cause their surviving son to be forthwith crowned, and to take the reins of government into his hands.

V.
Angola
Chilvagni
crowned.
His vast con-
quests;
and numerous
issue.

THIS young prince, who was named after his father *Angola Chilvagni*, proved a warrior of the first rank, and quickly enlarged the *Angolic* dominions, by the conquest of several considerable provinces on the east and south sides. His fame gradually grew so great and dreaded, that powerful nations submitted to him even before his approach, and were proud to fight under his banners. He had a vast number of wives and concubines, and by them a great number of children, and dispersed his sons into sundry governments among his conquered provinces, where their descendants still make a considerable figure, and enjoy the many lordships and governments which he had distributed among them. The reader may see the names of some of the chief of those families in the margin (B). He lived to a good old age, and died highly regretted and honoured, and was buried with great pomp amongst his ancestors. He was succeeded by one of his younger sons, whom he particularly loved above all the rest, and had named his successor before his death †.

VI.
Dambi Ango-
la crowned.

His vile cha-
racter; and
short reign.

DAMBI ANGOLA, that was the prince's name, had no sooner ascended the throne, than the fear of his brethren uniting themselves against him in favour of the eldest, put him upon the inhuman, tho' but too frequent, expedient of putting them all to death. He could not, however, carry on his bloody design with such secrecy but two of them had some notice, or at least pre-sentiment of it, and happily escaped, the one into the province of *Lubolo*, and the other into some of the most remote parts of the kingdom of *Metamba*, which joins to that of *Angola* on the east. *Dambi* was indeed a monster of cruelty, avarice, lewdness, and faithlessness; and it was no small happiness to his subjects that his reign proved but of short duration; so that he died detested by all, and regretted by none. Notwithstanding which, his funeral obsequies were performed with as great magnificence as if he had been one of the best and happiest of monarchs; and a mount was erected over his grave, which, according to the inhuman custom of the country, consisted of a prodigious number of human victims, which had been sacrificed to his ghost.

VII.
Ngola Chil-
vagni crown-
ed.

His cruel ra-
vages and con-
quests.

His liberalities
and success.

Fancies him-
self a god.

Dies childless.

HE was succeeded by *Ngola Chilvagni*, a warlike prince, but who was ambitious of glory, and would purchase it at any price. He made the most dreadful inroads into the frontiers of *Kongo*, along the rivers of *Danda*, *Lucalla*, *Zanda*, and *Coanza*, whose waters were tinged with the blood of myriads, whom he massacred in his excursions. He carried his conquests within eight leagues of *Loanda San Paulo*, where he caused a tree to be planted, to be, as it were, a boundary of his ravages, near to which, on the banks of the *Coanza*, the *Portuguese* afterwards erected a fortress, and called the tree above mentioned *Ifanda*, or *Ifandaura*. NOTWITHSTANDING all those dreadful invasions and horrid butcheries, *Ngola Chilvagni* shewed such generosity towards all that readily submitted to him, as made him as much beloved by them, as he was detested by those who had felt the effects of his cruelty, by which means he was sure to conquer, not only where-ever he came, but even where he seemed to direct his forces; insomuch that, whether thro' fear or hope, where-ever he was apprehended to steer his course, they did not wait till he had entered their territories, but sent deputies to acknowledge him their sovereign, and to implore his favour. His surprising success, joined to the extravagant praises which his parasites every where published of him, had at length such an effect upon him, that he began to fancy himself one of the deities of the country, and to exact the same honours and worship as were paid to the rest, which his subjects were slavish enough to comply with. And we are told that the sect of *Singhillos*, which is still extant, pretend that his soul, or ghost, is placed amongst their most considerable deities, and sends, or with-holds, the usual rains as he sees fit. He was, however, forced to submit to the common fate of other mortals, and with the additional mortification of dying childless, and leaving no successor behind him.

† CAVAZ. ubi sup. vol. ii. c. 14.

(B) The most considerable branch of his descendants was the *Aarian* family, surnamed *Chilvagni*, eldest son of king *Angola Aarii*, one of whose descendants, named *Dom-Juan*, was chosen king of *Angola Aarii*, by the assistance of the *Portuguese*, and was reigning in *Angola* at the time that our capuchin resided there, and who gained that election by force, and in prejudice of the princess *Zingba*, who was the immediate heiress to that crown, and who dearly revenged that wrong both on him and the *Portuguese*, as we shall see in the sequel.

The next branch of *Angola Chilvagni* was that of *Ngola Canini*, whom he had by a favourite concubine, named *Canina*, and who became sovereign of the province of

Embacca, where the *Portuguese* built a fortress of the same name, to which they have tacked 50 leagues of land, and left the remainder to *Ngola Canini*, but on condition that they continue firm to the interest of the church, on which account they honoured them with the title of *Lords of the church*; and, to that end, have erected the above-mentioned fortress, within two miles of the usual residence, on the river *Lucalla*.

The last branch worth mentioning is that of *Muengha Chilvagni*, so called from another concubine, by whom that prince had a son, who took her name, and whose descendants enjoy a territory about two days journey from *Embacca* (2).

(2) Cavazzi ap. Labat, ubi sup. vol. ii. c. 14. p. 437. & seq

- a THE states elected the young prince *Ngingha-Angola-Chilombo Kiekasanda* for his successor, great nephew to *Angola Chibvagni Quiafama*, who proved a prince of such a cruel and tyrannic disposition, that, under pretence of justice, he allowed himself in the most barbarous severities towards his subjects. His extreme rigour in some of his revolted provinces, particularly that of *Oarii*, so far alarmed not only his whole realm, but all the neighbouring states, that several of them submitted to him to avoid the effects of his cruelty. They were all, however, soon delivered from their fears; and death having put a speedy period to his reign, he was buried with the usual pomp and solemnities, particularly that of having a whole hecatomb of human victims slain and heaped upon his grave (C) †.
- b His successor, *Bandi Angola*, proved more cruel than his father, and carried his inhumanity so far, that he became odious to all his subjects. A general revolt ensued, in which they called some of the neighbouring *Giagas* from the south to their assistance, who, like a band of famished canibals, hastened to them as to a delicious banquet, and besieged the tyrant upon an inaccessible mountain; where, being unable to come at him, they resolved to reduce him by famine. This gave him an opportunity of applying to the king of *Kongo* for succour, whose interest it equally was to prevent these ravenous barbarians from entering the *Angolic* dominions, from which they could so easily pass into his own, and put all to fire and sword. That prince, therefore, hesitated not to send him a speedy succour; and casting his eyes on the *Portuguese*, whose valour he had so often experienced, and of whom he entertained a great number at his court, he ordered a strong reinforcement of them to march to his assistance, and gave the command of them, as well as of the *Kongoese* forces which he sent with them, to one of their bravest and most experienced officers, who, tho' vastly inferior in number to the revolters, and their auxiliaries, yet, depending on the bravery of his handful of *Europeans* more than on the *Kongoese* under his command, attacked them with such surprising fury, that he quickly routed them, and made a horrid slaughter amongst the *Giagas*, and reduced the rebels to their obedience.
- c The king, seeing himself so happily delivered from his danger, and peace and tranquility restored to his dominions, was so deeply affected with this signal service, as well as with the bravery and conduct of the *Portuguese*, that he took them into his service, and even into his council, and put such confidence in them, that he did nothing without their advice.
- d Their brave general, especially, became one of his greatest favourites and confidants; but much more so of that prince's daughter, who shewed herself no less taken with his person, when she came to see him, than she had been with his valour and gallantry against her father's combined enemies. She had conceived a strong affection for him, and took all opportunities she could to make him sensible of it; but unfortunately for them both, she did it with so little precaution, that it was quickly perceived by the king, and awaked his jealousy to such a height, that he dreamed of nothing but of her going to throw herself into the arms of the brave stranger, and joining with him and his countrymen to drive him out of his dominions, and seize upon his crown and kingdom. He communicated his fears to some of his most trusty counsellors, who, as is usual in such cases, were but too ready to confirm him in his suspicions; so that, forgetting now all his obligations to those noble *Portuguese*, as well as to those of their nation that had been so long settled amongst them, a bloody resolution was

VIII.

Ngingha Angola, a cruel prince.

His short reign, and death.

IX.

Bandi Angola, a bloody tyrant.

He gets assistance from the king of Kongo against his revolted subjects.

The Portuguese defeat the rebels and Giagas.

The Portuguese in great favour with the king;

who grows jealous of them,

and resolves to extirpate them.

† CAVAZZI, ubi sup.

(C) Our good capuchin, who is the only one, who by his long stay among them had a frequent opportunity of observing, and preaching against, those inhuman customs, as well as of informing himself about the reigns of the above mentioned monarchs, doth not acquaint us, whence these unhappy victims were taken, whether among the domestics or slaves of the deceased, or whether they were prisoners of war. Neither doth he tell us in what manner they were sacrificed to the manes of the dead, or how their bodies were disposed of, farther than that they were raised up in heaps or mounds over the grave, but whether their flesh was burnt, or covered over with earth, or left to rot above-ground, he doth not inform us (3).

But, in another place, speaking of the neighbouring *Giagas*, a barbarous race of canibals, he tells us, that they observed the same bloody rite over their dead, and sacrificed more or fewer of those unhappy victims, according to their rank; and that they procured them by making excursions into other provinces, and carrying off all they could lay hands on, for the inhuman purpose above-mentioned; he adds, that whilst the priests were

butchering them, the relations of the deceased, and the rest of the company danced round the dead corpse; and that, as soon as that was laid in the grave, they fell to feasting on the flesh of the victims as long as it lasted; after which they reared the bones into a pile, and covered it with earth, and stuck the skulls upon poles, at proper distances, upon the pile, which served instead of a monument (4). Whether the *Angolans*, who were not yet converted to Christianity, might not raise their mounds over the graves of their monarchs and other great men in some such manner (excepting, in all probability, the eating the flesh of the victims, for which those canibals were abhorred by the more civilized *Ethiopians*) we will not pretend to affirm, yet are far from thinking it improbable; there being nothing so shocking in the rest of the ceremony, as that of sacrificing so many victims in honour of the dead; which was yet practised through the whole kingdom, till they embraced Christianity, and is still so among the unconverted, where ever they can do it, without danger of being punished for it by their new masters the *Portuguese*.

(3) Cavazzi ap. Labat, lib. ii. c. 14. p. 439, & 442, & alib. pass. & seq. & alib. pass. De his, vid. sup. p. 418.

(4) Idem ibid. l. i. c. 17. p. 397.

agreed on, at all events, to extirpate them all to the last man, as the surest way to prevent a their dethroning him, and bringing his whole realm under a foreign yoke.

They with-
draw and re-
tire to Kongo.

THESE violent measures, however, could not be concerted with such secrecy but the prin-
ces got some information of them, and apprised the *Portuguese* general, with all possible
speed, who seeing himself unable, with that handful of his countrymen that were with him,
to make head against the whole force of the kingdom, thought it most expedient to make
the best retreat he could, and with as many of his countrymen as could conveniently join
him, into the kingdom of *Kongo*, whither they arrived, all safe, in a short time, none of
the *Angolans* daring to oppose or molest them through their whole march, though they fol-
lowed them at a distance all the way. When the king of *Kongo* came to be informed of the
perfidious and ungrateful behaviour of that of *Angola*, he expressed his resentment against b
him to the *Portuguese* officers in the strongest terms, and in all probability would have taken
some severe revenge on him, had he not been obliged to lead his forces, with all possible
speed, to the assistance of one of his southern provinces, which was then invaded by
some neighbouring prince, and forced him to suspend his resentment, lest that should induce
the *Angolic* king to join forces with the enemy.

The king of
Kongo is
forced to sus-
pend his resent-
ment.

Portuguese ge-
neral sails for
Lisbon.

THIS, however, afforded the *Portuguese* general a fair pretence for desiring the king of
Kongo to permit him to sail into *Portugal*, whence he engaged to bring back with him such
a powerful reinforcement, as should put him in a condition of revenging the affront offered
to him by that perfidious monarch; though at the bottom, his real aim was to give his
master the king of *Portugal* a plausible handle for seizing on some of his *Angolic* provinces, c
by way of reprisal. But this he so artfully concealed from the *Kongoese* monarch, that he
readily agreed to his proposal, and gave him leave to sail away with all convenient speed.

Obtains an ar-
mament from
his court.

UPON his arrival at *Lisbon*, he gave a full account to the king of what had been done at
Angola, of the plan he had been there consulting for reducing the most considerable part of
the kingdom, and of the specious pretence which the black treachery of that prince to him
and his *Portuguese* would afford for invading his dominions. All which were so well relished
and approved by the king and council, that an armament was ordered to be fitted out with
all speed, of which he was to have the chief command. A sufficient number of men were
put on board, with all other proper materials for building of fortresses, garrisoning and pro-
viding them with all necessaries offensive and defensive. The wind favouring him all the d
way back to *Angola*, he arrived safe with his squadron at *Loanda San Paulo*, whence he imme-
diately dispatched an express to give the king of *Kongo* notice of his arrival and success. The
messenger was likewise charged to deliver to him the noble presents which he had brought
to him from the court of *Lisbon*, together with some others for his principal ministers, to a
considerable value. These were no sooner gone, but the admiral sailed at the head of his
squadron up the river *Coanza*, and, without meeting with the least opposition, landed his
forces upon a convenient spot of ground, about two leagues off *Massingano*, a city situate on
the banks of the *Coanza*, near the place where the *Lucalla* falls into it, and where they imme-
diately set about erecting a fortress, for a place of safety, which they completed in a few e
days. It was, however, removed afterwards higher up the river, and had several new for-
tifications added to it, which brought it almost contiguous to the city of *Massingano* above-
mentioned.

Returns to An-
gola, with
presents to the
king of Kon-
go.

Sails up the
Coanza.

Builds fortres-
ses upon it.

Puts the coun-
try to fire and
sword.
The king
escapes him.

IT was not long before the *Angolic* king was informed of the *Portuguese* return, and of
their fortifying themselves on so advantageous a ground. He made all the speed he could
to get his forces together, and sent them against them. They came soon after to a fierce
engagement; but as his troops were such dastardly militia as we have lately described, they
were soon routed and dispersed by the enemy's fire, and a vast number of them were pursued
and killed, and a much greater made prisoners and sent into slavery. The admiral, follow-
ing his blow, they ravaged the whole country, put all to fire and sword that came in their f
way, and made themselves masters of every place and spot of ground which suited their
conveniency; but the king had the good luck to escape out of their hands, and to avoid the
dire effects of their resentment; which, by the pains they took, and various stratagems they
used, to get him into their power, we may reasonably judge would have been of the severest
kind. But what they could not have an opportunity to do themselves, his more than ever
exasperated subjects did soon after for them.

Horrid extor-
tions of the
king's favour-
rites.

IT is hardly to be doubted but after the defeat and dispersion which followed the late
revolt, a prince of his cruel and vindictive temper treated them with greater rigour than ever.
But what heightened their resentment even to despair, was the horrid extortions and barba-
rities which he suffered the three brothers of one of his favourite concubines to commit every
where, not only with impunity, but with such open audaciousness, as gave them cause to
believe that he approved of, and upheld them in, their tyranny. How far the *Portuguese* g
might have contributed in blowing the flame of sedition, at such a juncture, we can only
guess; but it grew in a short time to such a height, that they came to a general resolution to
assassinate

a assassinate him; and, in order to draw him out of his inaccessible retreat, where he wallowed in all manner of debaucheries, they bethought themselves of the following stratagem, which had the desired effect.

THEY sent deputies to him, to acquaint him with the revolt of one *Cuculo Cabazzo*, who, at the head of a numerous band, committed the cruellest ravages, and to beseech his majesty to levy a sufficient number of his troops to suppress him, or else to give them leave to arm themselves against him. The king, highly pleased to find them so ready to take the trouble off his hands, readily granted them leave to raise what forces they thought necessary, which they did accordingly with all possible dispatch. Four days after they sent again to inform him that they had attacked the rebels (though they had not made one step towards it), and b that they had been repulsed with loss; but that, if his majesty would but condescend to animate them with his presence, the very sight of him would inspire them with such fresh courage, that he should soon see the revolted totally reduced, and himself crowned with victory.

THE bait had the desired effect; and the king, without any other precaution or reliance than his own guards, set out a few days after to go and head his troops, which were encamped on the banks of the *Lucalla*. He no sooner came in sight of them, but all the chief officers went forth to meet him, and, with seeming joy and emulation, to pay their respects to him, by which means they gradually parted him from his guards, till having surrounded him on every side, they at once fell upon and cut him in pieces. He left five children behind him, the one an infant by his favourite concubine *Aongoa-kikilo*, lately mentioned, and four others, c a son and three daughters, by one of his slaves. The son of the former was judged incapable of succeeding him, because his mother had been found guilty of breach of fidelity; so that they could not be sure of his being really the king's son. The children of the slave were excluded, by the laws of the realm, from inheriting their father's throne, merely on account of their mother being a slave, for otherwise, both the son, whose name was *Ngola-Mbandi*, and his three sisters, *Zingha*, or, as others write it, *Xinga*, *Bandi-Angola*, *Cambi*, and *Fungi*, had already displayed such amiable qualities, by their well-timed liberalities, that they had gained the affection of the whole nation. And it was by their means that the son gained such a powerful party on his side, as in some measure forced the electors to raise him to the throne, notwithstanding the slavish condition of his mother. *Is drawn out of his fortress by stratagem, and cut in pieces by his officers. His progeny.*

d THE crown was hardly well settled upon his head, before he began to wreak his resentment upon all that had opposed his election. He began with the *Tendula*, or commander of the king's rear-guard, who, by his office, is the chief of the electors, and the person who governs the realm during the interregnum, whom he ordered to be put to death with his whole family. These were followed by the principal officers of his father's court; all his concubines, together with their parents and near relations, whom he caused to be cruelly butchered, together with his half-brother, his father's son by a favourite concubine, and then but an infant. He did not even spare his own nephew, the son of his sister *Zingha-Bandi*, whom she had by one of her paramours; at which she was so highly exasperated, that she swore to be revenged on him in the same kind, as she actually was not long after. So afraid e was he of every one even of his own family, that might one day lay claim to the crown.

THE next objects of his hatred and jealousy were the *Portuguese*. These he so much dreaded on account of their valour and singular policy, that he resolved to declare war against them, and not to lay down his arms till he had exterminated or driven them out of his dominions. But he paid dear for his rashness; and the confidence he put in his myriads of undisciplined poltroons, against such old experienced warriors, who, notwithstanding their vast inferiority in number, gained a most complete victory over him, and obliged him to save his life by flight, and to retire first into the island of *Chiconda*, in the river *Coanza*, and thence into one the neighbouring deserts of *Oacco*, where, out of their singular tenderness and compassion, they suffered him to live amongst the wild beasts, destitute of kingdom or subjects, or other sustenance than that afforded to him, without, however, losing one grain of f his fierce hatred and thirst of blood. He had moreover the mortification to lose his queen and his two sisters *Cambi* and *Fungi*, who were taken prisoners, and carried to *Loanda San Paulo*, where they were however honourably treated by the *Portuguese* viceroy. As for *Zingha*, she was not at that fight. *Defeated by the Portuguese. His fight and dreadful condition. His queen and sisters taken prisoners.*

BEING afterwards informed of the generous treatment of these three princesses, he bethought himself of sending an embassy to that governor, to treat about their redemption, and an exchange of prisoners; which was readily concluded on both sides, and the princesses were sent back, laden with civilities and presents; but the treacherous king found means to evade the execution of his part of the contract, and, by that impolitic step, plunged himself into greater difficulties. At length a new viceroy arrived at *Loanda*, Don *John de Correa de Sousa*, a nobleman of great merit, but vain, and ambitious of glory. *Ngola-Bandi* [who by that time had got possession of the kingdom of *Metamba*, situated on the east of that of *Angola*, and formerly tributary to the king of *Kongo*, and was supported in his new acquisition

tion by the barbarous *Giagas*, for whose abominable rites he shewed a more than ordinary zeal^w,] was in no small perplexity how to appease the new governor for the breach of articles which he never designed to execute, if he could possibly avoid it.

Sends his sister Zingha on an embassy to him.

He had at length recourse to his exasperated sister *Zingha*; and, having excused as well as he could the murder of her son to her, proposed the sending her on a most splendid embassy to the viceroy, in order to procure a peace with him upon any terms; and added, that as her embracing the *Portuguese* religion might prove a means of facilitating her negotiations, he advised her to consent to it for the present, which would intitle her the more to their favour and confidence. The artful sister, without forgetting the revenge she had sworn against him, accepted of the proposal, and was sent, with a magnificent retinue, as a plenipotentiary to the viceroy, and was received with all the honours due to her character, and lodged in a splendid palace prepared for her.

Her noble reception and success.

At the first audience she had of Don *John*, she was not a little surprised to find a stately elbow-chair prepared for him to sit upon, and for her only a rich tapestry spread on the floor, with a velvet cushion embroidered with gold, and placed over-against the chair of state. She concealed her displeasure, however, with great presence of mind; and beckoning to one of the ladies of her retinue, she ordered her to lay herself down on the carpet, upon her elbows and knees, and sat herself on her back, during the whole time of the audience. She acquitted herself of her commission with such address and majesty, and palliated her brother's fault with so much nobleness, that she gained the admiration of the whole council. When they proposed entering into a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, with her brother, upon condition that he should own himself a vassal, and pay a certain tribute to the king of *Portugal*, she as frankly told them that such conditions were indeed fit to be imposed on those who had been conquered by the sword, but not on a powerful monarch, who only sought their friendship and alliance: upon which the treaty was concluded on both sides, without any other conditions than the exchange of prisoners. The audience being over, Don *John* took notice to her, as he was conducting her out of the hall, that the lady who had served her instead of a seat continued still in the same posture. She told him that it did not become the ambassadress of a great monarch to make use twice of the same chair, and so she looked upon her as a piece of cast-off goods not worth her notice.

Policy and address.

Refuses the terms of a tribute.

The alliance concluded without them.

She turns Christian, and is baptized.

1622.

The princess was so taken with the *Portuguese* politeness, with the honours done to her, and particularly with observing the order, dress, arms, exercise, and various evolutions of their troops, that it induced her to stay the longer at *Loando San Paulo*; during which time she consented to be instructed in the principles of Christianity, and shewed such liking to it, whether real or out of policy, that she was baptized with great solemnity on that very year, which was the fortieth of her age. Don *John* and his spouse were her sponsors, who dismissed her soon after, with all possible honours, loaden with the richest presents, and highly satisfied with her reception and success. At her return she took care to have the articles ratified by her brother, who on his part expressed his approbation of them, and his great obligations to her in the most obliging terms. He went so far as to desire the viceroy to send him some proper persons to instruct him in the Christian religion, which, he said, he was extremely desirous to embrace, and Don *John* immediately dispatched Don *Denis de Faria*, a person in priest's orders, but a Negro, and native of *Metamba*, together with an officer of distinction to be his god father. These met at first with a most gracious reception, and the king seemed to relish the Christian doctrines which the good priest was explaining unto him; but when he came to talk to him of baptism, he altered his tone, and told him and his sponsor, that it was too much beneath his dignity to receive it from a man who was the son of one of his slaves; and sent them both back. His sister *Zingha* tried all possible means to dissuade him from a step which, she told him, could not fail of affronting the viceroy, and draw the resentment of his nation upon him, but all in vain; whilst all his courtiers cried it up as a princely act. However, that he might not too far exasperate the *Portuguese*, he consented that his two other sisters *Cambi* and *Fungi* should be sent to *Angola*, in order to be instructed and baptized; which was accordingly done with a suitable splendor, and the former was named *Donna Barbara*, and the latter *Donna Garzia*. There was a debate in the *Portuguese* council whether these two princesses should not be detained as hostages for the performance of the treaty lately concluded, which that monarch still endeavoured to elude; but that being looked upon by Don *John* as dishonourable, they were sent back with rich presents, and arrived safe at their brother's court.

Her brother's fickleness.

Suffers his two sisters to be baptized.

1625.

Renews the war.

NGOLA-BANDI, instead of executing the stipulated articles, followed his own ill genius, and took it into his head to renew the war against the *Portuguese*, and invade some of their territories; and this last action proved his ruin: for his troops were all cut off, and himself forced to swim for his life into a little island in the *Coanza*, about a mile long and two bow-

^w De his, vid. sup. p. 414, & seq.

a shots in breadth, whither the *Portuguese* pursued and furrounded him, and where he had no other chance but either to fall into their hands, or be devoured by the wild beasts with which the place swarmed. But he was speedily relieved from both by a dose of poison, which some of his attendants gave him, and, as was supposed, by order of his sister *Zingha*. However, he had taken care to send his eldest son to one of the chiefs of the *Giagas*, called *Giaga Caza*, beseeching him to take him under his care and protection, and to bring him up to the exercise of arms, and to defend him against his sister *Zingha*, who, tho' the boy's aunt, would not fail of attempting his life, in order to secure herself on the throne.

His defeat and death.
1627.

Commits the care of his son to a chief of the Giagas.

He judged rightly enough; for that princess was no sooner in possession of it, than she tried all the stratagems her policy could invent to corrupt the *Giaga Caza* to deliver him up to her, that she, as she pretended, might give him an education suitable to his birth, and the dignity she designed to raise him up to; protesting, at the same time, in the most solemn manner, and with the most dreadful oaths, that she accepted of the *Angolic* crown with no other view than to place it upon his head, as soon as she found him capable of assuming the reins of government. She was, it seems, a very wise and artful princess, endowed with a great presence of mind, firm in her resolutions, and of an intrepid courage, crafty to the highest degree, and a perfect mistress in the art of dissembling: above all, she inherited her brother's jealous and cruel temper, and was ready to sacrifice to that the nearest persons to her, who gave her the least umbrage. All this the *Giaga* was fully apprised of; and this made him give the less heed to her fair pretences and protestations, or, rather, they only served to increase his mistrust of her; so that he held out a considerable time against all her repeated solicitations.

XI.

Zingha crowned. Her vain stratagem to get her nephew in her hands.

His firm attachment to a nephew, who, she was conscious, had a better title to the throne, joined to the fickleness of the *Angolic* and *Metambic* nations, who, she feared, would quickly be tired of her female government, and join forces with the *Giaga* to dethrone her in his favour, gave her the most sensible uneasiness; but she had still another cause of discontent and dread, the power and valour of the *Portuguese*, who had, by this time, made themselves masters of the greatest part of her kingdom, and engrossed all the commerce, and had built fortresses on every convenient spot that suited them, and especially near her principal towns, which they could batter in pieces upon the least dislike. This, together with the dreadful apprehensions she was in lest her rival nephew should make such overtures to them, as might bring them over to his interest, kept her mind upon such a continual rack, that she resolved at last to rid herself, at any price, of so dangerous a competitor.

Her dreadful apprehensions from the Portuguese and her nephew.

The method she had recourse to to over-reach his trusty guardian, was to renew all her former protestations of affection and zeal for his pupil, and of her sincere intentions of placing the crown upon his head, the weight of which she had long since found too heavy for one of her sex to bear; especially under all the other various difficulties which the realm then laboured under, to say nothing of the remorse she felt for withholding it from the lawful and only male heir; for such, she said, she should always deem him, if she was once convinced that he was, in other respects, fit and worthy to wield the *Angolic* sceptre. This, she added, was the only thing that prevented her resigning it to him; and therefore it was that she now so earnestly intreated his faithful guardian to consent that she might have an interview with his ward, tho' ever so short; protesting, at the same time, that she would detain him no longer than he should himself assign.

She outwits the Giaga;

By these hellish pretences the crafty queen at length gained her end; the credulous *Giaga* was easily persuaded that there could be no great danger in consenting to so short an interview, and sent the unfortunate prince to her, attended with a suitable retinue. She seemed at first to receive him with such affectionate tenderness, as removed all cause of suspicion: but no sooner had she got him securely in her power, than she stabbed him with her own hand, and ordered his body to be thrown into the *Coanza*, and, by that inhuman act, did rid herself of that dangerous rival.

and murders her nephew.

The next effort, and what she had now most at heart, was to deliver her realm from the incroaching and hated *Portuguese*, who were now become so numerous, wealthy, and powerful, that they were dreaded by all her subjects. As she was naturally of a martial temper, she did not hesitate long in her resolution of entering into a war against them. She only delayed the declaring it, till she had made all the necessary provisions, and strengthened herself by alliances with the *Giagas* and other idolatrous powers, who hated those strangers no less than she, and who all readily came into her measures. Besides these, she had got the *Hollanders* into a private league with her, and the king of *Kongo* to assist her with a good number of his troops. With all this combined force she attacked the *Portuguese* so suddenly and unexpectedly, that she gained some slight advantages over them, and the *Hollanders* much greater, who made themselves masters of *San Paulo de Loanda*, and soon after of some of the principal provinces of the kingdom, whilst the *Portuguese* forces were employed against her, as will be seen in the sequel.

War against the Portuguese. Allies with the Giagas, &c.

Loanda San Paulo taken by the Hollanders.

1641.

Recovered by
the Portu-
guese.

THIS great loss was however recovered about seven years after by their brave captain-
general, *Don Salvadore Correa*, an officer of great experience. He was then at *Fernambuco*,
making all the necessary preparations for that expedition, according to the orders he had
received from *Lisbon*, and set sail on the 12th of *June*, at the head of eleven men of war,
and other transports, and, with a fair wind, arrived on the *African* coasts, about 16 leagues
short of *Loanda*. Here, whilst he was waiting for some men, whom he had sent on shore,
he was overtaken by a violent storm, which scattered his fleet, and damaged some of his
best ships; but that did not hinder his making a regular descent, in spite of the stout oppo-
sition of the *Dutch*, tho' not without a deal of bloodshed on both sides. The siege of *Loanda*
was formed presently after, and carried on with such vigour, that the besieged were forced
to demand a truce for three days, and to engage to surrender the place, in case no succour
appeared by that time. It was well they granted them no longer respite, for the *Dutch* fleet
appeared seven days after the signing of the articles; but the place had been surrendered,
the *Portuguese* been four days in possession of it by that time; the recovery of which was
quickly followed by that of all their other *Angolic* conquests *.

Aug. 15.
1648.

The Kongoesse
abandon her.

THE successes which queen *Zingha* had gained against them proved still more short-lived.
Her allies the *Kongoesse* were soon after so completely overthrown, that they were forced to
sue for peace, which the *Portuguese* did not grant to them till they had given them a suffi-
cient number of hostages, and yielded to them some considerable posts that lay convenient
for them, and which they immediately took care to secure to themselves by building of
fortresses upon them. So that being now entirely free from all danger on that side, and
having no other enemies but her and her idolatrous allies, they found no great difficulty to
reduce her to the last extremity; every battle fought against her was doubly successful, and
forced some of her allies to withdraw their forces from her, whilst her own daily lessened,
by the great numbers that were either slain or taken prisoners.

Is reduced to
the last ex-
tremity.

Yet refuses the
proposals of the
Portuguese.

THESE defeats followed one another so close, that she found herself abandoned not only
by all her allies, but by her own forces. She was constrained to abandon her dominions, and
to retire into some of the eastern deserts, where the *Portuguese* did not think it worth their
while to molest her. They contented themselves with leaving her for some time to ruminate
upon her desperate circumstances, after which they sent her some pacific proposals, wherein
they engaged to re-enthronize her upon certain conditions, but such as it was not likely a
princess of her high spirit would ever agree to, seeing they would have reduced her to the
degree not only of a tributary vassal to the king of *Portugal*, but of an humble dependent
upon his rapacious governors, and their underlings, whilst they left her to enjoy only the
bare shadow of royalty. She therefore rejected them with a becoming scorn, and let them
know, that however her dastardly subjects might submissively and shamefully behave
against them, their queen disdained the thought of submitting to any foreign power. This
answer was no other than what they might, and, in all probability, did, expect from a prin-
cess of her haughty and martial spirit; and, to mortify her the more, and to render her con-
dition still more desperate, they set up another king of *Angola* in her stead, to amuse the
people with a mock shew of royalty, and to prevent the states of the kingdom electing one
from among the princes of the blood, who might prove less affected to their nation than
one of their own chusing.

They set up a
king in her
stead.

John, the first
Christian king.

THE person they pitched upon was a young prince descended from the royal family,
named *Angola Oarii*, or *Aarü* *, who was the son of the old *Gingha-Bandi-Angola*. But the
first thing they did was to oblige him to turn Christian, before they crowned him; and he
was accordingly baptized, and had the name of *John* given to him, which was that of the
king of *Portugal*, to whom he was now to be a mere vassal, with little more than the name
of king. For by this time they were masters of the greatest part of his provinces, and had
assigned him only so much land in them as would serve him to keep up a kind of mock
royalty, and as many subjects as were necessary to cultivate them; and if they allowed him
any towns, they were only such as were within cannon-shot of their fortresses, and conse-
quently could not give them the least umbrage; especially as they obliged the inhabitants to
become Christians, in order to make themselves still surer of their fidelity to them. *John I.*
and the first Christian king, did not long enjoy his imaginary and mock dignity, before he
was taken off by an unexpected death, occasioned most probably by the grief he conceived
at the hard treatment which he met with from his masters the *Portuguese*, who did not let
the throne continue long vacant, before they substituted another of the same stamp upon it.

His death.

Philip, the
second Chris-
tian king.

THIS new king was named *Philip* at his baptism, and was obliged to accept of the titu-
lary crown upon the same hard terms that had been imposed upon his predecessor, and proved
very complying and submissive to them. He shewed himself more particularly zealous for
the maintaining and propagating of Christianity, and encouraging the missionaries and other
preachers of it, during his whole reign, which proved a long and happy one, as far as his
subjection to a foreign yoke could permit it to be, for he lived to the year 1660.

* LABAT ex Cavaz. lib. iii. p. 98, & seq. DAPPER, & al. sup. citat. * Vide sup. p. 504, (B).

- a In the mean while the vindictive queen *Zingha*, exasperated even to fury to see herself stripped of eleven of her best provinces^γ, and almost of her authority and tribute in the remaining five, which obeyed her no farther than she saw it suitable to their interest, whilst those interlopers, as she might well stile them, ruled paramount in *Angola*, and had, in some measure, confined her to her *Metamban* dominions, conceived such an invincible aversion against them and their religion, that she gave herself up wholly not only to all the idolatrous superstitions, but to all the horrid and inhuman rites of the *Giagas*, and even strove to out-do them in those actions which are the most shocking to human nature (D), and to the most diabolical ceremonies of their Singhillos, or priests. She even took that office upon herself, and became not only one of them, but the very chief of that abominable rank and sect, as the reader may see by what we have related of her in the preceding note. Such was her authority and influence over that vast mixture of them, of which she had composed her monarchy, that they were ready, at the very first indication of her will, to face the most dreadful dangers, and to follow her through the most hazardous enterprises. We have already observed, that the *Giagas* were, of all the *Ethiopians*, the most furious and intrepid, and that the thirst of an enemy's blood and plunder made them rush unconcerned into the very face of death. How much more, when headed by such an heroic queen, who shewed

Queen Zingha's fury and apostacy.
Founds a monarchy of Giagas.

^γ De his, vide sup. p. 490, & seq.

(D) To give our readers some idea of this inhuman and hellish virago, (as she became thenceforwards, if the *Portuguese* and other monkish authors have not represented her in a worse light than she deserved, on account of her mortal hatred to a nation, who, under the specious pretence of religion, had stripped her and so many other monarchs of their dominions) she was a complete monster of impiety and inhumanity. Her desire to secure the affections of her new idolatrous subjects, especially the *Giagas*, of whom she invited an infinite multitude, who lived dispersed in other parts of *Ethiopia*, as well as those of *Metamba*, to her assistance, in order to drive the *Portuguese*, and exterminate Christianity, out of her kingdom of *Angola*; and, the more effectually to gain their affection and confidence, she declared herself one of their sect, and became the head of it, and the most zealous observer of all their impious, superstitious, and inhuman customs.

Her fury and resentment made her so far forget her regard not only to the Christian religion, into which she had been instructed and baptized, but what she owed to reason, humanity, and to her own sex; insomuch, that, during the 28 years she continued chief of that accursed and abominable sect, that is, till she was happily converted, and became a sincere Christian, and deep penitent, she ceased not to sacrifice the lives of innumerable victims to glut herself and her subjects with human flesh and blood. She owned herself, after her conversion, that, tho' she had the utmost natural aversion to that detestable food, yet, in order to draw the admiration of her worse than brutal subjects, she took a singular pride in devouring the one, whether raw or boiled, and in quaffing whole bowls of the other, both at her sacrifices and public meals.

From the same motives she affected a martial and heroic spirit, and an utter aversion to all converse with the male sex, but maintained a great number of the handsomest and lustiest youths, in whose embraces she privately gave a full scope to her vicious inclinations, till, glutted with their enjoyment, she sacrificed them to her mistrust, to avoid discovery. She had the art to carry on these amorous intrigues with such surprising secrecy, that she never could be charged with incontinence; and yet condemned many of her sex to be publicly ripped open, when their pregnancy accused them of it, and ordered their bodies, and those of the infants, to be cast to wild beasts.

But what made her most admired as well as dreaded, was the notion which she had, by sundry arts and stratagems, strongly inculcated into the minds of her subjects, that she knew every thing that was done, and could even penetrate into the very inmost thoughts; insomuch, that those who knew themselves conscious of any crime, obloquy, or misdemeanour towards her, shunned her presence as they would that of a basilisk, or the most dreadful creature. To keep up this appre-

hension in them, she had ordered the bones of her deceased brother, whom she had caused, as was lately hinted, to be poisoned in a small island of the *Coanza*, to be brought away from thence, and locked up in a chest, covered with coarse plates of silver, and to be laid on a fine carpet upon a pedestal. She ordered a number of Singhillos, or priests, to burn incense and offer sacrifices to, and to keep lamps always burning before, it; and she herself frequently repaired thither, to assist at those rites, which, as she gave out, and every one believed, engaged the spirit of the defunct, now one of the chief deities, to come and inform her of every thing that was done, said, hatched, or even designed, both in her kingdom and out of it.

To this stratagem she added another, no less artful, and conducive to confirm the people in that notion; which was, to keep a vast number of spies, not only in her capital, but in other parts of the kingdom, who still gave a constant information of what happened within their respective circles, and which she so cunningly improved to her own ends, that they imagined her to be not only vastly superior in power and skill to all the other Singhillos, or pretended conjurers, but even a kind of deity, from whom nothing could be concealed.

What is still more surprising was, that this notion was still rife amongst them, even after she was re-converted to Christianity, and became a most exemplary penitent; insomuch, that, being come one day to the convent of capuchins, which she caused to be built, and being just going to enter the garden, to take a walk in it with one of the fathers, the fellow who took care of it no sooner perceived her than he left his digging, and ran to hide himself till she was gone away. Being asked, at his return, by the father, the reason of his sudden flight, he answered, That having been guilty, some years ago, of a theft, which he knew she would have infallibly discovered in his face, he fled in the greatest fright, to avoid the punishment she would of course have inflicted upon him.

She pretended, in imitation of *Tem-ban-dumba*, the bloody foundress of the *Giaga* sect, an extraordinary aversion against male children; and yet would have been glad of one of her own to have sacrificed and bruised in a mortar, in order to make an ointment peculiar to that sect. But as she was past that age, she was forced to adopt one to perform that cursed ceremony upon. It would be endless, as well as shocking, to mention all her horrid cruelties, the many mothers she has forced to murder their male children; the many amorous couples she forced to plunge their daggers into each other's breasts, for what she stiled their incontinency, and other most unnatural barbarities, which are recorded of her (1), if, as we have hinted above, they have not been exaggerated, either out of hatred, or to heighten the miracle of her conversion and penitence, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel.

(1) De his, vide *Cavaz. ap. Labat lib. iv. c. 2. p. 50, & seq. & alib. pass.*

her-

Her excessive cruelty. herself no less insatiable of her enemy's blood than the fiercest of her canibals, nor less eager a to lead them on than they to follow her, especially after they had once imbibed a notion of her being endowed with a superior power and skill above all other mortals.

Hatred against the Portuguese. In this mutual confidence she made many strenuous and daring attempts to dislodge the *Portuguese* out of their fortresses; but what could myriads of such naked and undisciplined troops do against the ramparts and artillery, the great and small fire of an enemy intrenched or immured up to the very ears? As she found, therefore, so little encouragement to go on with attempts of that kind, she bent her whole force in annoying them in another way, in making continual inroads into some one or other of their ill-gotten dominions, carrying off all the captives, cattle, and other plunder that came in her way, and destroying all they could not take away with them. Dreadful was the case of those, *Europeans* especially, that b fell into her's, or any of her subjects hands, who were sure to be either immediately sacrificed to their fury, and to be devoured by them; or, which was still more tremendous, were doomed to be roasted by a slow fire, or even to have their flesh cut off and eaten before their faces, and themselves to be kept alive, that the extremity of their misery might give the greater relish to their barbarous feast; till loss of blood, and excess of torment put an end to their lives. In this inhuman way did she continue to gall and annoy, during the space of 28 years, the unhappy inhabitants, natives as well as *Europeans*, that lived dispersed in the country, in villages, hamlets, and other defenceless places, to cultivate the lands; whilst those that lived in cities and fortresses reigned over the poor natives with such a tyrannic sway, and oppressed them with such heavy duties and taxes, that their condition was no c better than a downright slavery; and well may we suppose that to have been the unhappy case of the subjects, seeing their princes were, by this time, reduced to such a miserable state of dependency.

Inhuman treatment of her prisoners. We have already taken notice of two of them, who were set up by the *Portuguese*, in opposition to the princess *Zingha*, above-mentioned, but who had little else left them than the specious title of first and second kings of *Angola*, together with a faint shadow of authority, and a scanty pittance to support their dignity. The last of the two, we observed, is affirmed to have enjoyed a long and peaceable reign (if such a state of subjection can deserve that name), till the year 1660, in which he died^y. But this is neither consistent with what we have elsewhere hinted, that these monarchs were obliged to refuge themselves on the d dreadful inaccessible rock of *Maopongo*, which we have there described^z, in order to secure themselves from the attempts of the princess *Zingha*, their mortal enemy; nor what we are told in another place, that the *Portuguese* had made themselves masters of it, lost, and recovered it again; all which was done during the reign of *Philip* above-mentioned, and several years before his death. Whether, therefore, it was that princess that took it from them for a short time, or, which is more likely, the *Dutch*, about which we are left in the dark, it is plain the *Portuguese*, who have kept their possession ever since their retaking of it, had no reason to call that king's reign a peaceable one.

The low condition of the Angolic kings. NEITHER could they themselves hope to enjoy any great share of peace in their newly recovered conquests, so long as they had such an implacable enemy both to them and their religion, who neither wanted wit or malice to contrive, nor power and courage to execute, the most vindictive stratagems against their mock monarch and them. They had, in vain, exhausted all their politics, either to reduce her by force, or soften her by presents and fair offers. She still rejected the one with disdain, and found means to baffle the other, and would not be brought to any terms, unless they submitted to resign all their *Angolic* conquests to her. Their refusal, which was the natural consequence of a demand of that nature, was so commonly followed by some marks of her resentment, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could get any person that would venture to carry propositions from them to her; and as for her, she disdained to offer any to them, but those of the hostile kind, and that at the head of her armed *Giagas*. She had already advanced so far into their territories, that f the terror of her arms procured her a kind of free passage where-ever she steered; the people, old and young, making no less haste to abandon their habitations at her approach, than she did to invade them.

The Portuguese sadly harassed by Zingha. Their offers to her rejected. NEITHER could they themselves hope to enjoy any great share of peace in their newly recovered conquests, so long as they had such an implacable enemy both to them and their religion, who neither wanted wit or malice to contrive, nor power and courage to execute, the most vindictive stratagems against their mock monarch and them. They had, in vain, exhausted all their politics, either to reduce her by force, or soften her by presents and fair offers. She still rejected the one with disdain, and found means to baffle the other, and would not be brought to any terms, unless they submitted to resign all their *Angolic* conquests to her. Their refusal, which was the natural consequence of a demand of that nature, was so commonly followed by some marks of her resentment, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could get any person that would venture to carry propositions from them to her; and as for her, she disdained to offer any to them, but those of the hostile kind, and that at the head of her armed *Giagas*. She had already advanced so far into their territories, that f the terror of her arms procured her a kind of free passage where-ever she steered; the people, old and young, making no less haste to abandon their habitations at her approach, than she did to invade them.

Raise sundry reports against her. THIS general dread had been in a great measure owing to the reports which the *Portuguese* had designedly spread through all those parts, of her apostacy, and her being become the chief of the *Giagan* sect, of her horrid butcheries, her living upon human flesh, drinking human blood, of her being a forcerefs, and a mortal enemy to all Christians, in order to render her the more odious, and unfit to wield the *Angolic* sceptre, to which she laid claim. But besides that this artifice only served to inflame her resentment the more against them, it intimidated the natives to such a degree, that they all chose rather to flee from her resentment g than oppose her progress, or make head against her; insomuch, that she was so far advanced towards them, as to be encamped in the small island of *Dangii*, in the river *Coanza*. This

Her camp in the isle of Dangii.

^y LABAT ex Cavazzi, lib. ii. in fin. cap. ult. DAPPER, & al.

^z See before, p. 496.

- a obliged them to alter their measures, and to raise an army of Negroes to join with their own forces to drive her out of it. They accordingly surrounded the island, and intrenched themselves along the banks on both sides of the river; but as these took up a great deal of room, it gave her an opportunity of attacking them with such advantage, that she killed and wounded many hundreds of their blacks, and some of their white men. Elated with her success, she was preparing to repeat her blow, when, to her surprise, she found that they had drawn their lines so close, and raised them to such a height, as to overlook her whole camp, and could, with their fire-arms, let fly upon her naked troops, as if they had been shooting at a mark, and killed a vast number of them, especially of her chief officers. *is terribly harassed by them.*
- b *Zingha* finding her situation too hot for her, and her men ready to murmur, agreed with them to retire into some distant province; but the difficulty was, how to cross the river with her forces, whilst the enemy lay intrenched along the coast on each side. But as her wit never used to fail on such emergencies, she had recourse to that, and, under pretence of treating with them about an accommodation, obtained a truce of three days, during which she found means, in the dead of night, to cross the river at a convenient place, and to lead her troops to the province of *Oacco*, unperceived and unmolested; inasmuch, that when the sun arose, they could not see one human creature upon the island. They apprehended at first some ambush or decoy from the crafty queen; but, upon their landing some of their troops in it, they found it wholly evacuated, and themselves shamefully over-reached, and deprived of the fairest opportunity they could wish for of forcing her to surrender at discretion, and putting an effectual end to that destructive war. *Impolitically force her out of it.*

- c SHE staid no longer in that province, than till she was assured that the *Portuguese* were retired from the *Coanza*; and then crossing that river once more, marched directly towards the kingdom of *Metamba*, a considerable part of which had been invaded by some neighbouring princes. The speed with which she led her forces thither, and recruited her army with myriads of *Giagas*, who were all emulous of fighting under her banner, quickly enabled her to recover some of her territories in that kingdom. So that she now began to think herself successful, and powerful enough to make a fresh attempt on the *Angolic* frontiers. She found herself, however, greatly mistaken, and met with such a stout repulse, as obliged her to send for fresh troops to make up the great loss she had sustained in this last expedition. What was still worse, was the news that she received that the *Giaga Cassangi* had taken the advantage of her absence to enter *Metamba* with a numerous army, and had carried off the greatest part of its inhabitants, destroyed all the fruits of the earth, plundered the towns of all that was valuable, and set fire to the rest, and left that kingdom in some measure desolate. *She goes to save her own dominions of Metamba.*

- d THIS last disaster quickly put a stop to all her ambitious views, and obliged her to lead her forces thither again, and to endeavour for the future to secure her real dominions, instead of going in pursuit of imaginary ones, in which she had met with such ill success. But how dreadfully was she mortified to find her troops, whom she endeavoured to lead back by long marches, in hopes of defeating the enemy, almost ready to revolt, thro' vexation, for the loss of their wives, children, cattle, &c. which had been conveyed far enough, and secured beyond their power of recovering them, even to the farthest part of the adjoining kingdom of *Benguela* *. *Her dominions laid waste.*

- f WHETHER the *Portuguese* had any hand in instigating the *Giaga Cassangi* to make that dreadful irruption into her dominions, by way of diversion, or no, they have not thought fit to acquaint us; tho' there is nothing in such a supposition that is either improbable or inconsistent with their usual conduct and policy. However that be, the apprehensions they were in, lest that artful princess should find out some stratagem to induce that *Giaga* to join forces with her against them, put them upon thinking of some effectual expedient to prevent it. To which end, the council dispatched one *Anthony Coglio*, a learned priest, and excellent negotiator, and *Don Gaspar Borgia*, an eminent officer, under pretence of negotiating a peace between them, first to the *Giaga Cassangi*, and afterwards to the queen. They met with a very civil reception from the first, who told them that he was very willing to live at peace with that princess, and even to let her enjoy the kingdom of *Metamba*, tho' he was the rightful heir to it, provided she would lay down her arms. This answer, which plainly indicated his friendship for the *Portuguese*, encouraged the priest, who was an excellent speaker, to try whether he could prevail upon him to embrace their religion, which would have bound him still faster to their interest; but he declined it in such strong terms, that he was forced to desist; upon which they took the road to *Umba*, a province of *Metamba*, where the queen lay encamped. *Two deputies sent to her by the Portuguese; and to Giaga Cassangi.*

- g AT their arrival they met with such a polite reception, as gave them hopes of success; but after she had heard their proposals, she assumed a haughty threatening tone, which soon cooled their sanguine expectations; and told them, in the conclusion of her speech, that it *Their reception from the queen.*

* De hoc, vid. sup. p. 415, & seq.

Her answer to their proposals. did not become her dignity to lay down her arms, till she had brought the war she had begun to an honourable conclusion : that as to the *Giagas*, whose sect she had embraced many years before, and which had furnished her with such a prodigious number of forces to fight in her defence, her honour and interest required that she should still keep them in her service, and under her protection : and lastly, that as to herself, she remembered, indeed, that she had formerly embraced Christianity, and been baptized, but that it was not now a proper season to propose her returning to it, and they ought to remember, that they themselves were the cause of her abandoning it.

Coglio tries to convert her in her sickness. BORGIA easily perceived by her words and behaviour that she was not to be wrought upon in point of religion ; and, shifting the topic, told her in a polite manner, that she had already gained honour enough in war, and that it was now high time she should think of granting peace and tranquility to her subjects of two such powerful kingdoms, and accept of the favour and friendship of the king of *Portugal*, which were offered to her by his viceroy. To this the artful princess replied, that she was perfectly well apprised of the strength and valour of the *Portuguese*, and should esteem it an honour to be allied to their monarch ; but that she thought it just that their respective pretensions to the dominions which she justly claimed from her ancestors, and of which he had unjustly deprived her, should first of all be decided, either by some equitable judges, or with the sword in hand. Borgia vainly imagining that he had obtained enough, took his leave without farther reply, and departed soon after for *Loanda San Paulo* : but left the priest *Coglio*, upon some pretence or other, to stay behind, but in reality to wait for some favourable opportunity to reduce the queen, who then laboured under some lingering disease, from her apostacy. Her distemper increasing, he took the liberty to visit her, and to tell her he doubted not but that it was sent her by the divine providence, either as a punishment or a gracious invitation to repentance ; to which she seemed to acquiesce, in such manner as gave him some hopes of her ; but these were soon quashed again by her recovery, when she not only relapsed into all her former hellish practices, but obliged him to leave the court, and to return to *Loanda*, after a six months abode with her to no effect.

The war renewed against the Portuguese. Her defeat and narrow escape. SHE then rekindled the war with fresh vigour against the *Portuguese*, and carried it on with various success, being sometimes victorious, and at others defeated. In one attempt of the latter kind, before the fortress of *Massangano*, she not only lost a great number of her men, but had her two sisters *Cambi* and *Fungi* taken prisoners, she herself escaping with great difficulty out of their hands. This loss, instead of discouraging, exasperated her the more. She led the residue of her troops, which were still very considerable, into some of the best cultivated provinces of the *Portuguese*, and abandoned them to the fury of her *Giagas*, who quickly put them all to fire and sword, and reduced them into a mere wilderness. But still, upon weighing her gains against her losses, she had the mortification to find the balance vastly to her disadvantage, in spite of all the private intelligence she still kept among all their conquests, and even in the fortress of *Massangano*, where her sister *Fungi* was kept prisoner.

Her sister Fungi's treachery and death. THIS princess, abusing the liberty which was granted her, out of regard to her rank, of walking about the town, had taken that opportunity to corrupt a great number of male-contents, both Negroes and *Portuguese*, to seize upon one of the gates of the place, and to open it to the forces of her sister *Zingha*, who was in full march thither, with a new raised army for that purpose ; but her treason was happily discovered before the day appointed ; upon which she was condemned to be strangled, and her body cast into the river, which was executed accordingly. The queen was sensibly affected with the discovery and disappointment, especially with the death of her sister, which being presently after followed by the defeat of her allies the *Dutch*, and their total expulsion out of *Angola*, mentioned a little higher, she began now to look upon herself as completely unfortunate, and to enter into a stricter enquiry than ever with herself, whether those sad and repeated disasters were not the effects of the divine displeasure against her.

Zingha's resentment. She was then with her army laying waste the province of *Omanda*, according to her custom, when she received these complicated ill news, which awoke all the gnawing remorse she had felt during the twenty-eight years of her impious reign and apostacy, and forced her against her will to recollect with horror all the blood she had shed, and all the dreadful impieties she had committed, in compliance to the abominable *Giagan* sect. The first signs she gave of her remorse were a visible abatement of the cruelties she used to exercise against the Christians that fell into her hands, and especially against the priests and monks, whom she now ordered, under the severest penalties, to be treated thenceforth with humanity and respect, and to whom she began now to listen with greater attention and regard than usual, tho' without losing one grain of her mortal aversion against those who had stripped her of what she styled her hereditary dominions in *Angola*, or of her resolution not to sheath her sword till she had wrested them out of their hands.

Her grief and remorse. By this time the noble viceroy Don *Salvador Correa*, who had wrested the kingdom out of the hands of the *Hollanders*, and re-established the *Portuguese* government in it, being apprised of the late regard the queen had expressed towards the clergy, thought it a proper time

a to send some capuchins to her, in hopes they would now find her more tractable. She appeared so accordingly, gave them a generous reception, and complied with several of their requests at their first audience; but when they took occasion, at their second, to lay before her the extreme guilt and danger of her persevering in her apostacy, after a deep sigh, which shewed that she was not insensible of it, she expressed herself in words to this effect.

“MAY God be merciful to a princess, who is injured in what she holds most dear. It is not my fault that I am reduced to the condition you find me in. I had neither sunk into, nor continued so long in it, under the most poignant stings of remorse that tongue can express, had I not been unjustly deprived of my right: pity my case! If I am driven into utter perdition, it is by those who have driven me out of my dominions. I am but too sensible of my having gone out of the right way; but I must either become the contempt and scorn of my subjects, or still go on in this dangerous path, till those usurpers have restored to me what they have robbed me of. What an unhappy life is mine, to be forced to live thus in blood and slaughter, to get rid of the fetters which they have laid on me? and since I am not strong enough to break them, do you pray to God to do it for me. In that case I will not only engage to return to the true religion I have been so unhappily forced to renounce, but to give you all the encouragement and assistance to propagate and establish it thro’ all my dominions.” These last words, tho’ accompanied with some few seemingly penitential tears, did but too easily convince the good fathers of their lost labour; and so, with her leave, they left her court, and returned to their convent at *St. Salvador*. She offered, indeed, to make them some considerable presents, but these they absolutely declined, as inconsistent with their function. *Her artful answer to them.*

In the mean time the viceroy, being resolved to secure the king of *Kongo* to his interest, and prevent his allying again with the queen *Zingha*, first raised a powerful army, and then sent him word, that if he desired to prevent the total ruin of his dominions, he must immediately make reparation for all the damages he had caused to the *Portuguese* by his allying with the *Hollanders*. The reputation which the *Portuguese* arms had gained during their late wars against that queen, and the dread which they had spread in all the adjacent kingdoms, quickly induced that monarch to comply, and, without any delay, to send some ambassadors to *Angola*, to regulate and adjust their differences, which was accordingly done, and, in a great measure, upon the viceroy’s own terms. These were, that the king their master should enter into a strict alliance with the *Portuguese*, and renounce all his other alliances that were prejudicial to their interests. 2dly, That he should engage to supply them with good slaves, in compensation for the damage they had sustained from him. 3dly, That he should discover the rich mines of gold and silver in his dominions, and perform his engagements by a former treaty, of giving leave to have them examined and wrought. 4thly, That all the fathers capuchins should have full permission to preach the gospel in all the provinces of his dominions. And, lastly, That he should give hostages for the execution of every article of the present treaty. All which the *Kongoese* monarch readily ratified, and performed as well as could be expected from a prince of his fickle character. *The viceroy’s threatening message to the king of Kongo.*

As soon as this treaty was ratified, the viceroy dispatched Don *Ruy Pegado*, an old experienced officer, remarkable for his wisdom, politeness, and zeal for religion, to the court of queen *Zingha*, with a noble retinue and magnificent presents for that princess, together with two letters to her, the one from the king his master, and the other with full powers to conclude a firm and lasting alliance with her, provided she consented to renounce the sect of the *Giagas*, and to return to the church. Don *Ruy* was received with the utmost politeness, and the queen acknowledged, in the most grateful terms, the regard paid her by his *Portuguese* majesty; but laid the blame of all the hostilities that had passed on the late viceroy, Don *Fernando de Souza*’s cruel treatment of her, who had not only stripped her of her best *Angolic* provinces, but had even dared to proclaim one of her vassals, *Ngola Oarii*, king of *Dongo*. She added that, provided his *Portuguese* majesty would assist her in the recovery of her hereditary dominions, she would readily engage to enter into an alliance with him, and to return into the bosom of the church, from which she had apostatized. *Embassy to queen Zingha.*

ZINGHA had too much policy to think her terms would ever be complied with, unless it were by main force; and therefore kept her army still on foot, and went on with her usual hostilities and ravages, notwithstanding several other letters which the viceroy sent to her, relating to the old topic, and his remonstrances against the injury she did to Christianity, by supporting so detestable a sect, and hindering the Christian priests from performing the least function of their office, even that of baptizing infants. He had already spent near three years in these epistolary negotiations, without any success, each having their reasons for proceeding no farther in them (E). And as there could be no hopes of inducing her to an alliance, as long *Keeps her army on foot.*

^a CAVAZZI ap. Labat, ubi sup. p. 95, & seq.

(E) This negotiation had been begun about the middle of the year 1648, soon after the expulsion of the *Hollanders* out of *Angola*. The queen’s answer to the two letters above-mentioned is dated December 10th, 1650, *The viceroy plies her with letters.*

long as she insisted on the restitution of her provinces which the court of *Portugal* never designed to consent to, so he contented himself with plying her with religious motives, as the most likely, if they took effect, to detach her barbarian troops from her interest; in which case she might be more easily induced, if not forced, to court their friendship and protection, and, in order to obtain it, to forego her pretensions to *Angola* ^b.

She relents and is suspected by her subjects.

Receives a new embassy, and fresh directions.

Her conduct represented as miraculous.

It plainly appeared by the sequel, that he was not mistaken in his politics; for his last letter had such an effect upon her, that her chief officers soon perceived such a visible change in her, as raised a general murmur thro' her army; inasmuch, that, to avoid a total defection, she was forced to have recourse to her old diabolical expedient, of sacrificing a number of male infants, to convince them of her steady adherence to their sect. The viceroy was quickly informed of it, but wisely concealed his resentment, and continued, without taking the least notice of it, to ply her with his religious expostulations, and at last sent her a solemn embassy, accompanied with the richest presents, and a proposal for entering into a joint war, in which both their states were mutually concerned. He acquainted her at the same time, with the plan he had concerted for carrying it on; at which she was so satisfied, that she readily consented to it, and honoured him, from that time, with her esteem and confidence. She had by this time reigned queen and chief of the sect of the *Giagas* almost 30 years, when an accident, or rather occurrence, which happened at the conclusion of that successful war, paved the way to her conversion. The circumstances which attended and promoted this surprising change in her, are, by the monkish writers of her reign, represented, after their usual custom, as altogether miraculous, or rather as such a series of miracles, as we should hardly have thought worthy of being mentioned in this history, were we not well satisfied how easily every judicious reader may account for every one, without having recourse to that long exploded pretence; as any one may be able to judge from their own narrative, stripped of all their glosses, and which we shall subjoin in the margin, as succinctly as we can, for the sake of our curious readers (F). We are more desirous to set this matter in a true light, because

^b CAVAZZI ap. Labat, ubi sup. p. 98, & seq.

1650, and the last which the viceroy sent to her was dated April 13th, 1651. But as on the one hand it was not her interest to make any steps or concessions that should alarm her *Giagas*, on whom her whole dependence lay, so neither did the no less politic viceroy think fit to appear too pressing for an alliance, lest it should be interpreted by that princess as the effect of fear, necessity, or any other motive she might take an advantage of (1).

(F) In this war, which was undertaken against some revolted princes that were tributary to the king of *Kongo*, probably in virtue of the last treaty lately mentioned, among other plunder that was brought away from those provinces, by the queen's forces, a soldier had got a crucifix, of the length of five or six spans, which he presented to her captain-general, and great favourite. This officer, who was a professed *Giaga*, refused it with scorn, and bid the soldier carry it into an adjacent wood, and throw it into the thickest part of it, where it might not be found any more. The soldier obeyed; but the general, whether in a dream or vision, was stung with the deepest remorse and reproaches, for having thus contemptuously treated the God whom the Christians adored. The dread he was in made him wish earnestly for the day; which no sooner appeared, than he arose, and ordered one of his head officers to fetch it from the wood, to wrap it decently in a clean linen cloth, and to bring it away with all possible care and respect.

His orders were obeyed, and the crucifix was brought away, decently covered, and laid on a cushion; and as soon as the general was apprised of its approach, he ordered his whole army to stand in battle array to receive it, and shew it all the marks of honour as it passed thro' their ranks. He ordered likewise some soldiers to walk before it, and to proclaim aloud to the army, that it was the *Zambi*, or God, of the queen; and at his arrival at her court, went immediately to inform her, that he brought her, among other spoils of war, the image of her late *Zambi*, in great pomp, which he had taken prisoner.

At these words the queen found her heart affected with a strange mixture of emotions, which forced a flood

of tears from her eyes; and she resolved to receive the captive crucifix, with all imaginable honours, but concealed her motives for it under the colour of complimenting the Christians, who, as she gave out, were very numerous in her dominions. Accordingly, on the day of its arrival, her whole army was drawn up in arms, on each side of the way, quite to the chapel which she had erected and richly adorned for its reception, whilst she, accompanied by her court, and amongst them a good number of Christians, went and stood on an eminence to see the holy relick pass by, which she caused to be saluted with the fire of her artillery, and the sound of all her warlike music. When it was come to the place designed for it, she was there ready to receive it, and, with great devotion, embraced and kissed it, with tears, and set it upon an altar erected for that purpose. After which she bound herself by an oath before the whole concourse, that she would punish with the utmost severity any affront or disrespect that should be offered to the *Zambi* which she had formerly worshipped.

All these various marks of respect, joined to her frequent and long visits to the place, soon convinced her *Giagas* that she was become a Christian again; which so enraged them, that they were ready to deprive her of her crown and life: to avoid which, she had recourse to a vile stratagem, which was to have the chest in which she kept her brother's bones, placed on the side of the crucifix, and then to pretend that she went to consult his ghost, as she had been used to do.

This artifice, indeed, calmed the minds of her mistrusting *Giagas*; but the just cause of offence it gave the Christians, and the severe reproofs she received from them, soon brought her to repent, and to be ashamed of so low a piece of dissimulation. She tried, indeed, at first, by some specious pretences, and fine promises, to induce them to follow her example; telling them at the same time, that it would prove an effectual means to reconcile, by degrees, her idolatrous subjects to the worship of Christ. Their stiff and universal protestations that they would sooner forego her friendship than comply with such an impious piece of hypocrisy, determined her, at last, to have recourse to other measures.

(1) Labat ex Cavaz. lib. iv. c. 2, p. 98, & seq.

She

a cause *Dapper* and other writers, not being able to give credit to all the miraculous apparatus which those popish historians tell us preceded that princess's conversion, nor to account for it in any other way, have given us a very lame and imperfect account of that princess's surprising life and reign. We are therefore to hope that this latter and most shining part of it will not be displeasing to our readers, now we have so effectually divested it of its fabulous monkish embellishments.

WHILST her two councils were taken up in acting the part we have spoken of in the last note, in order to induce her subjects the more readily to come into her measures, she had taken care to have her army drawn up, and prepared to expect some extraordinary result from their present consultations. As soon, therefore, as they were ended, she went out to them, and, with a majestic, yet seemingly joyful, aspect, let fly an arrow from her bow with her usual strength and vigour, and then addressing herself to them, *Who is there that is strong enough to stand against my arms, or resist the force of this arm?* Upon which they all fell a clapping their hands, and crying out three times successively, *O glorious and mighty queen, none, none, will ever be able to conquer you.* Upon which she made them the following speech, from the eminence on which she stood: and from which she could be easily heard: "If my enemies have always dreaded me in war; if you have lavished your lives to support me in my most dangerous enterprizes, and given me the greatest proofs of your fidelity, what can hinder you from following me in my peaceful ones? I have often beheld, after the victories

Her army drawn up. 1655.

Her speech to her army.

She had two councils, over which she presided as chief; the one for affairs of state and war, and the other for what they stiled religious concerns. This last consisted only of five Singhillos, or priests, of their sect, and the other only of four of her officers; and these nine counsellors she resolved to convoke upon this important point, whether she had best embrace the law of the true God, or continue in the old *Giagan* sect. She accordingly convened them, and told them that she designed to consult the spirits of her ancestors how to act in that extreme perplexity she found herself in, and ordered them to set instantly about the ceremony, which consisted in certain sacrifices and libations; after which they usually fell into a kind of enthusiasm, and delivered their answers in such a manner and stile as if they had been possessed by those spirits. The ceremony ended, they gave their answers one after another, with their usual hideous outcries and strange contortions, and all of them agreed in their advice to her, to renounce the *Giagan* sect, and return to the worship of the true God. We shall content ourselves with giving our readers a specimen of the stile of those answers, in that of the oldest Singhillo, which is the most emphatical, and as dictated by the spirit of her deceased brother in words to this effect.

tuguese, and thou wilt enjoy a more desirable and lasting one within thy breast.

As soon as he had done speaking, the queen asked the four officers of her other council their opinion upon what they had heard and seen, and their advice how she ought to act. To which they answered unanimously, that the matter wholly depended upon her will; that let her act in it as she pleased, she should always find her subjects ready to approve of, and conform to, it; and think it most for their honour and advantage to follow her example (1).

Here it is that our monkish writers triumph: they not only look upon the remorse and uneasiness of the general for his ill treatment of the crucifix, as miraculous, but much more so upon the forced confession of the five priests: for what less than a divine power, say they, could force the devil, who spoke thro' them, to declare himself in a manner so contrary to the interest of his infernal kingdom? What else but a consciousness of this could have extorted such an assent from the other four counsellors, all alike mortal enemies to Christianity?

But, after all, might not both the general above-mentioned, the Singhillos, or pretended conjurers, and those other counsellors, have been prevailed upon by the artful queen to act the parts they did, by her authority, persuasions, promises, and large gifts? Might not all this whole scene have been contrived between her and the viceroy during their long epistolary intercourse, which, as we observed in the last note, had been carried on ever since the year 1648 to this time 1655? Might not the best part of the rich presents which he continued sending to her with his embassies, be designed, and may they not be supposed sufficient, to bribe those ten creatures of hers to act the farce they did? Was it not the interest of the *Portuguese*, setting even religion aside, at any rate to gain over to their interest a princess, that had such an absolute sway over the nation of *Giagas*, their most irreconcilable and inhuman enemies, and to contrive the properest means to enable her to do it with safety? And, in such a case, can it be supposed that a princess, who had been converted to Christianity, could be otherwise than extremely desirous, especially in the decline of her life, and the dangers she was in, to abandon a sect in which she had lived 28 years, in a manner which could not but be, and she herself owned was, abhorrent to her nature? Upon the whole, we can see nothing in this whole transaction, but an artful stratagem of that politic princess, to extricate herself out of the danger and uneasiness she was in; nor is there any thing either surprising or extraordinary in the readiness with which her ten mercenary ministers, allured by her rich presents and promises, undertook, and the exactness with which they performed, a part in which so much was to be gained, and no hazard to be run.

"What advantage is it to me that thou continuest in the *Giagan* sect, whilst the sacrifices which thou offerest to me do but augment the intolerable torments which I endure in flames that will never be quenched? Why dost thou ask my advice, whilst thou art conscious that thou hast a more faithful judge and counsellor within thee, and one who directs thee to the truth? Thou canst be no longer mine, seeing there is another who calls thee to him, and whom thou abandonest me to follow; neither shall I be any longer thine to answer thee, since thou, from thenceforth, wilt abominate me for ever. Drive me therefore far from thee, and know that I can be no longer serviceable to thee, by my continuing here among these bones; cast them far from thee, together with the sad remembrance of thy having worshipped me before them." At these last words he gave a furious kick with his foot against the chest that held her brother's bones, and fell down half dead upon the floor.

The other four having acted much the same farce, and added several hints in commendation of the *Portuguese*, and their religion, the first Singhillo assuming, as before, the spirit of her brother, after some grievous reproofs for her apostacy, closed the whole, with these words, in a much milder tone. *Oh my dear sister! since thou canst not now be ignorant of the deplorable state I am eternally doomed to, be warned by it to repent and reform. O Zingha, my dear sister! take the noble resolution this day to accept of the peace which is offered to thee by the Por-*

(1) *Cavaz. ap. Labat, lib. iv. c. 2, p. 109, & seq.*

" I have hitherto gained; the field of battle covered with a greater number of my slain subjects, than of the enemy; so that I never gained a battle but what cost the lives of myriads of my faithful troops. Hurried by my blind passion, I shut my eyes against that truth, which I ought rather to have sought. But thanks to the true God, they are open now; and I return to him that heart and affection which I have hitherto so impiously withheld from him; and I now beg of his infinite goodness a firm and inviolable peace, in order to make those partakers of it, who have followed me through all the past tumults of war.

Owns her apostasy and re-conversion to Christianity.

" I do now freely and sincerely return to that faith and religion which I have so unhappily abandoned, to my inexpressible hurt, and that of those who have followed my example. I do, and shall ever henceforth, detest the impious *Giagan* sect, totally proscribe it from my presence and dominions; and if I have shewed myself exact in the observation of its horrid rites, much more so do I design to be in the observance of those of the holy gospel, to the end that my example may excite you to the same amendment of your lives. As you have, therefore, been the slaves of my capricious will, and have so often hazarded your lives, out of an immoderate desire of pleasing me, I now invite you, and shew you the way, to an eternal rest, and the blessings of an endless peace. Who is there that can reject the offers I make to you? though if there be any among you that dislikes or abhors me for what I have said, I am content that he should henceforth avoid and abandon me."

Perplexity about the success of it,

Thus spoke the intrepid queen to her whole army; tho', notwithstanding her last words, she was not without some great perplexity about the issue of so unexpected a declaration. Nor could she well hope that the proposals of an endless rest and peace should be easily relished by a nation nurtured in all the licentiousness of war and slaughter. Yet so strong and firm did their attachment to her shew itself upon this occasion, that she quickly found all her fears dispelled by their universal acclamations, which she could not but look upon as

dispelled by their joyful shouts.

Embassy to the viceroy.

a happy omen of their speedy conversion. She lost no time to communicate the joyful news to the viceroy of *Angola*, by a particular express, and not long after by a solemn and pompous embassy, in which she intreated him to pass an act of oblivion on all her former misbehaviour, to restore her to the good graces of the king his master, to send her back her sister *Donna Barbara* (seeing her sister *Fungi* had been so justly taken off for her crime), and with her some capuchins, to complete the good work she had begun with such unexpected success.

Her zeal mistrusted.

THE eagerness she expressed in her request, joined to the surprising news of her subjects readiness to join in with, and approve of, all her measures, failed not to cause some diffidence in such of the viceroy's council, to whom her former artful behaviour and fickle temper gave but too much occasion for it. But the generous viceroy, disdaining to entertain any mistrust of her, readily complied with all her requests, exhorting her to continue steadfast in her good resolutions, and, upon that condition, assuring her of his *Portuguese* majesty's inviolable friendship and alliance. And as to *Donna Barbara*, he only insisted upon 200 slaves for her ransom, 120 of whom should be for the king, and the other 80 for himself and the officers under him; or, if she chose it rather, an equivalent in money. The fathers capuchins, so earnestly desired by her, were sent with all possible diligence, with father *Antony de Gaeta* at their head, a person of great piety and merit, and highly respected by the queen, and who was now constituted prefect of the *Metambic* mission, by a charter, dated *April 8, 1656*, and arrived quickly after at the fortress of *Massangano*, where the princess *Barbara* was kept prisoner till the ransom was paid, and the treaty signed by her sister^d.

1656.
Her tardiness to comply.

THE queen had, it seems, been more tardy than was expected in the performance of those articles; and it is hardly to be doubted but she shewed a great reluctance against giving up her rich *Angolic* dominions to the *Portuguese*, and confining herself to the wild and barren ones of *Metamba*; and yet she was to expect neither favour nor alliance from them on any other terms. They held her sister still prisoner, tho' they paid her all the outward respect due to her quality, and had removed her from *Massangano* to *Embacca*, their remotest frontier on the river *Lucalla*, there to be detained till the arrival of her ransom, at which she expressed no small displeasure; but they excused themselves by throwing the blame on her sister's neglect of performing her engagements. She had, indeed, so little stomach to do it, that when captain *Emanuel Flois* arrived at her court from the viceroy, to press her upon that head, she loudly complained of their diffidence, and the detention of her sister, and, on his second audience, threatened them with a more dreadful war than any she had yet waged against them^e.

Flois sent ambassador to her, and is dreadfully menaced.

He endeavours to pacify her.

THIS strange behaviour the ambassador imagined to have been forced upon her by her ministers, who were utterly averse to the new treaty she had made with *Portugal*; and well they might, if the cession of the *Angolic* provinces was to be an indispensable condition of it; in

^c CAVAZ. ap. Labat, ubi sup. p. 116, & seq.

^d Ibid. p. 123, & seq.

^e Ibid. p. 125.

- a some of the richest of which they would have gladly followed her, could she have obtained the restitution of them. But had not the queen much greater reason to resent the refusal, and to avoid the cession of them, than any of her ministers? She gave him accordingly such sensible tokens of her displeasure and dissatisfaction, as left him no room to doubt of their being real; so that dreading now more than ever the effects of them, he was obliged to alter his tone, and instead of pressing her upon that sensible article, he tried all possible means to soothe her, and to excuse the viceroy's detaining of her sister, not as a prisoner, but as an hostage; a method practised by all *European* princes. However, as she gave no answer to all his plausible palliatives, but a very deep sigh, he immediately dispatched a courier, with the news, to the viceroy, who being no less alarmed at them, sent express orders to the good father *Antony* above mentioned, who was then at *Embacca* with *Donna Barbara*, to hasten to the queen, and to use his utmost endeavours to bring her into a better mind ^f.

THE good man, tho' at that time very ill by the change of climate, delayed not to obey; and as he had sent an express to the queen to apprise her of his coming, she received him with all the marks of honour, and went, at the head of a numerous court, out of *Chilombo*, where she then resided, to receive him. She likewise ordered all the people to come out and line the way from the eminence, where she met him, and to kneel down to him as he passed by them. She herself, as soon as she perceived him near enough to hear her, bowed herself lowly to him, and cried, *Blessed and welcome be the minister of the true God: you have my hearty thanks, my good father, for coming to me, which gives me an assurance that I shall, by your means, be reconciled to my God, and restored to the peace of conscience which I had lost.* And so saying, she tenderly kissed the crucifix which he held to her, and, after several other acts of devotion, took him by the hand, and conducted him to her palace. There, being seated on a throne erected for that purpose, she caused him to sit down close to her on her right hand, and the ambassador *Flois* at some distance on her left, whilst the rest of the court stood up at a still greater distance from her.

- WE should not dwell so long on these instances of female zeal, were it not that they plainly shew that she was under no restraint from her ministry, nor afraid of testifying the deepest regard to Christianity and the preachers of it, before her whole court and army, as the *Portuguese* would insinuate; but that the true obstacle to her ratifying the treaty was her extreme aversion to the article above mentioned; she judging it, as she explained herself once before, unworthy of her dignity and character, tamely to resign her right to an usurper, whilst she had it in her power to wrench it from him by force of arms ^g. Accordingly, when the good old father came to try his Christian eloquence, in order to induce her to it, by religious motives, that is, as may be reasonably supposed, to persuade her to forego a temporal kingdom, for the sake of an eternal one, she answered him only by her sighs and tears. However, if we may believe our author ^h, his discourse had such an effect upon her, that she found her mind quite eased from the worldly considerations which her ambition and false politics had crowded into it, so that she immediately set about dispatching her sister's ransom to the viceroy. How the grand article about the *Angolic* provinces was settled upon this occasion, we are not told: each party had their pretensions, and those of the queen were certainly the justest; but her antagonists were the most powerful, as well as most tenacious; so that not being able to conclude a firm and lasting peace with her, they contented themselves, for the present, to strike up a short truce, till their differences could be adjusted. But even in this we may reasonably suppose that she was forced to submit to their terms, partly thro' necessity, and partly from the religious motives which her capuchin father had inspired her with.

- AND now it was that matters began to assume a new face. The princess *Barbara*, after a long and tedious detention, was released and sent home with all the marks of honour, and very valuable presents. Upon her entrance into her sister's dominions, she was received with extraordinary magnificence; all her subjects expressing their excessive joy by music, dancing, and panegyric sonnets; they had provided a stately palanquin to convey her in, and persons of all ranks were contending all the way, with the utmost eagerness, for the honour of carrying her. Her shortest way to court being thro' the province of *Souva*, where the roads are extremely difficult, and, in some parts, almost impassable, care had been taken to have them made as convenient as possibly they could. At her arrival at court, she was received by all the queen's officers, civil and military, and with the loudest shouts of the people. As soon as she came in sight of her sister, she alighted out of her palanquin, and threw herself prostrate on the ground; after which she arose, and marched directly to her, and, on her knees, kissed her hands, and thanked her for all her favours; whilst she, throwing her arms about her, held her for some time, without being able to speak or move, they not having seen one another during the space of nine years. The rejoicings which were made upon that

^f CAVAZZI ap. Labat, p. 126, & seq. 132, & seq.

^g See before, p. 513.

^h CAVAZ. ap. Labat, ubi sup. p.

Great rejoic-
ings at her ar-
rival.

occasion, lasted a whole week, and the concourse was so great, and the hurry and bustle so loud, that the good capuchins, quite unused to it, could neither vacate at their devotions, nor sleep in their beds*.

Her reconcil-
ment to the
Portuguese,
and her zeal
for the church,
encouraged by
the Capuchins.

As soon as the festivity was ended, the queen, who had now lost all hopes, and, in all appearance, even the desire, of recovering her *Angolic* provinces, began to bend her whole mind to propagating the gospel among her subjects. The capuchins, who were now become her chief counsellors, especially father *Antony*, had so effectually alienated her heart from all her ambitious and warlike projects, that she seemed wholly to have devoted the short remainder of her life to the solid establishment of Christianity within her own dominions, and to illustrate it by her own example. Her sister, *Donna Barbara*, who had been likewise converted to Christianity, as we have elsewhere hinted, during her first five years captivity, and had spent nine more in her second among the *Portuguese*, expressed no less zeal towards that good and glorious work. So that all her tumultuous thoughts and views seemed wholly swallowed up in religion, and she was now more than ever at leisure to listen to the instructions of her spiritual guides; and these had so perfectly reconciled her to the *Portuguese*, that she looked upon them as her best friends (G), whom before she abhorred as the usurpers of her hereditary dominions, and there reigned a perfect harmony between her and them.

Builds a
church in her
capital of mean
materials, but
with rich or-
naments,
which is con-
secrated to the
B.V. Mary.

SHE was very desirous to have a church built in her capital; but as it would have taken up too much time to procure proper workmen and materials from *Portugal*, her impatience induced her to take up with one of timber, the direction of which she committed to the care of father *Antony*, and granted him a sufficient number of slaves to assist him and his workmen in it, and an absolute power over both, that they might obey him in every thing. But as none of them had been used to any other building than to erect a few strait posts in the ground, lay cross beams over them, and some coarse kind of timber roof over the whole, covered either with straw or palm leaves, the edifice came vastly short of what the good father designed it. It was 70 palms in length, 29 in breadth, and 25 in height (H); the walls were of mud, white-washed within and without, and the floor covered with curious mats, woven with white and black chequer work, and some other neat ornaments. The chancel, where the great altar stood, was covered with rich tapestry, which the queen gave out of her own wardrobe. The altar, on which was to be placed the crucifix lately mentioned¹, (to which one of the capuchins had made a handsome new cross) was also covered with some rich tapestry. A beautiful painting of the Virgin *Mary*, drawn after that of *St. Maria Maggiore* at *Rome*, was the altar-piece, and highly admired by the natives, who came in crouds to see it; which gave the fathers an opportunity of explaining some articles of Christianity to them. All things being got ready with all possible dispatch, both the church and city were dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*; and after the consecration of the former, the latter took the name of *St. Mary of Metamba*.

The queen's e-
dict for new
converts, and
against idola-
trous and other
ill customs.

THE ceremony having been performed with all possible pomp, amidst a vast concourse of people, great numbers, after the example of their queen, came voluntarily to the church, and begged to be instructed and baptized; but were obliged, before their admission, to promise never to converse, after baptism, with any idolaters; and had, accordingly, a certain canton of the city assigned to them by that cautious princess. Soon after this she caused an edict to be published thro' the kingdom, expressly forbidding the following pieces of heathenism, then in vogue, under the severest penalties.

1st. THE invocation and consultation of dæmons, and offering sacrifices to them or their idols.

2dly. THE pregnant women going out of the cities, camps, or villages, to expose their infants in the fields.

3dly. THAT they should not use any of their old superstitious rites upon their new-born infants, but bring them to church to be baptized.

4thly. THAT female children should not be excluded from baptism, or other benefits of the church; but that they, as well as the males, should enjoy them alike; and that the adult of both sexes should be instructed and baptized.

* CAVAZ. ap. Labat, p. 133, & seq.

¹ Before, p. 516, not. (F).

(G) This, however strange it may seem, all things duly weighed, is what our good capuchin assures us of, both from her letters to the viceroy, and her behaviour towards all of that nation who came to her court. He adds, that, in her more facetious entertainments with them, she used to say, that the family of *Souza*, whose surname was given to her at her baptism, had first given her a spiritual life, and next to that a civil death, and, last of all, a resurrection. By which she meant, that *Don John Correa de Souza* had persuaded her, by his pious eloquence, to embrace the Christian religion,

when she was at *Loanda*: that *Don John Ferdinand de Souza* had doomed her to death in stripping her of her dominions, and obliging her to seek for shelter among the sect of *Giagas*; but that *Don Salvador Correa de Souza* had now raised her again to life, by restoring her dear sister to her, which had proved a powerful motive to her to renounce the *Giagan* sect, and return into the pale of the church (2).

(H) The *Portuguese* palm is about eight inches and a quarter.

(2) CAVAZ. ap. Labat, lib. iv. c. 2. p. 135, & seq.

a 5thly. THAT none of her subjects, whether male or female, should eat any human flesh of any kind.

6thly. THAT none should keep any of their old images and other idolatrous utensils by them, but either burn them, or deliver them up to the missionaries.

7thly. THAT none should from thenceforth use any of the old methods and abominable rites in their oaths or forms of swearing^k.

THE severity she used in punishing all delinquents, and those that winked at them, joined to the facility with which she discovered them by the numerous spies she had every where, of which we have formerly given some hints^{*}, quickly enforced a strict obedience to this edict. *Severity in punishing the breakers of it.*

b But there were two other enormous abuses still to be reformed, which did not meet with the like ready compliance, because they were most in vogue among the great ones. The one was the enormous plurality of women, in which they indulged themselves, and the other the tyranny of the lords, who did not allow their vassals to marry without their licence, for which they made them pay very dear. *An edict against polygamy.* The abolishing of the first was the depriving them of a pleasure, and that of the second, of an income, which they were not likely to forego without great murmuring and discontent, if it did not stir them up to a revolt.

THE first of these, however, she easily brought about by her condescending, though with great difficulty, at the earnest persuasion of father *Anthony*, to shew an example to the rest in her own person, and consenting to marry a young handsome courtier, named *Don Salvador*, but of mean birth, being no more than the son of a slave, who had fled from *Loanda*, and had lifted himself in her service, in which he had raised himself to a considerable rank by this time. *The queen, to encourage marriage, takes a husband.* The handsomeness of his person, however, was thought to make sufficient amends for the lowness of his birth, and she disdained not to be married to him, in the most public manner, in her new church, and with great pomp and solemnity; and, after the ceremony was over, to declare him her lawful husband, in the presence of her whole court. And this was looked upon so much the more extraordinary, as she was then in the 75th year of her age, and consequently past the want of a husband. And not content with shewing a good example in her own person, she likewise obliged her beloved sister to do the like, and, much against her inclination, to take up with the old general, who had acted a part in the stratagem of the pretended miracle of the crucifix (I). This old warrior, naturally haughty, cruel, and peevish, no sooner saw himself master of a princess who was to be heiress to the crown, than he suffered his arrogance to swell to a degree not of contempt only, but of cruelty towards her; insomuch, that she was forced to acquaint her sister with it, telling her, that the captivity she had suffered under the *Portuguese* was a heaven to what she did under him. But what was the most surprising to the whole court was, that the vindictive queen, who, some months before, would have sent for him at the first complaint of that nature, and ordered him to be cut in pieces before her, did not so much as show the least resentment against him, lest he should occasion some revolt; and contented herself with declaring, that, for the future, she would never concern herself in matrimonial affairs, but let every one marry according to their own liking (K). This was, indeed, a very likely means to induce her

male

^k CAVAZ. ubi sup. p. 141, & seq.

^{*} See before, ibid.

(I) It will be proper, for the better understanding of what is to follow, to acquaint the reader that she had at first pitched upon a young nobleman of the royal blood for her husband, with whom she was so well pleased, that she consented to be conveyed to his house, and bedded with him before the marriage ceremony; the consummation of which was prevented by a sudden fit of sickness, during which he was found to have another wife still alive. This obliged the queen to break off the match by her absolute authority, though much against their wills, and to look out for another husband for her.

In the mean time, her old general, who had been concerned in the ill treatment of the crucifix, mentioned in a former note, but was since retired upon some discontent, being informed of the matter, made no scruple to offer himself to the queen as a fit husband for her sister, in consideration of his former services; to which she, with great reluctance, consented (1).

(K) This strange behaviour, in so haughty and vindictive a queen, our author ascribes to the good effects which religion had wrought on her mind. But if we examine every circumstance more nearly, we shall soon find that there was some other powerful motive that obliged her to suppress her resentment.

First, We find him withdrawn from the court and army, under some discontent, soon after his part in the matter of the crucifix: and what can we ascribe it to, but to the displeasure which that old idolater conceived at the ill use he found her make of it, contrary to what he had expected; and that she made it a handle for abandoning of the *Giagan* sect, and introducing of the *Portuguese* religion, which was equally hated by him as the nation that professed it.

2dly. Whence could his extreme boldness arise, in not only offering himself a candidate for the princess, but in demanding her as a due reward for his former services? A boldness against which the queen, at first, expressed the utmost indignation, not only on account of his old age, and his ill qualities, but likewise of his low birth, from which her favour had raised him, to a height which did more than amply reward all his former services.

3dly. What could induce that otherwise intrepid and haughty queen to consent to a match which was so dishonourable to her, and so professedly abhorred by her sister? And what could induce her to force a person whom she so tenderly loved into the embraces of an old weather-beaten, ambitious, and ill-natured malecontent? But if the part she had induced him and the other mem-

(1) Cavaz. ap. Labat, ubi sup. p. 146, & seq.

male subjects to be contented with one wife, whilst her female ones would be no less pleased a to enjoy each her own husband wholly to themselves; so that, partly by her persuasions and example, and partly by the pious endeavours of her capuchins, she had the pleasure to see her edict against polygamy generally complied with, and those persons severely punished who did not conform to it.

Suppresses the
tyranny of the
lords.

1657.

SHE expected to meet with much greater opposition in suppressing the other, and did so accordingly: and it was not without great difficulty and heart-burning that those lords, or petty tyrants, were brought to forego so great and profitable a privilege over their vassals. But her address, authority, and steady resolution, at length got the better of their averseness; and she was the less apprehensive of any insurrection, such as they seemed to threaten, as she was sure it was the interest of all her inferior subjects to support her in the abolition of an b old custom, which had been so burthensome and grievous to them.

The great pro-
gress of the
gospel.

THUS far every thing succeeded to her wish; and what seemed to give her the greatest pleasure, she beheld the visible progress which Christianity had made, within less than two years, among her subjects, and the zeal they shewed in conforming to it, notwithstanding their innate barbarity, which gave her hopes that she might live to see it happily spread thro' all her dominions. This hopeful calm was, however, strangely troubled by several dreadful calamities, which succeeded each other quickly after. A threatening comet, of an extraordinary bigness, and a fiery aspect, ushered in a most dreadful storm, accom- c panied by thunder and lightening from the four quarters of the atmosphere, which overturned all that opposed its way, tore up the largest trees by the roots, and did a considerable deal of damage. This was followed by violent and repeated shocks of earthquakes, which tore up the rocks, and left hideous large chasms, in several parts of the kingdom, of unfathomable depth. These were followed by a general famine and contagion, which carried off myriads of the poor people, and made the rest surmise that the short truce which they had enjoyed, the fruits of which they began to relish, would quickly be succeeded by some bloody war, especially as the peace that had been negotiating with the *Portuguese* was still unsigned and unconcluded; and, what was still worse, in no likelihood of being so: the reader will easily see where the fault lay, when he is told, that the terms upon which the *Portuguese* offered to grant it to the queen, were those that follow ^m.

A large comet
appears, which
is followed by
a plague,
earthquakes,
and famine.

Portuguese
articles offered
to the queen.

1st. THAT as soon as they were well assured of the sincerity of her conversion, they would d yield to her, as a present, some of those countries in the kingdom of *Dongo*, or *Angola*, which they were in possession of.

2^{dly}. THAT, in consideration of the said present, which should in no-wise be interpreted as an investiture, the queen should pay yearly a certain acknowledgement to the king of *Portugal*, who should be at liberty to withdraw the said present whenever she failed of making the said acknowledgement.

3^{dly}. THAT a free commerce should be opened between those two states, as well for slaves as for other merchandizes.

4^{thly}. THAT the queen should molest none of the lords that were feudatory to his majesty, whatever damages and ravages they might have committed in her dominions of e *Metamba*, during the late wars between them.

5^{thly}. THAT she should restore all the *Portuguese* slaves that had refuged themselves within her dominions.

6^{thly}. THAT she should deliver up the *Giaga Colanda*, who had revolted from the *Portuguese*, to the viceroy of *Angola*, upon assurance being given her that his crime should go unpunished (L).

Her displea-
sure at them.
Falls sick.

THE queen, as well she might, conceived such displeasure at these conditions, so opposite to what she had been made to expect from the generosity of the *Portuguese*, that she relapsed into her old distemper, which was a violent fever attended with an inflammation; during which father *Anthony*, her chief confident, and a creature of the viceroy, never left off sol- f

^m *Iidem* *ibid.* p. 148, & seq.

bers of her two councils to act, was, instead of a miracle, only a mere farce and stratagem to allure her subjects into her new measures, what cause had she not to dread that her refusal would exasperate him into a full discovery of the whole artifice, and afford him a sufficient pretence for raising a general revolt (3)?

(L) This *Giagan* chief, weary of the *Portuguese* yoke, had retired from them at the head of 1000 stout soldiers, and a much greater number of slaves, some leagues beyond the river *Lucalla*, and put himself under the queen's protection; which she had the more readily granted to him, as he was able to be very serviceable to her, by

his incursions on the *Portuguese*, in case their ungenerous treatment of her should oblige her to renew the war against them.

She therefore could not but look upon it as a hard, unjust, and dishonourable act, to deliver up a brave chief, who had devoted himself to her service, and whom she had taken under her special protection, to the mercy of a nation, whose honour and faith all their former behaviour to her, and especially these last six articles, had given her so much cause to mistrust (4). The sequel will shew how much more nobly that prince acted than they upon this juncture.

(3) *De his, vid. Cavaaz. ap. Labat, lib. iv. p. 146, & seq.* (4) *Iidem* *ibid.* p. 165.

a liciting her, in the strongest terms, to make her peace with God, and to accept of that which was offered to her by the *Portuguese*. The former, we are told, was complied with in a manner that was greatly edifying to all her court; and to the latter she gave an answer no less worthy of so great a princess; it was to the following purpose.

1st, "THAT as to her conversion, as it was neither owing to any design of obtaining a *Noble answer to the articles.*
 " peace, or other worldly motives, but the divine grace that recalled her, she was resolved
 " to persevere in it to her last breath."

2dly. "THAT as to her going over to the *Giagan* sect, she had, in a great measure, been forced to it, by the ill treatment she had received from the then viceroy."

3dly. "THAT the king of *Portugal* would do a generous act in restoring some of her
 b " *Angolic* dominions; but it would be still a more noble and royal one, if he restored them
 " all to her."

4thly. "THAT as to her paying homage to him, neither her mind nor heart were base
 " enough to submit to it; and that, as she had refused the proposal whilst she lived amongst
 " the *Giagas*, much more did she think herself above it now she was a Christian queen, and
 " owed neither tribute nor homage to any but to the Supreme Power, from whom she had
 " received both her being and her kingdom. That nevertheless, if she could be convinced
 " that there was any thing in her dominions that would be acceptable to his *Portuguese* ma-
 " jesty, she would readily make a voluntary offer of it to him, being fully persuaded of his
 " generosity and gratitude. And as to the rest of the articles, such was her desire of mak-
 c " ing a firm and lasting peace with him, that she would not make any difficulty of consent-
 " ing to them."

THIS answer was not thought altogether satisfactory by the council of *Loanda*, who would *Treaty of peace concluded,*
 gladly have obliged her to acknowledge herself tributary to their monarch; but father *Antony*, *1657.*
 who was perfectly well acquainted with her disposition, and kept a constant correspondence
 with the viceroy, had so far assured him that she would never consent to it, that he easily
 prevailed upon them to give it up, and a peace was quickly after concluded upon the fol-
 lowing terms:

1st. THAT the river *Lucalla* should be thenceforth the boundary of the two kingdoms of
Metamba and *Angola*.

d 2dly. THAT neither side should thenceforth give any reception to the fugitive slaves of
 the other, but send them back without any delay, together with the prisoners that had been
 taken during the last war.

3dly. THAT the queen should remain wholly free and exempt from all tribute and ho-
 mage whatsoever, provided she agreed and subscribed to all the other articles formerly stipu-
 lated from her.

THIS treaty was signed by the queen and the viceroy in the month of *April* 1657;
 immediately after which, the prisoners were conveyed to the frontiers, and exchanged,
 and the contents of the treaty were dispatched to the court of *Lisbon*, to be ratified by the
 king, who accordingly sent a letter to the viceroy and council, dated *November* 24, of the
 e same year, in which he approves and confirms every thing that had been concluded in that *and ratified.*
 treaty, and acquaints them that he had wrote likewise to queen *Zingha*; but this letter has
 not yet been made public that we know of.

DURING these transactions, the queen had prudently bethought herself of an expedient to *Expedient to*
 save her honour with respect to the *Giaga Colanda*; and, some time before the ratification of *save her ho-*
 the treaty, had privately sent for and acquainted him with the viceroy's demand, telling *nour.*
 him at the same time, that tho' she doubted not of his keeping his word, and forgiving him,
 yet she advised him to go out of her dominions, and settle himself and his men in some dis-
 tant country from the *Portuguese* frontiers; but forbade him, on pain of her highest resent-
 ment, to commit the least outrage or hostility within their conquests, in his retreat. He
 f thanked her majesty, and seemed to acquiesce with her advice: but as soon as he had reached *The Giaga*
 his strong-hold, he set himself about fortifying it, and putting himself rather in a state of defi- *breaks his*
 ance than defence, he having got, by that time, a considerable army on foot, which quickly *word with*
 spread a general dread all round him. The *Portuguese* failed not of complaining of it to her *her.*
 as a breach of her word; to whom she answered, that they should soon see how faithfully she
 was resolved to stand to it.

BEING, by this time, recovered from her late illness, she ordered her whole army to be *Is revenged on*
 drawn up in arms, on the great square before *St. Mary's* church, where she likewise appeared *him.*
 in an elegant martial dress, and made them perform their exercises, and a kind of mock-fight,
 in which they shewed an uncommon dexterity, not only in the handling of their weapons,
 g but in their great variety of evolutions. She entered herself into the lists, and, after a short
 but enlivening speech, she began to wield her arms with such surprising agility and vigour,
 considering her years and revalescence, that the good father *Antony*, who followed her every
 where, could not forbear complimenting her upon it. The mock-fight was no sooner

^a *Iidem* *ibid.* p. 160, & seq.

^o *Ibid.* p. 163, & seq.

ended,

ended, than she began her march at the head of her troops, having taken care beforehand a to get all the passes and defiles shut up, to prevent the *Giaga's* escape; and early on the next morning, being the sixteenth of *December*, she caused his camp to be surrounded on every side, and then ordered her royal standard to be displayed.

THE *Giaga*, in despair to see himself environed by the forces of the exasperated queen, could think of no other way to escape her resentment than that of the deepest submission, and the most solemn promises of being thenceforth entirely devoted to her service. But whilst his deputies were soliciting his pardon with the queen, some of his chief officers, who suspected his base design, raised up the whole army, and fell so furiously on that of the queen, that they had already forced their way through, and thrown them into great disorder. This obliged her immediately to order her men to attack them in flank and rear; b which was done with such bravery and success, that they made a horrid slaughter amongst them, none hardly escaping their fury, but such as were too nimble to be overtaken in their flight; who having swam across the river *Lucalla*, fled to the *Portuguese* garrison of *Embacca*, where they hoped to meet with better quarter. All the rest were massacred without mercy, except 1500, whom they took prisoners. The *Giaga* was found among the slain, and his head was brought to the queen, who ordered it to be sent to the viceroy of *Loanda*, to let him see how well she knew how to keep her word, as well as to punish those that broke theirs with her.^p

A. D. 1658. SHE returned in triumph to her capital of *St. Mary Metamba*, towards the end of the month of *March* following; when finding herself too old and fatigued to lead her forces e against the king of *Ajacca*, who had invaded some of her dominions during her absence, she committed that expedition to an old experienced general of hers, named *Barian-gonga*, who proved no less successful than she had been, and quickly obliged the aggressor to submit to her terms.

AN accident happens at her court, which makes her relapse into her impiety; THERE happened, not long after, an accident during Father *Antony's* absence, who was gone to preach the gospel in other provinces, which was likely to have proved fatal to Christianity, through the remissness, or rather the fickleness, of the queen. An ancient officer in high esteem with her, and who had been formerly baptized, but had since degenerated into libertinism, was taken ill and died, before the good father could come to reconcile him to the church, but her regard for him induced her to send orders to Father *Bennet*, d the only Capuchin, except a lay-brother, that was then in the monastery, to give him Christian burial, which he stiffly refused to comply with. This she resented to such a degree, that she immediately gave leave that he should be buried after the *Giagan* manner; upon which a place was quickly prepared, and the number of human victims, suitable to his quality^q, conveyed with his corpse to a neighbouring wood, to be interred. What was still more strange, the queen, at the head of a numerous court, assisted at the diabolical ceremony, though not without feeling, as she afterwards pretended, some violent checks of conscience. She had already gone so far as to inspire and comfort those unhappy victims which were designed to accompany the deceased into the other world, and would in all likelihood have sent some of them thither with her own hand, had not an unexpected accident e put a stop to the hellish solemnity.

THIS was brother *Ignatio*, the lay Capuchin above-mentioned, who, after having tried in vain to persuade Father *Bennet* to comply with the queen's orders, to avoid worse consequences, had, in a fit of zeal, taken the crucifix off the altar, and running with it in his arms to the burying-place, cried out all the way he went, *He that is for God, let him follow the image of his crucified Son*. As he was going still forward, he was met by the secretary and another minister of state, who were going to the convent to consult with Father *Bennet* about some proper means to prevent the horrid scene; who asked him whither he was going with the holy image? but could get no other answer than the words above-mentioned; upon which they, turning back, accompanied him, one on each side of him. At their arrival f at the burying-place, they saw vast crowds of people, who were come thither to see the ceremony, to whom he cried aloud, in their native language, *Fugam-mema*, that is, *Down on your knees*. They were all thunderstruck at his words, and kneeled down on each side for him to proceed on; which he did, till the queen's guards, who were placed at the entrance of the inclosure, stopped him from going farther. This, however, did not hinder him from repeating the same words, as loud as he could speak; till the queen, who stood under a portico, heard them, and knowing his voice, came and fell before the image, without uttering a word, but with her eyes gushing out plenty of tears. The good brother took the advantage of her silence and confusion, to make her a pathetic reprimand for her impiety; and, at the same time, to oblige her to swear at the foot of the crucifix, that she would g never more permit any such diabolical ceremonies to be performed within her realm, be the persons or occasion what they would. She not only swore it in the most solemn manner, but

^p Ibid. p. 166, & seq.

^q De his, vid. sup. p. 455, & alib. pass.

ordered

a ordered the unhappy victims to be set at liberty, and the tomb, with its whole apparatus, to be demolished; after which she followed him to the convent, carrying the crucifix, and attended by numberless crouds of people, expressing their joy by their loud acclamations; and, being arrived at the church, she once more prostrated herself to the crucifix, begging pardon for her crime, and renewing her vow to abolish that inhuman ceremony through all her dominions, which she faithfully performed accordingly *.

There was now nothing wanting to complete the progress of Christianity but a new supply of missionaries from *Europe*; to obtain which, nothing, she thought, could contribute more effectually than the sending a solemn embassy to *Rome*, to pay homage to the pope in her name, and acquainting him with the hopeful prospect there now was of planting the Christian faith through all her dominions. The persons she chose for this important service, were her chief secretary of state, the person mentioned a little higher for his laudable zeal, and the good Father *Antony*; who having by this time resided there near a year and a half, could give an exact account to his holiness of the state of Christianity, and of what was most expedient to settle it among those barbarians upon a solid foundation. Those two worthy persons gladly accepted of the office; and Father *Antony* assured her majesty, that his commission once happily ended, he would return and end his days among her subjects.

They set out accordingly for *Massangano*, where they learned that the present pope [*Alexander VII.*] had desired the superiors of that mission to chuse Father *Seraphin de Cortona*, for whom he had a particular esteem, to succeed our Father *Antony* in his commission from the queen of *Metamba*; which he having yielded to him, Father *Seraphin* and the secretary sailed for *Loanda*, in order to sail for *Europe*. But here they found their voyage stopped by the prohibition which the viceroy had received from his court, not to suffer any ministers of the princes of *Ethiopia* to embark for any place, or upon any commission, without an express order from his *Portuguese* majesty. Father *Seraphin* thereupon having prevailed upon the queen's ambassador to deliver his mistress's letter to the pope, and his other instructions to him, and to return to *Metamba*, set sail for *Rome* by the first opportunity, and the ambassador for *Metamba*. At the same time, Father *John Antony Cavazzi de Monte Cucullo* was sent to the queen's court, to supply the place of her favourite Father *Antony de Gaeta*, and to acquaint her majesty with the reasons of this exchange, which he told her was intended for the advantage of her majesty and her subjects'. This new capuchin was constituted prefect of the *Metambic* mission, and was to have his residence at *Massangano*; for which place he took his journey in the rainy season, and in such a bad state of health, as was like to have deprived him of his life, and the world of his curious and valuable history; it being chiefly to his memoirs, as we observed at the threshold of this history of *Western Ethiopia**, that we owe the greatest, as well as most interesting, part of it.

The gracious reception he met with from the queen, some agreeable parts of his function which she requested of him (M), and the joy which appeared in the looks of the numberless crouds that came to pay their respects to him in the way to *Massangano*, would have made him forget the fatigues and dangers of his journey', had he not been so frequently attacked with his old disease, partly through the fatigues of his function, and partly through the excessive heat of the climate, which obliged the queen, for fear of losing him, tho' much against her inclination, to send him to *Embacca* for change of air. She requested of him, among other things, to send her a priest, immediately after his arrival thither, seeing she had none to officiate in her court and capital, but the good brother *Ignatio*, who was not in priest's orders, and could only catechize and baptize the moribunds; and he accordingly dispatched Father *Bennet* to her from *Massangano*, with all possible diligence.

* CAVAZ. ubi sup. p. 171, & seq. ' Ibid. p. 178, & seq. * Before, p. 419, & seq. sub not. (E).
 † De his, vid. LABAT, ubi sup. p. 178, & seq.

(M) She went, we are told, attended by her numerous court, to meet him at some distance, and had put herself at the head of a number of women lately brought to bed in her capital, who held their babes in their arms. After the first compliments of welcome, she addressed herself to him in these words, " You see now, father, that we do not kill our infants, as we formerly did, but bring them up to be Christians; and these are brought to you to be baptized accordingly."

The good father, who was no stranger to the country and its old barbarous rites, could hardly refrain from tears; and was not a little surprized at the respectful silence which both the court and the vast multitude that followed him kept all the way till they were come to the church; where, after the usual prayers, he baptized the infants above-mentioned, together with

some adults; but as soon as the ceremony was over, their silence was changed into joyful shouts and acclamations, accompanied with the sound of their musical instruments (5).

At his first audience, the queen having earnestly recommended to him the interest of Christianity, with promises to assist him with all her power, as soon as he was recovered from a dangerous relapse, he set about building a number of oratories, where the people might go to perform their devotions and be instructed by the catechists: quickly after which he procured, by the assistance of the great ones of the court, four other churches to be erected in that capital, one of which was built at the charge of the princess *Barbara* and her spouse, and was dedicated to the saint of her name, on the 4th of *December*, her festival day, at which solemnity 114 infants were likewise baptized (6).

(5) Labat, ap. Cavazzi lib. iv. c. 2. p. 184.

(6) Ibid. p. 188, & seq.

A false alarm
caused by the
Portuguese.

Father An-
tony returns
and undeceives
her.

Returns to
Massangano.

Zingha builds
a new city,
palace, and
church.
1659.

THIS last had been hardly a year at her court, before they were alarmed with the news a of a powerful army being raised by the viceroy of *Loanda*, and the report he had caused to be spread that it was designed against the kingdom of *Metamba*. The affrighted queen had immediate recourse to her good old friend Father *Antony Gaeta*, who now resided at *Massangano*, as prefect of the mission, and, in the strongest terms, entreated him, by an express dispatched to him for that end, to hasten to her without delay. The good old father obeyed with his wonted zeal, and, without taking leave of any one, or even a companion with him, began his journey, and in about six days arrived at her court, acquainted her majesty that he had taken care to go to the *Portuguese* army, and had been assured by them that they had not the least design against her, but were fully resolved to live in the strictest peace and amity with her, according to the tenor of the late treaty: he added, that the contrary report had b been raised to conceal their real design, which was to surprize and punish some revolted people; all which dissipated her jealousies; so that, having nothing to apprehend from that quarter, they had the more leisure to vacate at their religious functions, it being now the holy week, and the city filled with a vast concourse of Christians, who came to assist at the solemnity of the season.

HE staid with her about four months, and then, tho' much against the queen's liking, returned to his residence of *Massangano*, where he had not been long, before the viceroy of *Angola* invited him to come and attempt a mission in some of the unconverted provinces of that kingdom, in order to open a commerce with them. But as neither of them succeeded, he returned back to *Metamba*, at the queen's request, to assist her in building a new city, c palace, and church, upon a convenient and airy spot of ground she had pitched upon, on the banks of the river *Wamba*. He arrived at her court in the month of *May*, and saw the vast preparations she had already made, and a prodigious number of stones broke from the rock, which she had caused to be brought to the place, upon the shoulders of several thousands of slaves, which were employed in that work, over which Brother *Ignatio* was appointed to preside. It will be hardly expected we should trouble our readers with a description of those structures, which, for want of proper workmen, were very rude, and inferior to those she had seen at *Loanda*. The reader will find what is most worthy his notice in the following note (N), to which we will only add, that what they wanted in the beauty and symmetry of the work, she endeavoured to compensate by the richness of the d ornaments within; in which she was so lavish, that even in the laying of the first stone of her new church, having dismissed all the workmen, and her own retinue, excepting Father *Antony* and Brother *Ignatio*, she buried a diamond of immense value under it.

^a Ibid. p. 198.

(N) The church was situate in the most eminent part of the city. Its length was 129 spans, its breadth 42, its height in proportion, the first seven of which were all built of large stones, and the rest of wood; and adjoining to it was a convenient apartment for the missionaries.

Her palace was built on a flat plain, of about a league in circuit. Instead of a wall, the first cincture was made of matting of palm leaves, curiously woven, and supported by posts at proper distances, the whole high enough not to be leaped over by wild beasts. It had but one entrance, which was opened and shut with a stout wooden gate, like those of our turnpikes, but of the same height with the cincture. Within this, at about 30 yards, was a second cincture, or thorny hedge, of a considerable thickness, guarded likewise by one single gate, opposite to the first. Within this second was a third inclosure of quickset, still stronger than the second, and between these two last ran a hedge with windings and turnings, like a labyrinth, not easily permeated but by those who are acquainted with its contrivance.

Within this last is a vast spacious green, large enough to draw up a whole army; and around it, almost adjoining to the inner inclosure, are the *Casas*, or houses, huts they should be rather called, belonging to the queen and court. These are all of a round figure, the summit or thatching pointed on the top, and without windows, or any light but what comes in at a single low door.

These *Casas* are larger or smaller, according to the rank of the persons that inhabit them, and none of them above seven feet high. Those of the queen, tho' built much after the same manner, are more spacious,

and some of them have cloisters within them, and a large court; and it is in these that she and her ladies and maids of honour live. These have likewise their separate inclosures and gates, and look like a small hamlet within a larger, and in them are kept her magazines of corn and other provisions, her wardrobes, kitchen, pantry, and other offices. Fronting these large apartments she caused two spacious saloons, or halls, open on three sides like porticoes, to be built; the one where she gave audience to ambassadors, and the other for her principal ministers to keep their assemblies in. All these were completed with surprising dispatch, through the vast number of hands that were employed in the work. The father prefect reckoned, at the first visit he made to it, no less than 11,000, and, in his second, 17,000 persons employed in it, including the women, but exclusive of the slaves that assisted them.

When they came to measure out the ground designed for the city, the queen proposed to the prefect to admit of none to live in it but Christians, and to assign the old city, which stood about six miles from it, for the unconverted; but the old father rightly observed to her, that this might in time occasion that old city to become a receptacle and den of all her libertine and wicked subjects, and, at the same time, encourage numbers of others to turn Christians, merely for the privilege of living in the new; whereas, if she permitted both Christians and idolaters to live promiscuously in both, the former would be a curb to the latter, and prevent their attempting any thing against her, or acting contrary to her edicts. The queen approved his advice, and ordered that the assignment of the ground should be made according to it (7).

(7) *Gavazzi, ubi sup. p. 106, & seq.*

THE

a THE church being designed to be dedicated to *St. Anne*, whose name she bore, she had likewise procured an eminent painter, at a vast price, to paint that saint in the most elegant taste, to serve for an altar-piece. She presented it with some of her richest tapestry, and other ornaments, particularly with a fine lamp, made of the silver that had till then plated the chest that contained her brother's bones; both which, though with no small reluctance, she was obliged to deliver up to the prefect, without which he refused to admit her to the holy communion, which she was earnest to receive, for the first time, at the approaching festival. The father caused the chest and bones to be burnt; and the plate to be sent to *Loanda*, and to be wrought into the said curious lamp, to burn continually before the miraculous crucifix, in her new-built church. He likewise obliged her to give up sundry other superstitious trinkets, as rings, ear-rings, &c. of gold and silver, which she wore as amulets. To this she not only complied with singular readiness, but obliged all the ladies of her court and capital to do the same. After so many signal tokens of her sincere conversion, the good father set about instructing and preparing her for the next grand festival, which was that of *Pentecost*, on which she received the sacrament from his hands with the utmost reverence, and, from that time, never gave any other but marks of the most exemplary piety ^w.

Adorns the church with rich presents. Dedicates it to St. Anne. Resigns the bones of her brother, and other superstitious trinkets.

Is admitted to the sacrament. 1660.

THE two following years were chiefly spent in the conversion of the rest of her subjects, and particularly those that inhabited the islands of the *Coanza* that were under her dominion; in which work Father *John Antony* did not meet with a success answerable to his zeal and labour. He returned to court on the news of the prefect being fallen dangerously ill; but at his arrival thither, on the last day of *March*, found him happily recovered. He had not been there many days, before the queen was seized with her old disease, with such violence, as made them fear, considering her extreme old age, that she could not outlive it; but, to their joyful surprize, her strong constitution soon got the better of it. Theirs and her joy were, not long after augmented by an express they received from *Loando*, with the news of the arrival of several Capuchins, designed for the kingdom of *Metamba*. The same express brought likewise two letters, one from the pope to the queen, and the other from the congregation *de propaganda fide*, directed to the prefect and the rest of the missionaries, importing, that the pope had appointed Father *Antony de Gaeta* prefect not only of *Metamba* but of *Angola*, which would oblige him to reside for the future at *S. John de Loanda*. The queen received the pontif's letter from his hands with tears of joy, and a pleasure, she owned, she had never felt before, and which, she hoped, would complete her recovery, as it actually did. The departure of the good old prefect, who had been so long the director of her conscience, did indeed deeply afflict her, and she left no means untried to retard it; but duty pleading against her, she insisted upon his granting her two favours, before he left her, *viz.* to consecrate her new church to *St. Ann*, and to leave with her an old left-off capuchin habit, to cover her body after her death, in order, as she said, to obliterate the fantastic notion she had formerly endeavoured to inspire her subjects with, of her being a goddess, or something more than human. The prefect readily complied; and when the habit was brought to her, she ordered her old general, and brother-in law, to wrap it up in a cloth of gold, and lay it up in her wardrobe. The new church was consecrated on the 24th of *April*, with great solemnity, and, after mass, he preached his farewell sermon, before her, to a numerous audience; and, leaving Father *John Antony* and Brother *Ignatio* to be with her, he took his leave, and set out for *Loanda* ^x.

The queen falls sick. 1662.

Receives the pope's letter.

Recovers from her illness.

Her two requests to Father Antony.

Soon after his departure, she resolved to receive the pope's letter, lately mentioned, from the hands of Father *John Antony* in the most public and solemn manner; and that it should be read by him, in her new church, before her and her whole court, after the divine service. The day appointed for it was the 15th of *July* following, on which she repaired to the place, at the head of a numerous and brilliant retinue, and wearing the letter hanging about her neck in a rich golden purse. The concourse was so great that the church could not contain one half of them; so that none were admitted but persons of rank. The Father, having finished the mass, read it at the altar, in the *Portuguese* language, and the secretary interpreted it in that of the country. The queen, who had stood up all the while it was reading, went towards the altar, and, on her knees, received it from the Father; and having kissed it, and sworn afresh upon the gospel to continue obedient to the holy see, kissed it again, put it into the bag, and returned to her palace among the shouts and acclamations of many thousands of her subjects. She gave, on that occasion, a magnificent treat to the *Portuguese* resident, and to all her court, in the two great porticos she had lately built, whilst herself vouchsafed to eat and be served on that day after the *European* manner, that is, sitting on a stately elbow-chair, with a high table before her, covered with the finest linen, and with dishes, plates, knives, and forks, all of silver gilt (O). She bestowed some largesses upon her chief officers, released a good

The pope's letter read in the church with great pomp.

Her great feasting and joy.

^w *Iid. ibid. p. 215, & seq.*

^x *Iid. ibid. p. 244.*

(O) This must, doubtless, have appeared strange to her, as well as to her whole court, who never saw her sit upon any thing but a cushion laid on a mat or carpet upon the ground, with her legs across, and her

viſuals before her, without either table, napkin, plate, knife, or fork, but taking them up with her hands, and tearing them with her teeth, even when she eat publicly, and before all her whole court, which, we are told,

Surprising
strength and
vigour.

a good number of slaves, and at night she appeared at the head of her ladies of honour, she and they all dressed and armed in the *Amazonian* style, and performed a kind of combat, in which that princess, tho' now above fourscore years of age, behaved with as great vigour and activity as any woman of thirty could have done^y.

Pious diligence
and severity.

HER life, however, did not prove so long as those fair appearances seemed to promise; tho' she had the satisfaction to think that she had finished what she had most at heart, and had now nothing left to do but to watch over the execution of her former edicts in favour of Christianity, and against the abominable superstitions of the *Giagas*, and their *Singhillos*. And to this she was not only very attentive, but very severe in punishing all delinquents. One of these pretended conjurers, having been caught in some of his impious rites, she had condemned to be burned alive; and when the good Father interceded for his pardon, in hopes of converting him, she readily granted it at his request, but at the same time assured him, that his charitable compassion and endeavours would be ill bestowed; and that she knew the temper of those wretches too well, to think that any thing but the severest punishments could deter them from their impieties. The event did but too plainly convince him of the truth of it; he not only tried all the arguments which his zeal could inspire him with, tho' without success, to turn him, but, some time after, four or five more of the same cursed fraternity being likewise surpris'd at their diabolical ceremonies, chose expiring in the flames rather than purchase their pardon at the expence of renouncing their sect; so that the old Capuchin was obliged, notwithstanding her great reluctance to such cruel punishments, to permit, and even approve, of them (P).

Her last illness.

WHILST the queen was taken up with promoting the conversion of her subjects in her new capital, the old Father obtained leave to go and pursue the same good work with his catechists, in the provinces of her dominions; but before he had gone through many of them, he received expresses upon expresses from her to return, with all speed, to court; so that he was obliged to abandon what he called a hopeful harvest of converts, to come and assist her in her last sickness. He had left *Metamba* on the 2d of *September*, and made such haste back, that he arrived thither on the 14th of *October*, and found her labouring under a violent inflammation in her throat, which hardly permitted her to speak. His presence so far revived her spirits, that she returned his first salutation with some severe reflections on her ambition of being thought a goddess, who now found herself, indeed, a mere sink of filth and corruption. She earnestly entreated him not to forsake her in her extremity, but to continue his charitable offices to her whilst she lived, and, after her death, to see her corpse interred in the garb which the prefect had left with her, and, by all means, not to suffer any of the detestable *Giagan* rites to be performed at her funeral^z. She repeated the same injunctions

Her great
remorse.

Orders concerning
her interment.

^y Ibid. p. 247, & seq.

^z De his, vide sup. p. 418.

told, was as numerous as that of any *European* monarch.

Among these she had 300 women attending her alternately, ten every ten days. These either sat cross-legged, or upon their heels, behind her, while she ate: and as she had great variety of dishes at her table, she commonly tore a piece off, and flung the rest to one or other of them, which they greedily caught and ate, as a singular favour from her. When she drank, all that were present fell a clapping their hands; and her chief minister, who was the general that had married her sister *Barbara*, kneeled on her side, pressed the great toe of her left foot, wishing that what she eat and drank might nourish every part of her, from the crown of her head to the extremity of that toe.

As soon as she had finished her meal, she caused all the relics and fragments to be distributed among the attendants, which was esteemed as a very great favour. All the while, the general above-mentioned was very curious in picking up every bit and bone that she had thrown on the carpet, which he immediately took away, and deposited in a safe place, to prevent their being made use of for any magical spell against her person. This was her way of eating in public; and she never affected the *European* manner, except when she had some ambassador or foreign minister to be present at it. As for the nature of her food, and way of dressing it, it would be so little inviting to our *English* readers, that we forbear expatiating upon it (7).

(P) The misfortune was, that many of her officers connived at and even privately encouraged those jugglers; to convince her of which, the Father having seized upon a parcel of tools which they used in their pretended conjurations, sent them bundled up to the queen. The queen, not comprehending the meaning of it, sent for him, in all haste, to explain it to her; upon

which he told her, that it behoved her majesty to send the bundle back to the owner, seeing her officers suffered such fellows to play their conjuring tricks so near her court, notwithstanding her edicts against them, and the danger of her majesty being suspected of winking at them.

The queen, who felt the full force of the reproof, sent immediate orders to the officers to secure the *Singhillo*, and send him to her before sunset, under pain of being made to undergo a more severe punishment by the next morning. They, knowing the danger of delaying to obey, sent him accordingly, loaden with chains; whom she condemned to be severely whipped through her capital, and afterwards to be sold away for the *American* plantations (8).

What is still worse was, that many of those officers and ministers, tho' they had embraced the Christian faith out of complaisance to her, preserved the utmost aversion to it in their hearts, and have renounced it at their death. An instance of this happened in two of them, on the eve of the assumption of the foregoing year. The missionary above mentioned being apprised of their sickness, came immediately to their assistance, but found them both proof against all his exhortations, and fully determined to die in that they called their antient religion; alleging, that their being forcibly baptized was in obedience to the queen. Their relations, notwithstanding this, insisted upon their having Christian burial; which the Father absolutely refusing, they determined to bury them after the *Giagan* manner. They were, however, prevented from doing it, by the express orders of the queen, who then publicly declared, that if any such attempts were made for the future, she would order the dead bodies to be thrown into the river, or to the wild beasts (9).

(7) *Cavaz. ubi sup. p. 262.*

(8) *Cavaz. ubi sup. p. 277.*

(9) *Ibid. p. 282, & seq.*

a to her first minister of state, named *Teudela*, who governed the realm during the interregnum, and before the other officers of her court, declaring to them that she appointed the said father *John Antony* the sole director of her funeral obsequies; and that it was her will, as well as last request, that they should strictly conform to every thing that he should prescribe concerning her interment. The next thing she recommended to them, was the propagation of Christianity, and their protecting and encouraging the missionaries and their catechists with all their power, and the enforcement of all her edicts against the *Giagan* impious rites.

THE inflammation having seized her breast and lungs, and some wrong medicine having been applied to it, which made her feel her end approaching, she confessed herself to the father, who went immediately to say mass for her, and returned with the viaticum, which

b she received with fervent devotion, and soon after the extreme unction, still retaining the perfect use of her senses till the 17th of *December*, on which she expired, about break of day, in the eighty-second year of her age.

DURING the latter part of her illness, the prime ministers had ordered all the militia to be in arms, to suppress any tumult or revolt that might be raised, and more especially to prevent the slaves running away, as was usual at such junctures (Q), and, immediately after her death, caused the palace guard to be doubled, and the gates to be kept shut, that none might go in or out till the council had taken proper measures for proclaiming her successor. They were not long, however, deliberating about it; but early in the morning, on the 19th day, assembled the people at the great piazza before the palace, and there declared in form that they had elected *Donna Barbara*, sister to the deceased queen, her successor to the *Metambic* crown^a.

SHE being then present at the assembly of the grandees, was raised at a convenient height above them, to be beheld by all the people, and had the royal bow and arrow, which are the ensigns of royalty, delivered into her hands, with the usual solemnity; yet such was the people's love and affection for the deceased *Zingha*, that, instead of the usual joyful acclamations to their new queen, there could be nothing heard but the most doleful and hideous outcries for the loss of the old one^b.

WHILST this ceremony was performing in the piazza, father *Antony* went to the palace in order to array the deceased in the capuchin's dress she had so earnestly desired to be interred in, but, to his great surprize, found her already laid out in the great porch, and arrayed in all her regalia, which were of the richest kind, and sparkling all over with most costly jewels. He was, however, permitted to order her ladies to cloath her with the monkish frock, and to put her crucifix and beads into her hands. In this manner he hoped she would have lain in state for some days, but, to his farther surprize, she was conveyed to the church that very evening to be interred, under pretence that her funeral retarded the joy of the court for the new queen. She was accordingly conveyed thither on a stately chest, richly covered, in which her corpse was afterwards to be deposited. Her legs and thighs were extended at full length, but the rest of her body was placed in a kind of sitting posture, with her back resting against a favourite page's breast, who continued several hours, motionless, in that situation.

^a CAVAZZI ap. Labat, p. 294, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 293.

(Q) The meaning of this is the barbarous custom in vogue among all the idolatrous nations of sacrificing whole hecatombs of human victims, at the funeral obsequies of a monarch or great man, of which we have given sundry instances, particularly in those of the *Angolic* kings, before their conversion (10). For at such times, the poor slaves, dreading to be taken into the unhappy number, used to flee into some other state, or into impenetrable woods, or on inaccessible mountains, where they frequently met with a worse fate, and were either devoured by wild beasts, or died of hunger and misery.

Even the ladies of honour belonging to the queen were in no small dread upon this occasion, as was the antient custom, fearing they should be forced to follow her into the other world; and those who had access to the good Capuchin, had made no scruple to discover their fears to him about it, which were greatly increased at the doubling of the guards, and shutting up the gates of the palace; for this their alarm made them interpret as done to prevent their making their escape (11).

That princess had, indeed, sufficiently expressed her utter abhorrence of that inhuman custom upon all pro-

per occasions, and particularly once upon her being recovered a year or two before from a dangerous fever, when her sycophant general and brother-in-law told her, that if it had been their misfortune to lose her at that time, all her subjects would have strove for the honour of being sacrificed at her funeral obsequies. To which she answered, with an angry look, "If you speak your real sentiments, you will have cause to repent it; for I will take such precaution, that if, contrary to my express will, any such inhuman rite should be performed at my funeral, the butchery shall begin with the chief officers of my kingdom, and you will prove the very first victim, as a due punishment for your having dared to make any such proposal to me." And we are told, that she actually gave some private directions to some of her ministers, in order to deter him from such a design (12).

But, after all, the ladies had still great reason to be alarmed, considering the little dependance there could be, from what we observed in the last note, on the fairest pretences of her grandees to Christianity, or rather considering the danger there seemed to be of their relapsing into their old detestable rites after her decease.

(10) See before, p. 501.

(11) CAVAZZI. p. 98.

(12) Vid. CAVAZZI, ubi sup. p. 272.

THE procession to the church was pompous and suitable to her dignity, but after the *Romish* fashion, with crosses, and wax tapers, &c. the good father *John Antony* walking before the body, which was carried on a bier by twelve of the noblest persons belonging to the fraternity of the rosary, lately set up in that metropolis. A hundred soldiers attended the corpse, not with their arms, but with their martial music, which was of the most doleful and dissonant kind that could be imagined, and these were followed by the militia, with their weapons inverted. The streets were so crowded with people, that the procession had much-ado to pass thro' them. What added to that mournful tumult was, at their first perceiving the corpse in a sitting posture, they imagined their queen was risen from the dead, which raised the loudest acclamations of joy; but when, upon a nearer approach, they perceived she was really dead, their shouts were turned into the bitterest outcries, lamentations, and gestures of the deepest despair ^a.

Attended by
martial music.

Strange beha-
viour of the
people.

Her ladies run
away for fear
of being buried
alive.

WHEN the corpse was arrived at the church gate, where the lieutenant-general, whose office it was, stood ready to receive it, in order to deliver it up into the hands of her ladies of honour, to be put in the coffer on which it lay, another and a more strange uproar arose; for instead of striving amongst them for the honour of performing this last service to their mistress, the notion of being buried alive with her came so strongly into their minds, especially as the grave in which it was to be deposited was 12 spans deep, and 18 square, and consequently big enough to contain, as they imagined, a good number of them, that they all fled in a fright, and went to hide themselves where they could, in spite of all the good father and the general could say to undeceive them. Neither could all their eloquence nor authority prevail upon any of them to go down in the frightful cave; and the two lay brothers *Ignatio* and *Gabriel* were ordered to convey the chest into it in their stead, and place it on the altar tomb that had been reared for it. These two were no sooner come up out of the cave, than the pages, officers, and courtiers, that had accompanied the funeral, fled out of the church with all possible speed, the same phrenzy having now taken hold of the men, as it had before of the women, so that there were none left but the fathers and lay brothers to fill the grave with earth, which they accordingly did; and, as soon as that was done, they all crowded again into the church, and spent the night in it, in deep mourning and lamentations, for the loss of their much-loved sovereign ^c.

Riches buried
with her.

OUR author, who was an eye-witness, and, for the most part, the chief director of all this funeral pomp, tells us, that the rich things which were buried with her in that grave, amounted at least to the value of 16,000 *Roman* crowns; a monstrous as well as superstitious profuseness, considering that the chief riches of that country, even of crowned heads, chiefly consisted in their number of slaves, and the tyrannic property they claim over the lives and fortunes of their vassals ^d.

ON the next morning the whole militia was again drawn up, and the new queen assisted at the funeral high mass which was sung for the deceased; immediately after which the martial officers came and told the good old father, that it would be very proper to have a Tomba (R) performed in honour of so great and so beloved a sovereign, as was the late queen; that the

^a Id. ibid. p. 296.

^d LABAT, ibid. & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 299.

(R) That is the name by which they called the old inhuman obsequies to their princes and great men, and in which, as hath been formerly hinted, they were wont to sacrifice a vast number of human and other victims, with which they feasted the relations and friends of the deceased (13). But these, as well as their lascivious dances, and other heathenish ceremonies, having been expressly forbid by the late queen, were wholly excluded upon this occasion. The rest of the funeral scene was performed in the presence of the new one, and the Tendela, and other officers of state and war, in the manner following.

Eight thousand soldiers were drawn up in arms on one side of the great piazza, or green, facing the palace, and about the same number of women and children on the other side, over-against them; immediately after which a proportionable number of Cafas were reared up with surprising quickness; and then, at the first signal given by the general, the soldiers began to perform a mock engagement, in which every part of the fight was managed and acted, as near as could be, in the same manner as they did when the queen was at the head of her troops.

The two councils were likewise assembled in the space between the men and the women, and acted their re-

spective parts, as debating, deliberating, receiving and dispatching of couriers, messengers, &c. &c.

The women and children were, in like manner, employed in their respective callings, and those who belonged to her late majesty, in performing their respective services to her; all which was done with the most surprising dexterity and exactness.

Whilst they were in the height each of their several parts, the same general proclaimed aloud the queen's death, in words to this import, "Be it known to all the subjects of this kingdom of *Metamba*, that queen *Zingha*, your most pious and most Christian sovereign is taken from you by the irrevocable decree of heaven."

At this doleful news a general stop was put to every one's employment; instead of which nothing was seen but the most lively tokens of grief and despair, nor any thing heard but the most dreadful cries and complaints on all sides, the men beating their foreheads and breasts, the women wringing their hands, tearing their hair, and all other actions and gestures used on such occasions; the martial instruments heightening the mournful solemnity with their variety of shrill and doleful sounds.

There was still wanting one thing to complete the Tomba, or funeral scene, and without which the com-

(13) See before, p. 455, & 501.

a the soldiery were fully set upon it, and that it would be dangerous to exasperate them by his denial. His surprize made him hesitate a while; but when he found them determined upon it, he gave his consent to it, upon condition, that the ceremony should be performed without the shedding of either human or any other blood, and without those immodest dances which were wont to make the most diverting part of the solemnity, to which they agreed; and the soldiers were obliged to be contented with it, and performed their several parts with great exactness, in the manner we have described in the foregoing note ^f.

MANY more extraordinary honours were paid by the subjects to that great queen, which we omit for brevity sake; tho' less we could not excuse ourselves from saying concerning that excellent princess, and great promoter and patron of Christianity. It was out of respect to her memory that the nobles and people expressed the same high regard and zeal to her sister *Barbara*, now upon the throne, whom they caused to be inaugurated a second and a third time, with the greatest pomp, and joyful acclamations; viz. at the great hall of audience, and at the new church of *St. Ann*. She was, indeed, a very zealous Christian, endowed with very amiable qualities, tho' short of her sister's martial spirit and intrepid courage. The misfortune was, that she was in the decline of her life, and almost blind, and incapable of giving strict attention to the concerns of religion and the state; and, what was still worse, had been married to a proud and ill-natured husband, who had dared, even in the late queen's time, to treat her, not with bare contempt only, but with brutish cruelty, tho' he owed all his fortune and advancement to that generous princess; but now much more, when he was pushed by his ambition to grasp at the sole government of affairs, and to deprive her at once of the regal power and dignity, by the most violent and inhuman means, and then to use all his power and authority to extirpate the Christian religion out of the kingdom, against which he had ever borne an irreconcilable tho' concealed antipathy; in both which he succeeded but too well, as the sequel will quickly shew.

THIS ungrateful wretch was of no higher extract than the son of a slave; the late queen, *Mona Zingha*, who, from their very infancy, had conceived such a friendship for him, that she honoured him with her own name *Mona Zingha*, and when she came to be in possession of the throne, raised him, by degrees, to the dignity of her chief general. We have lately seen how she prevailed upon him to join with her in the stratagem of the pretended miraculous crucifix, tho' a staunch zealot of the *Giagan* sect; but he left the court soon after, and had retired to some distance from it, when he perceived that artifice was to be a prelude to her returning to the Christian religion, and establishing it in her dominions; but upon hearing that the marriage of the princess *Barbara* with *Don John*, formerly mentioned, a prince of the blood, was annulled on account of his bigamy, he demanded her for himself in such a haughty manner, as gives one reason to suspect, that her fear of his betraying the secret above mentioned, and raising some revolt upon it, was the only motive which had forced her to consent. His barbarous usage of that princess, after his marriage to her, had obliged her, as was lately hinted, to refuge herself in the royal palace, whence he had the insolence to fetch her quickly after; for which the exasperated queen had well-nigh ordered him to be cut in pieces before her face, but that the good father, in hopes of making a convert of him, had, with some difficulty, obtained his pardon and antient post, tho' without being able to inspire him with the least favourable sentiments towards Christianity. On the contrary, he invented one of the most hellish accusations against him, in order to destroy both him and his religion. He gave out that the late queen had been poisoned by some favourite *European* dishes, with which brother *Ignatio* used to regale her during her last sickness; and attributed his wife's blindness and lameness to some sortilege, or charm, which the convent had made use of against her. He had even persuaded, or rather forced, his queen to consent that some of his Singhillos should be sent for, and obliged her to submit to their conjuring arts, to countercharm her distemper.

THE good father, instead of being intimidated at these false accusations, as was expected, came boldly to the palace, and publicly blamed her majesty for suffering herself to be seduced by those jugglers; and, with no less zeal than strength of argument, convinced her, before the whole court, both of the folly and guilt of giving way to such impious superstitions; threatening, moreover, to leave her dominions, and carry off all the crosses and other religious utensils, from which alone she could receive any help, and abandon her and her subjects to the still worse fate she had reason to expect her apostacy would soon draw upon her and them. To this severe and threatening reproof, the affrighted queen, who had then upon

^f Ibid. p. 300, & seq.

^g See before, p. 516, note (F) vid. & p. 521, sub not. (I).

pany would have gone away beyond measure dissatisfied; we mean a plentiful profusion of victuals and drink for that whole multitude; but these the queen had taken care to provide in great abundance, so that tho' they were not allowed to glut themselves with human flesh and blood, as formerly, yet they all expressed them-

selves so highly satisfied with the plenty and variety that was prepared for them, during the whole six days, (for so long these obsequies usually lasted) that not one of them could be persuaded by the good missionaries to leave the place to go to church, and pray for the queen's repose, during all that time (14).

(14) *Labat ex Cavaz. ubi sup. p. 300, & seq.*

Her doleful
apology and
resolution.

her the countercharms which the Singhillos had caused to be made (S), after a very deep a
sigh, excused herself, with great vehemence, in terms to this effect: "That she was a wo-
" man, and consequently a weak creature; seated on a tottering throne, deprived of her
" sight, and loaden with age and diseases, and tyrannized by the man who owed all his for-
" tune to her. All which, duly weighed, she hoped would in some measure extenuate her
" fault. That as to the charms they had forced her to put on, she detested them from her
" heart, and to convince him of it, she assured him they should be taken off before sun set,
" and delivered into his hands to do with them as he should think fit^b."

Her husband
enraged at it,
and against the
Christians.

SHE did so accordingly, and sent them to the convent by the hands of her secretary; which
so far exasperated her husband and all the *Giagan* sect, that they resolved to massacre all the b
capuchins and *Europeans*, and even the queen herself, rather than suffer them to have such
an ascendant over her. They did not, however, proceed to such an open violence, but
contented themselves with interdicting them the use of their churches, appearing at court,
and performing any of their ecclesiastical functions. *Mona Zingha* was by this time become
so powerful, and had the address to gain so many of the Christian officers, both of the court and
army, to his interest, by his extraordinary presents, that he made no scruple to propose to
the council the destroying of the new city of *St. Mary Metamba*, built by the late queen, and,
according to the usual practice of antient times, to build another in its stead, on some other
spot. But he had the mortification to hear his proposal rejected by those worthy counsel-
lors, who easily perceived, thro' that artifice, his real design of destroying all the churches,
and of reviving the old *Giagan* idolatry, at which he was so highly exasperated, that he im- c
mediately retired to his own estate, under a pretence of never more meddling with state
affairs, but in reality with full design to concert measures for engrossing the whole manage-
ment of them, by depriving his wife of her life and crown, and seizing upon the throne.

His design a-
gainst them and
the queen,

disconcerted by
the father.

HE sent a messenger to her accordingly, desiring her to repair to his house, where he had
some important business to communicate to her; of which she sent notice to the council, and
to the father capuchin, who advised her to decline the invitation, on pretext of her illness,
and the inclemency of the season. At the same time the old father proposed, that, in order
to make the old general sensible how little they feared either his power or artifices, that
the queen should repair the next day, attended by a strong guard, to the church, to hear
mass, and to continue doing so for some time. This had the desired effect; and *Mona* d
Zingha, finding all his measures disconcerted, begged leave to retire to a neighbouring pro-
vince, under his government, for the recovery of his health; but here he was again discon-
certed; and the council having deliberated upon it, sent him an express prohibition to stir
out of *Metamba*ⁱ.

He is sent to
suppress a re-
volt.

THEY were, not long after, however, guilty of a fatal error, in sending him, at the head
of an army, to suppress a revolt in one of the frontiers; whence being returned victorious,
and laden with spoil, and a vast number of slaves, he thought himself strong enough to revive
the *Giagan* rites, and sacrifice a hecatomb to the manes of the late queen. The good father
was quickly apprised of it, and lost no time to inform the council of the preparations that
were making for that hellish ceremony. The queen being present at it, he expressed himself e
in such zealous and pathetic terms, about the impiety and dangerous consequences of suffer-
ing such impious rites, as drew tears from them all; and an express messenger was dispatched
with all speed, to be more fully informed of the truth. The general easily guessed at the
meaning of his errand; and fearing the resentment of the queen and council, as well as the
severe edicts of the late queen, which were still in force, immediately dispatched another to
Metamba, to acquaint the board, that he had no other view in bringing these slaves with
him, than to send them over to the *Portuguese*, to whom the realm was in arrears for a great
number of them. This he accompanied with a great many solemn protestations, which
would have stood him in little stead, had he not sent with them some considerable presents,
and, in particular, a good quantity of *European* wine, to give a sanction to his excuse, and f
stop the mouths of those mercenary counsellors; which it did so effectually, that not a word
more was said about his impious design^k.

Blinds the
council, and
outwits the
father.

^b CAVAZ. ubi sup. p. 313, & seq.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 332, & seq.

^k CAVAZ. ubi sup. p. 336, & seq.

(S) The queen's most painful ailment being caused
by a swelling in her legs, one of those jugglers had the
assurance to say, that the soul of the late queen had in-
flicted it upon her, for neglecting to order such a Tom-
ba as was used to crowned heads after their de-
cease; and advised her to quit the royal palace, and
retire to her own, which would put her out of the power
of the resenting spirit.

She consented to it, but without success; upon which

they advised her to cause all the iron implements which
had been used in digging and filling up her sister's
grave, to be forged into rings of different sizes, and
applied to her legs and toes; and these were the charms
which she had on when the good father came to her;
and which the pretended conjurers had promised her
would disable the spirit from doing her any farther
hurt (15).

(15) *Labat ex Cavaz. ubi sup. p. 313, & seq.*

- a HE did not forget to send some of it to the good capuchin, but with a much more villainous view, as he knew him to be the chief person who had informed the council against him; but, to prevent suspicion, presented him only with a small quantity, to be used at the mass; adding, however, that if it proved acceptable to him, he would supply him with a larger. The good father, little suspecting his design, was weak enough to drink about two glasses of it; and, in less than a quarter of an hour, felt himself seized with the most violent convulsions in his bowels, and all other dreadful symptoms of his being poisoned. A strong antidote was immediately administered to him, which helped him to discharge a great part of the poison; notwithstanding which, he continued several days in such a dismal state, that they did not expect his life. He recovered, however, with great difficulty; but the poison left such a torpor and lowness of spirits upon him, as quite disabled him from his usual functions, and obliged him, tho' not without extreme regret, to abandon his beloved mission, and to retire to *Loanda* (T), leaving only the good old *Gabriel*, a lay brother, to take care of the convent; for the other missionaries were all dead. But, upon his arrival at *Loanda*, he dispatched father *Bernard de Catiliano*; who dying soon after, was succeeded by father *John Baptist Salisano*. *whom he poisoned in a present of wine; 1665.*
- b IN the mean time, the queen's distemper daily increasing, her husband gave the father leave not only to attend her, but to perform the divine service at church as usual; and would even sometimes assist at it. For as he aimed at nothing less than the crown, it was not his interest to betray his aversion to Christianity, lest that should obstruct his elevation to it, especially as he had reason to think it could not be long before her death opened the way to him to the succession. He was not mistaken in his reckoning, that princess dying soon after, quite worn out with age, diseases, and grief, after a short reign, or rather miserable slavery, of about two years and a half, on the 24th of *March* of the following year¹, after having given to father *Salisano*, who had been permitted to attend her all this while, the most lively tokens of repentance for her late apostacy. She was, according to her desire, buried like her sister, in a capuchin dress, and deposited by her in the church of *St. Ann*, with suitable ceremony; after which her husband lost no time to get himself elected, and had so well concerted his measures, that he gained it without difficulty or opposition. *The queen's distemper augments. Her death and burial. 1666.*
- c THE ceremony was scarcely over, before he publicly pulled off the mask; and began to give the most pregnant as well as mortifying marks both of his abhorrence of Christianity, and of the most confirmed attachment to all the abominable rites of the *Giagan* sect. The first which he set on foot was to cause five young ladies of the first rank to be buried alive in his wife's grave. He did not dare to venture on a greater number; tho', according to the ritual of that accursed sect, her rank would have required, at least, 70. But his thirst of blood did not long suffer him to stop there, before he sacrificed 43 of the most considerable persons of the realm, for no other crime than their warm and exemplary zeal for Christianity, and their having been, on that account, very great favourites of the late queen *Zingha*; particularly one of her bravest generals, whom he caused to be burned by a slow fire^m. some others he caused to be tortured to death, in order to extort from them some accusation against the missionaries, which might afford him a pretence to exterminate them and their disciples. *Succeeded by Mona Zingha, who apostatizes. Five virgins buried alive, and others sacrificed.*
- d HE had the boldness, sometime after these dreadful persecutions, to write to the viceroy of *Loanda*, to notify his election, and at the same time to acquaint him, that he had for-
- e

¹ CAVAZ. ubi. sup. p. 340, & seq.

^m Ibid. p. 345.

(T) As we formerly apprised the reader * that this is the good Capuchin so often quoted in the margin, and from whom alone we have received all the surprising particulars of the life and reign of that extraordinary princess queen *Zingha*, as well as the melancholy ones of her unhappy sister, now on the throne, he doubtless will not be displeased to know what became of this zealous and pious father, after his departure from her court.

He arrived safe at *Loanda*, where, notwithstanding his ill state of health, he still applied himself to the service of his mission, and making excursions into the neighbouring provinces, confirming the old, and still making new converts to Christianity, till the year 1666, when a more important commission, the procuring a new supply of missionaries for those parts, called him back into *Europe*, and particularly to the court of *Rome*. to lay before the pope and congregation *de propaganda fide*, the true state of the *Angolic* and *Metambic* missions.

He arrived there *an.* 1668, and the reception he met

from both was such as his piety, zeal, and exemplary merit might justly challenge from them. The account he gave of them of his travels, labours, and success, afforded them all possible satisfaction, and the success of his negotiation proved such as he wished. A number of fresh volunteers of his order were appointed to accompany him back to the kingdom of *Loanda*, in order to be dispersed thence into such provinces as stood most in need of them, whilst he was constituted prefect and chief director of that mission.

He set sail with them accordingly for *Angola*, *an.* 1670, and arrived safely there, on the same year; but what their success was, what new conversions and discoveries he made there, and what became of him at last, we have not been able to learn. The few remains we have of the reigns of queen *Barbara* and her tyrannic husband, were since conveyed by him to his successor Father *John Baptist Salisano*, and added to his own relation (16).

* See before, p. 419 (E).

(16) *Labat prefat. to lib. i. & lib. iv. p. 340, & seq.*

Other cruel-
ties.

Revives the
Giagan rites.

Opposed and
defeated by
Don John.

Flee into an
island in the
Coanza.

Defeats and
kills Don John.

Is defeated and
slain by Don
Francisco,
who is elected
and crowned
king, and with
whom our au-
thor ends his
history.

The low state
of those titular
princes.

faken the Christian religion, which he had formerly embraced, merely out of complaisance a to the queen; and that he was now returned to the antient one of the *Giagas*; and, to confirm the truth of it beyond all doubt, ordered all the children that could be found under six years of age, to be inhumanly massacred to their infernal deities. He recalled all the Singhillos, and was liberal to them to such a profuse degree, that they became wholly devoted to him, would act any part he set them upon, and were ever promising him a happy issue to all his most bloody enterprises against the Christians. He caused many of the middling sort to be privately poisoned, and then gave out that their unaccountable deaths were sent as a punishment for having abandoned the antient religion of their country, to embrace that of a parcel of indigent and famished strangers, who were forced, by their extreme misery, to forsake their native country, in quest of a livelihood in the richest provinces of *Africa*; all which his hired Singhillos took particular care to confirm and propagate wherever they cameⁿ. b

By these and the like impious stratagems and bloody measures, he gained such an absolute sway over his *Giagan* canibals, that he had well-nigh extirpated Christianity out of his dominions. He had totally ruined the new city of *S. Maria de Metamba*, together with all its chapels, oratories, and places of devotion, not sparing even the great church of *St. Ann*, where the late queen, his benefactress, and the princess his wife, lay buried, but reduced it all alike into a ruinous heap. He had done the same execution through other parts of the kingdom, not only on the staunch Christians, but upon every thing that bore any relation to Christianity; infomuch, that he had hardly left a cross standing any-where, when Providence was pleased to put a stop to his career, by the means of Don *John*, lately mentioned, who being now the only lawful, as well as Christian heir to the crown, was the properest person for them to have recourse to in their present desperate state. He readily put himself at their head, and, with what other forces he could procure, attacked the tyrant, who trusted more in his Singhillos predictions and conjuring superstitions than in his army; and fell on him with such bravery and success, that he forced him to flee, and refuge himself in an island in the *Coanza*, and then caused himself to be proclaimed, and acknowledged king^o. c

He behaved with such prudence and moderation during the few months of his reign, that he gained the hearts not only of all the Christians, who now expected nothing less from him than the restoration of their religion, but of the more civilized part of the *Metambans*, to whom the tyrant had rendered himself odious, on account of the late cruelties he had exercised against them. One of his first cares, after his late success, should have been to have pursued and blocked him up closely in the island in which he had intrenched himself, where he might have easily starved him and his few troops; had he not withdrawn too soon away, and, by that wrong step, afforded him an opportunity of scraping up again his scattered *Giagas*, and tried his fortune once more against him. In this second fight Don *John* was unfortunately defeated and killed, and *Mona Zingha* had no sooner recovered his dominions, than he began to pursue his butcheries with more fury than ever, when, on a sudden, heaven declared itself once more against him, and the brave Don *Francisco*, the son of the deceased Don *John*, having raised some fresh forces against him, put an end to his life and tyranny in the very next engagement he had with him. This young prince, who had been a Christian from his infancy, and brought up under the care of the missionaries, being now the only surviving male heir to the throne, was quickly raised to it by the general choice of the council and nobility, and applied his utmost care to the revival of Christianity, and to the repairing of those grievous breaches which the late usurper had caused in it; but with what success our author doth not inform us, who closes up his history with the beginning of that monarch's reign^p. d

Whether, therefore, that king hath kept the peace which was concluded between queen *Zingha*, and the *Portuguese*, or revived his title to that of *Angola*, we are no-where told, but only that these last have maintained themselves in their new conquests to this day, f and are still in possession of the most fertile and richest provinces in that kingdom. We observed before, that they had, for form sake, set up a prince of the blood upon the *Angolic* throne, in opposition to queen *Zingha*, who was the immediate heiress to it, which gave occasion to all the bloody wars which she waged against them, with various success, till she was prevailed upon, from religious motives, to desist from her claim, and to live at peace with them.

As for the titular king, whose name was *Aarii*, or *Oarii*, and who kept his residence upon the craggy rocks of *Maopongo*^q, they had taken care so to curtail both his power and dominions, that he was no better than an indigent vassal to them. His chief grandeur and authority consisted chiefly in breeding up peacocks, adorning himself with their feathers, g and in his being the sole person who had that privilege; it being forbidden to all his subjects,

ⁿ CAVAZ. ap. Labat, ubi sup. p. 341. before, p. 512.

^o Ibid. p. 350, & seq.

^p Id. ibid. p. 353, & seq.

^q See

a under pain of perpetual slavery, to do the like, or even to pluck a feather from them'. However, as they found him to be a martial and enterprising prince, who would not be long without making some noble attempt to enlarge his scanty boundaries, if not to recover his dominions, they thought fit to engage him in a war against queen *Zingha*, which would at once remove the scene of operation from their new conquests, and keep him employed against their enemy, instead of enterprising any thing for himself.

Aarii politically engaged against queen Zingha.

He accordingly acquitted himself with honour and success in this war, so long as they continued supporting him in it, that is, till jealousy made them slacken their succours, through an ill-judged policy, which, as we have seen a little higher, they quickly after found cause to repent. However, he did not long survive his disappointment; upon which they cast their eyes upon another prince of the same family, named *N-gola Sedesio*; and having confined him to the same restrictions, and obliged him to become a Christian, caused him to be proclaimed his successor, and to be invested with the same mock royalty.

His success obliges the Portuguese to drop him.

He is succeeded by N-gola Sedesio.

The new king, who liked the *Portuguese* and their hard terms no better than his predecessor, made it his first and chiefest care to keep himself in the good graces and protection of queen *Zingha*, by such valuable yearly presents as he was able to send to her. He stood, indeed, in great need of it, as he was no less out of favour with the *Portuguese*, who, from several of his actions, had reason to suppose that he had apostatized, and was become a private enemy both to the *Portuguese* and their religion, though he still made outward profession of Christianity. This dissimulation, which might probably be owing to his fear of disobliging that princess, who was, as we have shewn in the latter part of her life, a most zealous patroness of Christianity, rather than to any danger of the *Portuguese* dethroning him during her life, or her sister's. But after her husband *Mona Zingha*, who succeeded her, had declared himself a public enemy to that religion and nation, it is not unlikely that he might be induced to pull off the mask, and not only to return to his old idolatry, but make some brave attempt to recover his dominions from them. This brought a grievous war upon him by the next year, in which he had the ill fortune to be defeated and taken prisoner. The loss of this battle was soon followed by that of his head, which was put in salt pickle, and sent from *Loanda* to *Lisbon* by the next fleet, which sailed thence on the following year.

Apostatizes, and is slain.

His head sent to Lisbon in pickle.

With his death ended the small remains, or rather the mere shew and shadow, of the *Angolic* liberty, and with it we are obliged to end the history of it. The *Portuguese* being now become absolute masters of the whole, or at least of the best provinces of the kingdom, had now nothing left to do but to keep them under their subjection, by the most arbitrary imposts and exactions on the antient native lords, and to rule over those tributary rulers with a tyrannic sway, and by such other politic means as we are not likely to be informed of in haste by any of their writers. Those who have hitherto mentioned these their conquests in *Ethiopia*, and other parts of *Africa*, have endeavoured to palliate the seeming injustice of them, by representing the planting of Christianity amongst them as a more than sufficient amends for the loss of their liberty.

The rest of the Angolic history wrapt up in obscurity, especially with respect to Christianity.

We will not take upon us to examine into the merits of that plea, nor enquire how far the religion they have planted among them deserves the name of Christianity, much less whether the propagating of it, which is pretended to be the chief motive of their subduing so many countries, were either really such, or, if so, whether it be justifiable before God. The Apostles and primitive preachers of the gospel never countenanced it; and, tho' frequently loaden with fetters, never imposed any on their converts, as an excellent bishop of their church justly urged, before the emperor *Charles* and his council. All that we think ourselves bound to say as impartial historians, is, that that plea might have been insisted on with a better grace, if the conversion, perseverance, and compliance, so far as relates to the morals of those subdued neophytes, did not so plainly appear, even from their own writings, to have been, like their submissive slavery, more the effect of a superior force in the conquerors, than of either conviction or choice in the conquered: which gives us but too much cause to suspect that they have represented the state of Christianity in those parts in an advantageous rather than in a true and genuine light.

The enslaving Angola palliated under the cloak of conversion.

Both equally forced upon them.

However that be, we do not read that the *Portuguese* government have thought it proper, or perhaps safe, to amuse their *Angolic* subjects with the specious shew of a mock monarch of their nation, since the death of the revolted *N-gola Sedesio* above-mentioned, but have committed the sole command of the kingdom to the viceroy of *Angola* and his council; who, whatever decay or disaster may have attended the state of Christianity, for want of a sufficient number of missionaries, or sincerity in their new converts, have taken all due care, we may reasonably suppose, to secure their dominions, and the advantages of their extensive and beneficial commerce in all these parts.

The sole government of the kingdom vested in the viceroy.

^r LA CROIX *Ethiop. lib. iii. c. 5. sect. 16.* DAPPER, & al.

^s LA CROIX, DAPPER, & al. ubi sup.

^t *Episcop. de las Casas orat. Carol. imperat.*

^u See before p. 499, & seq.

C H A P. XIII.

The history of the kingdom of Loango.

Loango dis-
membered
from the king-
dom of Kongo.

Whence so
called.

THE kingdom of *Loango*, or, as others write it, *Loanga* and *Looango*, is the third and ^a last which, we observed before ^a, was a part of the great kingdom of *Kongo*, when in its utmost extent, but was afterwards dismembered from it, and, like that of *Angola*, spoken of in the foregoing chapter, erected itself into a separate and independent kingdom, under princes of their own. They had enjoyed their own monarchs long enough before these *African* parts were visited by the *Europeans*, though it is probable that they did not shake off the *Kongoese* yoke, nor coalesced into one government, all at once, but gradually, and at some distance of time, under their respective chiefs, under which they formed a number of small estates, till some one of them grew powerful enough to subdue all the rest ^b. It was formerly called *The Land of the Oramas*, who were the antient inhabitants of it; they are now called *Lovangas*, and *Loangas*, from the metropolis of the kingdom *Lovango*, of which we ^b shall speak in its proper place.

^a See before, p. 418, & seq.

^b Vide PIGAFET, c. 5. & 11. JARRIC, PURCH. Relat. l. vii. c. 10. LA CROIX, vol. i. l. iii. c. 1. DAVITY, DAPPER, LABAT, lib. iii. p. 415, & al. plur.

S E C T. I.

The situation, extent, limits, division, &c. of the kingdom of Loango.

Its extent
from N. to S.

THIS kingdom extends itself along the *African* coast from the cape of *St. Catherine*, ^c under the 2d degree of south latitude, southwards, to the small river of *Lovanda Louisa*, on the 5th degree of the same, that is the length of three degrees, or 180 miles, from north to south, according to the generality of our modern geographers ^c; though some have stretched it to a much greater length; viz. from the cape of *Lobo Gonzales* on the north, quite to the river *Zaire* on the south, where, according to *Bruno*, that river divides it from the kingdom of *Kongo proper* ^d, according to which, it would extend itself above five degrees and a half, or 350 miles; but this extravagant extent is justly rejected, and the boundaries agreed by the latest writers ^e, to be the cape of *St. Catherine* and the river *Lovanda* above-mentioned, and the true extent of the whole kingdom from north to south to be only from the 2d to the 5th degree of south latitude abovesaid (A). ^d

From W. to E.

It stretches itself from west to east, or from *Cape Negro* on the *Ethiopic* coast to the inland, towards the *Buchumelean* mountains, (so called from their vast quantity of ivory, and droves of elephants) about 300 miles. It hath on the north the countries of the *Ambous*, on the east the territories of *Pembo Sundi*, from the last of which it is parted by the *Zaire*, and on the south the kingdoms of *Cacongo* and *Angoy*, and farther eastwards the country of the *Pangecanguas* ^f.

Division.

THE kingdom is divided into four principal provinces; viz. *Lovangiri*, *Lovango-mongo*, *Chilongo*, and *Piri*.

1st.
Lovangiri.

LOVANGIRI is mostly watered by abundance of small rivers, very fertile and well inhabited. The natives apply themselves chiefly to the cultivating of their grounds, except a small part, ^e which are employed in the weaving of cloths and linen; notwithstanding which, they are reckoned better foldiers than those of the other three provinces. They live mostly upon fish, though their country produces much the same variety of grain, fruits, and other provisions, ^b

^c LOPEZ ap. Pigafet, ubi sup.
LABAT, & al. ubi sup.

^d BRUNO Navigat. in Afric.

^e Vide DAVITY, DAPPER,

^f Vide PIGAFET, LABAT, LA CROIX, & al sup. citat.

(A) It is very probable that *Odoardo Lopez*, from whose memoirs *Pigafet* settled these limits, might suppose all the territories lying between the capes of *St. Catherine* and *Gonzales*, concerning which we to this day know so little, except the sea-coasts, to belong to the kings of *Loango* on that side; and that *Bruno* might, in the like manner, imagine the two inconsiderable

kingdoms of *Cacongo* and *Angoy*, which part those of *Loango* and *Kongo* on that side, to be only provinces of the former, as lying on the same side of the *Zaire*, and so concluded that that river was the southern boundary of it. But whatever was the cause of their mistake, experience hath long since convinced the world that it was a very considerable one (1).

(1) Vide La Croix, vol. iii. lib. ii. c. 1. Davity, Dapper, Labat, & al. ubi supra.

a and breeds much the same sorts of tame and wild beasts, fowls, &c. that have been described in the two foregoing chapters, and on which we need not therefore dwell any longer. This is the most southern province in the kingdom, and borders upon that of *Cacongo*.

LOANGO-MONGO lieth north-east of that of *Loangiri*, and is spacious and fertile, particularly in palm-trees, the oil of which is extracted here in great quantities, and excellent in its kind. The inhabitants are employed in weaving of variety of linen and cloths peculiar to those parts². And though this is an inland province, many of them are addicted to commerce, which may be chiefly owing to the metropolis of the kingdom, and residence of its monarchs, being fixed in one of the pleasantest parts of it, and at no great distance from the sea-coast (B), as we shall shew in the sequel.

b CYLONGO, or, as others call it, *Chylongo*, is a maritime province, and the largest and most populous of all the four. It is situate between the rivers of *Quila* on the south, and *Combi* on the north, which last divides it from *Majumba*, once a small kingdom of itself, but now a conquered province of this. Its plains are spacious and fertile, and sheltered at a distance by ridges of high mountains, and its inhabitants carry on a very considerable commerce, especially of elephants teeth, though in other respects they are extremely rude and unpolished. On the coast stands the *Cabo Negro*, or black cape, so called by the *Portuguese*, on account of its dark appearance at a distance, the whole promontory being covered with trees. Within-side of it the sea forms a kind of semicircle, or haven, called by the inhabitants *The Road of Majumba*, and is about half a league long from the promontory above-mentioned, to the opposite or southern shore, which last lies as low as the other is high. The misfortune is, that the sea, in blustering weather, throws such vast heaps of sand into the haven, as quite choak up the mouth of the river *Combi*³.

THE last province is that of *Piri*, which lies north of those of *Cylongo* and *Loango-mongo*. It is low and flat, yet abounds with variety of fruit and other trees, and is well peopled and cultivated. The inhabitants are naturally peaceable, and scarcely know what war is. They have plenty of cattle and fowl both wild and tame, and delight much in hunting, by which, joined to the milk of their cattle, they get their chief food; on which account they are said to tenant more land than those of the other three provinces, and to be the most valued and favoured by their monarchs.

d THERE are abundance of towns and villages in all those provinces, concerning most of which we know little else but their names, and have, indeed, little worth our notice, either for their populousness, commerce, manufactures, or elegance of building, as the reader will easily judge by the short description we shall now give him of the metropolis of all; which, though mean in all other respects to an *European*, doth yet by far exceed all the rest.

It is situate, as we hinted a little higher, in the province of *Loango-mongo*, under the latitude of four degrees and a half south, and about five or six miles from the sea-coast. It is called *Loango*, or *Lovango*, and *Banza Loangiri*, but by the natives *Boari*, or *Boori*, and is very airy and spacious, as the houses are not contiguous to each other. The streets are wide, and kept very clean, and the sides are lined with palm-trees, bananas, and bacavas, which are a grateful shelter to the houses; before and most of those of the better sort have the same behind, or even quite round, by way of ornament. In the center of the city, facing the royal palace, is a great square, of a prodigious largeness, and the palace itself, which forms another square of a mile and a half in compass, is surrounded with a palisado of stately palm-trees. It consists of a number of houses, among which are those of his women, which are large enough to lodge seven or eight of them together, and are about ten in number. These are strictly guarded, none of them being permitted to stir out without express leave, either of the king or one of his chief ministers. These women, we are told, amount to about 150, and are easily distinguished by their ivory bracelets; and if any of them are found faithless, both they and their paramours are sure to be thrown down from the top of an high adjacent mountain, very steep and craggy, so that their bodies are dashed in pieces, before they have reached half-way to the bottom; and this severe punishment is inflicted without mercy⁴.

THE houses of the king, his halls of audience, and other offices, are on the west side, facing the plain area above-mentioned, in which last he holds his councils of war, in the same manner

² De his, vide sup. p. 458, & alib. pass.

³ LA CROIX, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ubi sup.

⁴ COR-

NEILLE, LA MARTINIERE, BATTEL in Purchas Relat. lib. vii. c. 10.

(B) This was not till some time after *Mani-loango*, one of the petty kings of this country, had had the good fortune to subdue most of the neighbouring states, and had distributed the several governments among his nearest relations; for he then thought fit to settle his residence among the mountains of the province of *Piri*,

for the sake of living a more tranquil and retired life. But he grew quickly tired of his new abode, and removed it nearer to the sea-side, to the place we are now speaking of, which hath continued ever since to be the *Bowza*, or royal residence, of his successors, and not only so, but their birth-place likewise (2).

(2) *La Croix Afric. vol. iii. lib. ii. c. 1. p. 340. edit. Lions, an. 1688.*

A large market.

A famous idol.

Form of the houses.

Common houses much the same.

Loango bay.

Rapid currents.

*Port or village of Kanga.
A female idol.*

Royal tomb.

Other towns.

as is done by the kings of *Kongo* * ; and there also feasts his prime officers, and sometimes his whole army. From this plain likewise there runs a great wide street, some musket-shots from the place, where there is a considerable market kept every day, which begins at ten o'clock, and where there are sold great quantities and variety of palm cloths, as also provisions for the mouth, as meal, poultry, fish, wine, corn, oil, &c. great quantities of elephants teeth were formerly sold likewise at this place, which are since removed to the port of *Kanga*. In this market-place is also a famous temple and Mokisso, or idol, called *Mokisso a Loango*, which was held in great veneration both by the kings and people ; and *Battel* tells us, that, when he was there, the prince who was then reigning was himself one of the conjurers, or, as he elsewhere explains that word, a priest to that deity †.

As to the other houses of this metropolis, they are for the most part oblong, and covered in such a manner, as that the middle part of the top is flat, much after the *Italian* form, and the rest of the covering comes down with a slope. The whole is supported by stout wooden pillars and cross beams ; those that sustain the highest part are ten or twelve feet higher than the side ones ; which last are of a height proportionable to the largeness of the building.

THE common houses have also much the same symmetry, and are higher or lower according to their length and breadth. They have usually three or four rooms, as with us in *Europe*, but no stories upon one another. The rooms in which they deposit their money and other valuables, have commonly a back door, which they fasten with a padlock. Every house is fenced round with a hedge of palm-twigs, canes, bulrushes, and such-like materials. Some of those hedges inclose seven, or eight, or more houses. The families that dwell in them commonly live very peaceably and friendly together, are faithful to, and ready to assist each other, upon all occasions, except when they suspect any one of magic or sorcery. The chief furniture of their houses consists in variety of pots and kettles, calabashes, baskets, mats, and benches, where they lay their clothes, weapons, and other utensils ^k.

THE bay of *Loango*, though reckoned pretty good, hath, nevertheless, a bank on the north side of its mouth or entrance, which runs about half a league along the coast, and hath not above two fathoms and a half of water. But when one hath got over it, one comes to five fathoms and a half, which continues so till within a small cannon-shot of the land, where one meets but with three fathoms, and a reddish bottom, and that is the place where the vessels commonly anchor. The bay is easily known by the high reddish mountains which shew themselves on the sea-side, and are different from all others on that coast. The many large rivers that come down from the continent cause the currents to be so strong and rapid towards the north, during almost the whole year, that it is very difficult to weather them, and gain a southern course. The only months in which this may be done with somewhat greater safety and ease, are those of *January, February, March, and April* ; all the rest of the year the currents flow so strong, that even coasters must keep at least ten or twelve leagues off the land ^l.

THE port, or landing place of *Loango*, is at the small village of *Kanga*, two leagues north of the *Angra*, or bay of *Almadias*. This port is particularly famous for a Mokisso, or idol, of the feminine kind, as its name *Gomberi* implies. These Mokissos are very common all over these parts, though most of them of the male kind. This female one is placed in a house, or temple, called *Munsa Gomberi*, and is attended by an old priestess, who, whenever any of her festivals are celebrated, which are commonly done with the music of drums and hard drinking, hath an art to speak from under-ground, and convey her voice in such a manner, that the people verily believe it is the statue that speaks ^m.

ABOUT two leagues to the east of *Loango* is the town of *Longeri*, where all the kings are interred ; the place, which is ten roods, or two acres and a half, in compass, is surrounded with a kind of palisade of elephants teeth. The other towns and places of note in this kingdom have hardly any thing worth mentioning, except that they are commonly the largest which are nearest the capital, and grow smaller and less populous the farther they spread into the inlands. Among the former are that of *Makondo*, the usual residence of the queen mother, *Sekie*, and *Kate*, which is that of his sisters, and *Caja*, or *Kaye*, which is the residence of the heir apparent to the crown, which last is situate on the river *Kaye*, more properly known by the name of *Loangolowise*, and *Cholongo*, or *Kilongo*, the capital of the province of its name, and the residence of its Manibloor, or governor, who is, in some measure, absolute in it, and after whose death the people may choose another without the king of *Loango*'s leave. It is situate near the cape of *Kilongo*, about thirty miles south of *Majumba*, and is, by some authors, called *Salage*, and *Salasy* ⁿ ; and thus much may suffice for the description of the four provinces of *Loango proper*, as we may rightly stile it.

* See before, p. 453, & seq. † Ap. PURCHAS, ubi sup.
& al. ^l VAND. BROECK, Voyage into India, vol. iv. p. 318.
ⁿ De hoc, vide DE LISLE, LA CROIX, DAPPER, & al.

^k LA CROIX, DAVIT. DAPP. BATTEL,
^m BATTEL ap. Purchas, ubi sup.

a BUT as we lately observed that some authors have stretched its limits both on the north and south, and have included into them on the south the kingdoms of *Cacongo* and *Angoy*, and on the north side the other four provinces of *Majumba*, *Sette*, *Camma*, and *Gobbi*, quite up to the cape *Lobo Gonzales*; all which, perhaps, may have been formerly part of *Loango*, either by conquest or alliance, though now dismembered from it, our readers will not be displeased if we here insert the little we know concerning them, that may be worth their notice, though not to be made a separate article of ^{Other states of more along the coast.}

We begin with *Majumba*, or, as others write it, *Mayomba*, which is not only dependent upon, but contiguous to, the kingdom of *Loango*, being severed from it by the river *Combi*, which forms its bay and that of *Loango*, already described, and lies in three degrees and a half of south latitude. The territory extends itself considerably eastwards towards the inland, and hath a salt lake above five leagues in compass, which empties itself into the sea, by some rivulets, about half a league northward of *Cape Negro*. The town, or rather village, of *Majumba*, extends itself a considerable length along the coast, but lies so low, that the inhabitants are frequently obliged to remove their habitations at high water, to some of the neighbouring high lands. The river *Banna*, which runs on the back of the town, is saltish; towards the mouth it affords a good fishery for oysters, and, though shallow there, by reason of the sands thrown into it by the tide, yet is deep and wide enough to carry a great number of canoes, which bring the red or logwood in great quantities into the port, from the province of *Sette*, where it grows in abundance, and makes the carriage of it from one to the other much easier and cheaper for the *Portuguese* and others, who export it from thence ^{Town and port.} ^{River Banna.} ^{Logwood traffick.} ^{especially as the river extends itself above 50 leagues into the inland.}

THE territory of *Majumba* is dry and sandy, and produces little or no grain, but affords plenty of bananas and palm-trees, of the latter of which they make great quantities of excellent wine; and roots of maxondo, which they use instead of bread. The lakes and rivers abound with fish, which is their chief food. The women fetch the oysters out of the *Banna* above-mentioned in large trays, which, being opened and smoked, will, like other fish dressed in the same way, continue good for several months. The people are very rude and savage, much given to heathenish and idolatrous superstitions; they use circumcision like the *Abissinians*, *Angolans*, &c. ^{Soil and produce.} They have plenty of game, both small and great, and hunt with their country dogs, about whose necks they are obliged to hang wooden clappers, in order to follow them by the noise, they not being able to bark. This defect makes the *Portuguese* and other *European* dogs be so much esteemed, that one of our authors tells us he saw one of them sold for thirty pounds. The government of this province is commonly given to a counsellor of state, called *Manihomba*, or *homma*, who is also prince of *Loangiri*, and gives no other account to the king of *Loango* but of the logwood, which is ten per cent. In other cases, he is in some measure absolute, and a tyrant over the people. Here was likewise formerly a great commerce for elephants teeth, which also brought in a considerable income, but which is now dwindled to little or nothing. ^{Game.} ^{Their dogs do not bark.} ^{Government.}

THE people call themselves *Marambas*, from a Fetisso, or idol of that name, which is worshipped all over the country, and to which they are all, males and females, dedicated, from the twelfth year of their age (C). This idol is always carried before the *Mani-hamma*, or governor, where-ever he goes; and whenever he eats and drinks, the first bit of meat, and the first cup of wine, are always offered to it. The superstitious people likewise consult it upon all occasions, such as about the success of their hunting, fishery, sickness, journies, and the like; and if any person is supposed to have been taken off by witchcraft, which is, it seems, a thing very common amongst them, the person or persons suspected, if ever so many, as it often happens when a great man dies, are obliged to come and clear themselves before the idol. ^{Religion.} ^{Idol Maramba.} ^{How consulted.}

^o PURCHAS, LA CROIX, DAPPER, & al. before, p. 233, & seq.

^p BATTEL ap. Purchas, LA CROIX, & al. sup. citat.

^q See

^r BATTEL ap. Purchas, ubi sup.

(C) This ceremony is performed by their Gangas, or priests, a set of pretended wizards and conjurers, who attend on the idol and all its superstitious rites. When those candidates are of a fit age to be consecrated to that pretended deity, they apply to the Gangas, who immediately shut them up in a dark room, and confine them to a low diet; how long we are not told. After which they are let out, and permitted to go abroad, but under a strict prohibition, not to speak to any person, upon any occasion, how urgent soever, during a certain number of days. Dreadful confinements both these! but which must be undergone, or else they are sure to be denied admission to the idol of *Maramba*. But when

duly performed, they are brought before it, where the Ganga makes a couple of incisions, in the form of a half-moon, upon the fore-part of their shoulders, and they are sworn by the blood that issues out of them, to be true to *Maramba*. Those initiated persons are forbidden afterwards the eating of some kinds of flesh or fish, and are enjoined some other penances; the omission of which, they are made to believe, would be attended with sickness, death, or other misfortunes. They have then a relic of their deity given to them, which they wear about their necks, and hanging under their left arm (3).

(3) Battel in Purchas, vol. ii. p. 982.

The ceremony is performed by kneeling and embracing the statue in their arms, and crying out aloud, "I come to be tried before thee of *Maramba*;" and if the person is guilty, though the fact was committed 20 years before, the criminal falls down dead upon the spot; if innocent, escapes harmless, and is absolved; and this superstition, we are told by an eye-witness, prevails from *Majumba* quite to the cape *Gonzales* *.

Sette province;

abounds with logwood.

Two sorts of it.

Other trees, grain, &c.

Camma and Gobbi province.

Free of their wives.

Fire arms brought to them by the Dutch.

Traffick.

Kingdom of Cacongo convenient for traffick.

ADJOINING to the province of *Majumba* runs from west to east the extensive country of *Sette*, divided from it only by the river of its name. It was once a kingdom of itself, but hath been reduced under that of *Loango*. It is chiefly remarkable for the vast quantity of logwood which it produces, and which the inhabitants call *Tacool*, and traffick in all over the coasts of *Angola*, *Kongo*, and *Loango*, but chiefly with the natives, from whom the *Portuguese* and *Europeans* buy it. They have two sorts of it, the one called *Quines*, which is chiefly bought up by the *Portuguese*, but is reckoned of no value in any of those *African* countries; the other, which is called *Bisseffe*, and is heavier, firmer, and of a deeper red, is that which is most in use among all the blacks along these coasts. The root of it, which they call *Angansi Bisseffe*, is still harder, and of a deeper tinge, and more esteemed among them (D). This country produces likewise variety of fruit and other trees; and their woods, which are of vast extent, do swarm with wild beasts, which, with their millet and bananas, is the chief food of the inhabitants; they breed likewise some goats, and tame poultry, but in no great quantity.

BETWEEN the province of *Sette* and the cape of *Lobo Gonzales*, are those of *Camma* and *Gobbi*, whose inhabitants are perpetually at war with each other, and whose country is intersected with lakes and rivers, which afford plenty of fish, but are infested with sea horses, which do great mischief both on land and water^a, and particularly to the canoes and other vessels which are continually plying to and fro upon those rivers and marshes. The language, manners, and customs of both these nations, are almost the same with those of *Loango*. They both allow of polygamy, and are so little tainted with jealousy, that they will compliment their friends, or even strangers that come to them, with the company of one or two of their own wives; which among these is so far from being looked upon as a reproach, that they are as much esteemed and regarded for it by the rest, as if the husband had given them a severe drubbing; which, it seems, is here looked upon as one of the most undoubted marks of conjugal affection^w. The weapons they use in their wars, one province against another, are the short pike, bow and arrows, sword and dagger; but since the *Europeans*, especially the *Dutch*, have been acquainted with these coasts, they have furnished them with fire-arms, gun-powder, and balls, besides utensils for the kitchen, as variety of brass pots and kettles, and several sorts of coarse cloths. The chief town of *Gobbi* lies about a day's journey from the sea. Their rivers abound with water-elephants and variety of other fish; but the land breeds little else but beasts of prey^x. The principal commerce with the natives, besides the logwood already mentioned, consists chiefly in elephants teeth and tails (E), the hair of which is highly valued, and used for several curious purposes, elsewhere mentioned^y. And thus much may suffice for those coasts and countries which lie on the north side of the kingdom of *Loango*, to the cape *Gonzales*.

THOSE on the south, situate between the *Loanga-lowisa* and the *Zaire*, are the kingdoms of *Cacongo* and *Angoy*; to the former of them Father *Morella*, a Capuchin missionary, who had seen most of the countries along these coasts, makes no scruple to give by far the preference, whether for commodiousness or profit^z. It is situate between three considerable sea

* BATTEL ap. Purchas, ubi sup. p. 185, & seq. to Kongo and parts adjacent.

^a DAPPER, LA CROIX, BATTEL, & al. ^w DAPPER, LA CROIX, & alib. ^x Ibidem ibid. ^y See before, p. 432. ^z Voyage

(D) This wood the inhabitants of *Loango* go into the *Settean* province to buy, and carry on a large traffick of it, not only with the *European* merchants, but likewise with the kingdoms of *Kongo*, *Angola*, &c. Their first care, after the trees are cut down and lopped, is to convey them to the river *Banna*, whence they are brought down in floats to *Majumba*. There they cause them to be sawn into billets of about five or six feet in length, nine inches in breadth, and three in thickness. The *Portuguese* and other *Europeans* come and purchase the first sort called *Quines* above-mentioned; after which the rest is dispersed by the *Loangans* all along the coasts, down to the kingdom of *Benguela*, and thence into the inlands of *Angola*, *Kongo*, &c. (4).

(E) It was in a neighbouring principality to this, on the same coasts, that our countryman *Andrew Battel*, often quoted in this chapter from *Purchas*, came with

his negro slaves, to traffick for elephants teeth and tails. The country lies about eight days journey north of *Majumba*, and a little to the eastward of *Cabo Negro*, and is called *Mani-Kesek*. Here he had not been above a month, before he had purchased 20,000 of them, which he soon exchanged with the *Portuguese* for 30 slaves, all his other charges deducted.

During his stay he sent a present of a looking glass, by one of his negroes, to the *Mani*, or prince; who was so highly delighted with it, that he sent him, in return, four large elephants teeth, by his own servant, with an invitation for any *Portuguese* or *European* ship to come into his territory, a little north of *Cape Negro*, promising to cause fires to be made to direct them to the landing-place, no *European* nation having as yet frequented those parts (5).

(4) *Dapper, La Croix, & al, sup. citat.*

(5) *Purchas, ubi sup.*

- a ports, much frequented by foreigners; viz. that of *Loango*, lately described, and by far the best; that of *Cobinda*, and that of *Cacongo*; though this last is not quite so safe. The territory of this kingdom is mostly flat, the air wholsomer than that of *Kongo* or *Angola*, and the soil more fertile too, by reason of its frequent showers, and fatness of its black mould, which, in the other kingdoms lately described, is either chalky or sandy. The inhabitants are likewise more polite and civilized, though no less superstitiously addicted to the same heathenish rites than all their neighbours; yet, when they lately laboured, says our Capuchin, under a grievous pestilence, which carried off myriads of them, they made no scruple to bury all the idols of their gods, saying, *If they cannot assist us under such grievous calamities as this, it is in vain to expect any help from them*. Its ports, rivers, and soil.
- b THE chief rivers of this kingdom are *Cacongo*, the *Kaja*, and the *Cobinda*. The first of which runs four leagues south of the *Kaja*, and seven to the north of the *Cabinda*, and is, according to *Battel*, navigable by boats of ten tons carriage. This river runs almost the whole length of the kingdom from east to west, and, after a course of about 80 or 90 miles, falls into the sea, under the fifth degree of south latitude. About four miles south of its mouth is the town, or rather village, of *Malemba*, where the sea makes a kind of semicircular bay, which affords a convenient road for the vessels that traffick thither, all the coast, between the *Cacongo* and *Zaire*, as is that of the kingdom of *Angoy*, being extremely dangerous, and full of rocks and shelves. The lands on each side are fertile and delightful, and abound with elephants teeth. Those the *Membates*, who are situate on the other side of the *Zaire*, come and fetch, and carry them to the port of *Pinda*, where the *Portuguese*, or any other *Europeans*, buy and export them^b. This country is governed by its own hereditary princes, but is, we are told, under the protection of, if not tributary to, the kings of *Loango*^c. They were formerly vassals to them, but shook off the yoke soon after those princes had shook off that of the kings of *Kongo*; but are still under their protection, on account of their frequent wars with their neighbours the *Mani*, or princes of *Angoy*^d. *Dapper*, who gives the natives of *Cacongo*, upon what authority he doth not tell us, no better character than that of cheats, treacherous, forsworn, turbulent, yet base and cowardly, adds, that they would stand an indifferent chance from their *Angoyan* neighbours, if the king of *Loango* did not protect them against them. Fertility.
- c THEY are, however, much addicted to traffick with the *Europeans*, especially with the *Dutch*, from whom they purchase a great variety of *European* goods, as coarse cloths, knit caps, hatchets, and other iron tools, linen, and other commodities, which they go and exchange for slaves at *Kongo*, *Angola*, and other *African* states. The *Europeans* that traffick with them, do it with more ease, and without being obliged to make such exorbitant presents to the prince of *Cacongo* as they do in other countries; he being under a sort of restriction, by virtue of some peculiar law, not to meddle with any of their effects; whereas other neighbouring kings on each side keep a constant guard at the mouth of the *Sonbo*, to oblige passengers to pay the usual imposts, and to secure their respective realms from foreign invaders^e. Government.
- d THE last kingdom upon the *Loango* coast is *Angoy*, called by some *Goy*, and lies between that of *Cacongo*, last mentioned, on the north, and that of *Kongo* on the south, being severed from the former by the river *Cabinda*, and from the latter by the *Zaire*. It is but of small extent either way, as it was formerly only a vassal province of *Cacongo*, till the *Mani*, or prince, of it, who had married a *Portuguese*'s daughter, was persuaded by his father-in-law to erect it into an independent kingdom. The juncture was altogether favourable, as the king of *Loango* had but just before revolted from that of *Kongo*, and that of *Cacongo* from him; so that whilst they were debating the controversy with each other, he, without declaring himself on any side, set up for a king^f. The country, we are told, is full of woods and thickets, and hath no towns of note except *Bomangoy*, situate on the north banks of the *Zaire*, and not far above the mouth of it^g. Its chief port is *Cabinda*, called by others *Kabenda* and *Cubenda*, situate on the mouth of the river of its name, about five leagues north of the cape *Palmerino*, on the north side of the *Zaire*'s mouth^h. The bay lies very commodious for trade, wooding and watering on the sea-shore. It is flat and marshy in some places, but ascends gradually about three miles into the inland, and then forms itself into a ridge of hills, which spread themselves lengthwise; on the ascent of which is situate the king's father's town, where he constantly keeps a stock of wood ready cut, to sell to foreign ships at an easy rate, and hath it carried to the beach, in order to be shipped off. From these wood-piles, south-west along the bay, lie scattered a number of fishermen's huts, on each side a small fresh-water river, which falls into the bay; and thence it is they bring all their water in casks, which they roll along the beach to the mouth of the river, which is so shallow, that, even at full flood, it can only be entered with a yawl, carrying a cask or two. The town, or rather village, of *Cabinda*, stands on the round point of the bay, looking Their traffick with the Europeans.
- e THE king touches none of their effects.
- f The kingdom of Angoy;
- g made independent.
- h Its bay.
- Wood reserved for sale.
- The port very shallow.

^a MORELLE, ubi sup. p. 669.

lib. ii. §. vi. DAPPER, &c.

^b BATTLE ap. Purchas, ubi sup.^c BATTLE, ubi sup. vol. ii. p. 979.^d Id. ibid.^e Id. ibid.^f DAPPER Cacongo.^g LA CROIX, vol. iii.^h MEROLLE, ubi sup. p. 651.

ing to the westward, and the *English* factory on the south-west of the road, at some distance, a north-east, from the town. But the *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*, do likewise come to this port for water and provisions¹.

Mean houses.

THE houses, or rather huts, make a wretched appearance, being built of dirt and reeds, and fitter to lodge insects, such as this country swarms with, than human creatures. Those which belong to the Mani, or prince, and to the Maffukka, or receiver of the whites, though built of the same materials, make a somewhat better figure, yet such as would hardly be worth describing but for their peculiar oddness, as the reader may see by the sketch in the margin, which our author hath given us of both (F). The country round the bay is mostly barren, which is chiefly owing to the native laziness of the inhabitants, which often occasions a dear-
ness of provisions, tho' they sell them reasonable enough, when there are but few ships in the road. They breed no cattle here except some hogs, but have plenty of poultry, both which are sold pretty cheap. The wild beasts swarm so in their woods, that they destroy all the tame kind. Some monkeys have been brought away from thence, which in features and stature much resembled the human species^k. Civet-cats are here in great plenty, and parrots may be bought here for three or four ordinary knives^l. The inhabitants follow the fishing trade more than any other, both at sea and in their rivers; and the coasts abound so with oysters, that the sailors quickly load their boats with them, they being found lying in great heaps like small rocks. The natives fish both on the beach and in the bay with drag-nets, which have long canes, fixed at equal distances, instead of corks, to shew when any fish is caught. These nets are made of a peculiar root, which being beaten, becomes spinable like hemp^m.

Soil about the bay.

Plenty of provisions.

Various animals.

Birds.

Oysters.

Dress.

Ornaments.

Polygamy.

Special privileges of the royal princesses.

Superstitious rites.

THEIR dress is much the same with that of the *Kongoesse*, *Angolans*, &c.; that of the better sort is only a piece of cotton thrown over their shoulders, and another girt about their loins, which comes down below the knee, more or less, as they can afford; whilst the meaner sort content themselves with a short apron; and these clothes they purchase in exchange for slaves and elephants teeth. They wear their hair in various forms, according to their quality. The queen, whom our author was admitted to see, had hers shaved close on the crown, and little tufts left all around on the sides. Others wear it plaited in different tresses; all of them are fond of adorning their heads, necks, arms, and legs, with variety of trinkets, and some of them of the superstitious kind, as amulets and charms, which they purchase from their juggling priests; and none of them worth any farther notice. They allow of polygamy, as most of these countries do; and she that is the most beloved hath the rest under her command, but is herself no less liable to be turned out if she be found disloyal. The ladies of the royal blood have the peculiar privilege of chusing their husbands out of any, even of the meanest rank, and have power of life and death over them; and, if caught tripping, over their paramours. Our author, during his abode at *Cabinda*, saw a young woman sold for a slave to the *Portuguese*, merely on a bare suspicion of her having been too free with one of those husbands; tho' these last are far enough from being intitled to expect the same fidelity from their royal dames. Women of the lower rank are obliged, when they receive a stranger, to admit them for a night or two into their embraces; though their husbands are, by that means, deprived of them all that time. This obliged the missionaries, whenever they came into their houses, to order their interpreters to give immediate notice, that none of that sex might enter within their doors.

THEIR religion chiefly consists in a variety of superstitious customs, such as anointing their public and domestic idols with a kind of red wood, powdered, on the first day of the moon; and on its first appearance to pay a kind of worship to it. Thus, if it happens to shine clear and bright, they cry out, *Thus may I renew my life as thou dost*; but if the air is cloudy, they imagine she hath lost her virtue, and forbear their address to her; and this sort of devotion is more peculiarly observed by the women. On the full moon they all anoint their amulets, which is a little horn, worn pendent on their neck, with some oil, which their juggling

¹ BATTEL & MEROLL. ubi sup.
ubi sup. p. 652.

^m Ibid. ibid.

^k BARBOT Guiney, LABAT, DAPPER, & al.

^l MEROLL.

(F) "I was not a little surprised, says our Capuchin, at the first sight of the Mani or governor's house, which, at a distance, appeared to me as a well fortified citadel, encompassed about with walls, and not at all resembling the workmanship of the negroes. But as you approach it nearer, you find those walls to be no other than rows of thick pallisades, stuck into the ground five thick, and ruddled up to the top with others of the same thickness. Within there were two broad paths, which split themselves into several lesser ones. The rooms are all hung within with a curious sort of mats, made of osiers of different colours. It seemed therefore ridiculous to me," continues he,

"that their houses should be built of nothing but straw, osiers, and slates, and yet be defended with brass cannon."

That of the Maffukka, he describes as follows, "It was built of the same materials, but very large, and well contrived; it had several arched rooms, and within each of them two small brass cannon, which, together with two larger ones at the gate, made in all 18. These guns they had purchased from the whites, in exchange for slaves, elephants teeth, &c. and the king's palace seemed to me to be not unlike this last (6)."

(6) Merolla's voyag. English collect. vol. i. p. 653.

^a priests give, or rather sell them. We do not read of any victims they sacrifice to their idols, though they consult them commonly about the success of a journey, war, thefts, and such-like; and persons suspected or accused of any crime, are obliged to come and clear themselves before them in the manner we have already hinted. Almost all the natives have one of these idols before their doors, some about five or six feet high, and others shorter, but all of them clumsily carvedⁿ. And thus much may suffice, with respect to the adjacent countries to the kingdom of *Loango*. We shall only add, that the king of *Kongo* styles himself still king and lord of all those petty kingdoms, as well as of that of *Loango*; though neither this, nor any of the rest, either acknowledge him, or pay any tribute to him.

In the year 1631 the count of *Sonbo* entered this of *Angoy* with a vast army, and having driven the king out of it, settled his son upon the throne. This son, being no less warlike than his father, endeavoured to do the same by that of *Cacongo*, entered his dominions, plundered his capital, and gained several advantages over him, but without being able to drive him out^o. And hence the wars we have taken notice of, which those two rival kings frequently waged against each other, that of *Cacongo* being still assisted by his ally of *Loango*, and that of *Angoy* by the counts of *Sonbo*.

ⁿ MEROL. ubi sup.

^o DAPPER, LABAT, & al. See also before, p. 418, & seq.

S E C T. II.

Of the climate, soil, produce, and inhabitants, of Loango proper; their religion, laws, commerce, money, dress, manners, customs, and government, &c.

^c **W**E have already hinted that this kingdom extends itself from three degrees and a half to five degrees of south latitude, and consequently is nearly as hot as any under the torrid zone, and much hotter than those of *Kongo* and *Angola*; nevertheless, we do not find but that it is as healthy and pleasant, and its soil as fertile and capable of improvement, as any of them, were not the natives, like all the rest along these coasts, naturally lazy, and too averse to the fatigues of agriculture to plant or sow more than will barely suffice the current wants of each year. Whence it frequently happens, that a bad season is usually followed by a famine, for want of laying up a proper store against such times. They commonly content themselves with bread and fish, and such fruits, greens, and pulse, as the ground naturally produces, and which being the same as grow in *Kongo*, and other parts above-mentioned, need not be here repeated. They have several sorts of pease and beans, large and small millet, of all which the ground yields them three crops in the year^a.

^d **T**HEIR palm, banana, and other trees, produce excellent fruits, of which they make like-wise excellent wines, which they prefer to those that come from *Europe*. The cotton and pimento trees grow wild, as well as the paradise grain, tho' the last not in such quantities. The Enzanda, Alicandi, and Metamba, afford them plenty of materials for cloathing and other uses, as building and covering their houses (G), and making their ships and smaller vessels, &c. Sugar-canes, cassia, and tobacco, grow here plentifully; not so the cocoas, oranges, and limons, which are not so regarded and cultivated by the indolent inhabitants. We say nothing of a great variety of roots, herbs, fruits, grain, and other vegetables, which they

^a LA CROIX, DAVITY, BATTEL, DAPPER, & al. ubi sup.

(G) The Metamba above-mentioned, for instance, which grows every-where in this country, not only affords a very pleasant wine, though not so strong as that of the palm-tree, but likewise timber for rafters, laths, and seats for their houses, and leaves for covering them, which fence them from wind and rain as well as any tiling; to which we may add, that most of the cloth which is used in this kingdom, both for cloathing and current money, is made of those leaves (6).

The Alicondi, or Alecunde, grows to such a vast bulk, that twelve men can hardly fathom the trunks of some of them, and spreads itself out like our largest oaks. Some of them are hollow, and retain great quantities of water; one of our authors believes near 40 tons, which, in this dry and hot clime, is no small relief to vast numbers of its natives (7). Another author observes, that

this tree, which is immeasurably large, and commonly hollow at the bottom, affords a comfortable shelter to hogs; the fruit, which is much like our pumpkins, hangs by a stalk, about the bigness of a man's finger, and is from two to three feet in length. The shell, when dried and cleared within, serves for vessels to keep or carry wine, oil, and other liquors in.

And the inner rind of the tree, when soaked and well beat, yields a kind of spinable stuff, much stronger and durable than hemp (8).

The natives usually fix some hollow pieces of wood, like trunks, upon the branches of the trees, which they never fail, at the end of the year, to find full of honey, which they turn to their use, after they have smoaked the bees to death (9).

(6) *La Croix, Dapper, Merolla, Battel, & al. sup. citat. rolla, ubi sup. p. 635.*

(9) *Id. ibid. & al. sup. citat.*

(7) *Battel ap. Purchas, vol. ii. p. 985.*

(8) *Me-*

*Singular ab-
stinence.*

bread of, or use for food, which, with a little more industry, might be produced in such abundance, that they need not be under that frequent danger they are in of being almost depopulated by their grievous famines. But besides their aversion to cultivate more ground than serves them from hand to mouth, and which they commit the care of to their wives and slaves, they seem to be naturally made for abstinence; and an *European* can hardly forbear wondering to see them so contented and merry, singing, smoking, and dancing, under the most pinching scarcity ^b.

*Scarcity of
cattle.*

*Plenty of
poultry.*

Pelicans.

Elephants.

*Way of fish-
ing.*

*A strange sea
dog.*

*The natives
described.*

*Use circum-
cision.*

Various trades.

*Various kinds
of cloths.*

*Furs worn
before their
privities.*

THEY have but little cattle of any sort except goats, and that which hath been brought hither from other parts hath died so fast, that it hath discouraged all farther attempts of that kind; hogs they have in great plenty, and poultry is so very cheap, that six penny-worth of beads will purchase 30 of them. Pheasants, partridges, and other wild-fowl are still in greater abundance, and hardly bear any price. They have a land bird bigger than a swan, and shaped like the hern, whose plume is white and black, with a bare place on the breast, made so with its bill. This bids fairer to be the true pelican, than that which the *Portuguese* call by that name, which is white, and of the bigness of a goose, which last is very common in this kingdom ^c. Among wild beasts, they have the fine zebra, and multitudes of elephants, whose teeth they exchange with the *Europeans* for iron to make warlike and other tools with ^d.

THEY catch great quantities of fish on their coast: one way of taking them is by carping irons. To this purpose they daily watch a large fish of the bigness of a grampus, which comes constantly to feed along the shore, and drives whole shoals of the smaller kind before him, which are then easily caught. If a great one chances to run himself on the shore, the natives immediately set about freeing him again, which is as much as four or five stout men can do. They call those creatures *Emboaks*, or dogs, and will not suffer any man to scare them ^e. In bays, rivers, and shallow water, they have another odd way of catching them, by mats made of rushes, some of them 300 yards long, which they set afloat on the surface, with pendant rushes on the sides, which frighten the fish, and make them leap upon the mat, where the men, drawing it into a narrow compass, as they do their nets, do easily catch them.

THE natives, who are called Bramas, are tall, stout, well-shaped, and well-behaved, though formerly wild and inhuman cannibals. They use circumcision, and trade chiefly among themselves. They are industrious and vigilant, where gain is to be got, yet friendly and generous to one another; very fond of their palm-wine, yet despising that of the grape. They are libidinous to a high degree, and very jealous of their wives. They carry on variety of trades and handicrafts, as weavers, smiths, carpenters, bed-makers, potters, canoe-makers, fishermen, besides traders and merchants: the misfortune is, that the handicraftsmen are so fond of their old ways, and their tools so clumsy and ill contrived, that, like those of *Kongo*, formerly described ^f, it takes them up ten times more time and pains to bring out an imperfect piece of work in their way, than it would if they were better provided with tools for their purpose. This is in nothing so visible as in their weaving, where, for want of a proper loom, a workman shall be as long in finishing one piece for a suit, as might have completed twelve or fifteen.

THEIR dress is most commonly of their own manufacture, being chiefly of cloth, made either of the leaves of the palm or some other tree of the like nature; but the better sort are made of the former, and with no small time and pains. The young palm-shoots are first carefully cropt and dried, and then soaked and softened in palm-wine, and well rubbed with the hand. These, being spun and woven, are made into suits for the better sort, which hang round the body, from the girdle down to the feet. They have four sorts of these woven suits; the richest, which is flowered with divers colours, and with various other figures, are peculiar to their monarchs, and such of his nobles as have his express leave to wear them. The second sort is not half so finely spun and wrought as the first, yet doth, at a small distance, make almost as fine a shew, being figured and contrived much after the same manner, that it will require a nice eye to distinguish them, unless by examining them on the wrong side, where the difference is more visible. The two other sorts, which are woven plain, or, at most, only pinked like some of our *European* stuffs, are still much coarser, and only worn by the plebeians and slaves. These, like the former, come down only from the girdle to the ankles, and those of the slaves only to the knee. The rest of the body, from the waist to the head, is naked, and only ornamented with bracelets of various sorts and materials, according to the rank of the wearers; some are of gold, silver, brass, or other coarser metals, made like a chain, others of ivory, glass beads of several colours, and such-like.

THE men are obliged, moreover, to wear the skin of a wild or tame cat; the better sort have them of martin, otter, civet, or other valuable fur: some of them, called enkinie, are beautifully spotted, but these are only worn by the king, and such of his court as are authorised

^b LA CROIX, DAVITY, BATTEL, DAPPER, & al. ubi sup. FIGAFET, Congo, p. 31.

^c See before, vol. v. p. 691, & seq.

^e BATTEL, ubi sup. p. 983.

^f See before, p. 458, & seq.

^d Ibid. ibid.

- a by him. Both he and they affect frequently to wear five or six sorts of them, nicely sown together, and stuck with parrot's and other birds fine feathers, of various colours, disposed in form of a rose, and hanging just before their privities, the skirts of the furs being hemmed about with a kind of nice string of elephants hair, to which they hang a number of little bells, which make a strange tinkling at every motion of the body, and at every step they take. All these various garments are tied about the middle with a rich girdle going several times about the body, and some of them curiously wrought, of the same materials with their richest clothes.^{Fine girdles.} Those of the better sort wear two of those girdles, one above the other, and richly adorned and variegated. They wear about their necks, wrists, and legs, several rounds of beads of coral, ivory, round shells of a beautiful hue, chains of copper, tin, or iron, of a triangular fashion, and brought from *Europe*.^{Various ornaments.} Over their shoulders they wear a kind of sack knotted, about three-fourths of a yard long, and with a small hole just big enough to put their hand in; and this serves to carry their calabash, pipes, tobacco, and other provisions. Their heads are covered with a knit cap, which fits close upon them; and, as they never go without arms, they commonly hold a cutlass, sword, or bow, in their hand.

- THE women's dress is much like that of the men, excepting that they wear no girdle, and that their petticoats hang no lower than the knee: those of the richer sort, will throw over it a piece of some fine *European* stuff or linen. The head and upper parts of the body are naked, as well as their legs, except that they have collars, bracelets of coral, and other trinkets, about their necks, arms, and legs. Both sexes wear rings of richer or baser metal, according to their rank, which they look upon as amulets and preservatives; and both colour their bodies all over with a red wood called Takeel, and ground upon a stone.^{Dress of the women.}

THEY allow polygamy: the richer sort have ten, twelve, or more, wives, and the poorer seldom less than two or three. The consent of the parents, and the paying down the price agreed on for the wife, is all the formality and courtship that is used in their marriages. Some are so curious as to buy them at the age of six or seven years, and breed them up to their hand; but the wiser sort of parents will not part with them till they become marriageable; at which time they set a mark upon them, to testify that they are so (H), which seldom fails of bringing scores of young gallants to them, especially if they are handsome.^{Their marriages.}

- BUT the young females have but little encouragement to the matrimonial state, which, besides the mortifying reflection of meeting so many rivals in it, and the violent jealousy of the husband, reduces them to the most melancholy servitude and slavery. We have already hinted that it is they alone that till and manure the ground, and reap and gather in the harvest. They are likewise the only ones that grind the millet, and other grain; that make and bake the bread; that dress their victuals, and make their wines and other liquors, and take care of all the household affairs. They must stand at a due distance whilst their husbands eat their meals, and pick up their leavings when they are risen. They must approach him when he comes in with words and gestures expressive of their joy and respect, and speak to him and receive his commands upon their bended knees. They must never appear before him, nor touch any of his victuals all the time their courses continue upon them, nor be seen by the rest of the family without a string or fillet tied round their head. They are liable to be turned out of doors even upon the least suspicion of infidelity; and, if proved guilty, undergo a severer punishment, though the paramour himself commonly gets off with only some pecuniary fine. Whosoever takes in a woman whom the husband hath turned away from him, is obliged to pay the like fine, or another woman in exchange for her. But though this be the slavish state of the *Loangoese* wives, there is a particular law that submits the children to follow the condition of their mothers; that is, of continuing slaves, if the wife is such, though the father be free; and of being free-born, if the mother be so, though the husband be a slave.^{Slavery of the wives.}

NONE of the children are allowed to inherit the father's substance, but the whole goes to his eldest brother or sister, who are obliged to take care of the rest till they are able to provide for them.^{Children not allowed to inherit.}

^a DAPPER, LA CROIX, BATTEL, & al. ubi sup.

^b LA CROIX, ubi sup. DAPPER, OGILBY *Afric.* p. 501.

(H) That is, they cause their heads to be shaved close, and only a crown, or garland, of hair to be left around it. As for the token of their nubility, it is taken from the first time of their having their natural courses; before which it is reckoned a very high crime for a man to have any connubial commerce with them; insomuch, that whenever such an irregular intercourse hath happened, the offenders are obliged to appear before the king, who alone hath the power to absolve them, and confess their fault publicly before him, with antic and ridiculous dances and gestures, expressive of their shame and sorrow.

Without such a public confession and royal pardon, they are made to believe the greatest misfortunes would fall not upon them alone, but on the whole realm (10). But though this notion is little regarded but by the weaker part, yet there might be a very good reason for propagating it, in order to deter their libidinous youth of both sexes from beginning their intercourses before nature had opened such an easy way to it, as might preserve the young females from receiving any damage that might endanger their future fecundity, by the untimely violence offered to those tender parts.

(10) *La Croix, ubi sup. Dapper, Loang. Ogilby's Africa, p. 499, & seq.*

for themselves, by going into some of the trades lately mentioned, or other suitable employ-
 White Moors, ments. We hardly need tell our readers that the children of the natives are born white, but in
 who. two days time become as black as their parents. This change often deceived the *Portuguese*,
 who settled at first in those parts; and having had commerce with the negro women, vainly
 imagined the children to be theirs. But here are another sort of white children, who, though
 born of negro parents, appear, at first sight, as white as ours in *Europe*, have grey eyes, red
 or yellow hair, and a complexion not unlike some of our northern people; but when these
 come to be more closely examined, their white colour proves to be no better than that of a dead
 corpse; whilst their eyes, instead of a vivid sparkling, seem to be fixed in their sockets, and
 hardly appear to have any sight, except by moon or owl light. These the natives look upon
 as monstrous, and will hardly allow them to propagate; and the children that are born with
 this infirmity are presented to the king, who causes them to be educated for his purpose in all
 manner of forcery, and uses them as his wizards and conjurers, so that he is never without
 some of them about his person, and in his court. They are called *Dondos* by the natives, and
Albinos, or *White Moors*, by the *Portuguese*. The learned have exercised their talents in
 accounting for this strange and unnatural whiteness; our curious readers may see what hath
 been conjectured to be the cause of it in the following note (I). All that we shall say here is,
 that there is a kind of continual war between the negroes and them, in which the former
 always attack them in the day-time, when their sight is at the worst, and these take their
 revenge of them in the night, when it is at the best¹.

THESE mongrels not only make part of the king's council, but are the chief persons
 employed in all religious affairs and superstitious ceremonies. Neither they, nor any of the
Loangoese, have any tolerable notion of a supreme Being. They seem, indeed, to acknowledge
 one, under the name of *Sambian pongo*; but neither pay any adoration to him, nor appear to
 have any idea of his nature or attributes, and consequently neither love, nor fear, nor pray to
 him. All their worship and invocations are directed to their demons, both domestic and rural,
 to whom they ascribe the sole power of blessing or of cursing them, of directing the winds,
 rains, storms, or fine weather, fruitful or unfruitful, healthy or sickly seasons. Some of them
 preside over the air, others over the earth, a third sort over the sea. Some are of a benevolent,
 others of a malevolent nature: some their friends and protectors, others their enemies and
 destroyers; some they consult about future contingencies, as the success of a journey, hunting,
 fishing, sowing, reaping, war, and the like; others about past transactions, as who hath stolen
 a lost thing? whether such a deceased friend died of some accidental disease, or was dispatched
 by some charm? and, if the latter, who is the author of it? These pretended deities they
 represent in various forms of men, women, or other living creatures; some coarsely carved,
 others modelled with clay or dirt; some of the small sort they wear in a little wooden box pen-
 dent about their necks, or only tied to a string; those of the larger sort they set up in their

¹ DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. ubi sup.

(I) That this strange whiteness does not proceed from a promiscuous coition of the white men with the black women is plain, and allowed by all, seeing the offspring of such are of a mulatto, or tawny colour. Besides, the *Albinos* are known to be born of parents of the same hue and nature with themselves: and this doth likewise confute another conjecture, that this difference of their colour is owing to some strong imagination, or inclination of a black woman for a white man, in the same manner that some fair women in *Europe* are said to have been delivered of black children.

A learned modern assures us, there are great numbers of these *Albinos* in other parts of *Africa* as well as this (11) (and indeed our *European* travellers tell us that they have seen the same sort of men in several parts of *India*, in the island of *Borneo*, and in *New Guinea*, or *Papua Land*) (12). He conjectures it to be no other than an inveterate leprosy, which disease is known to be a great drier of the skin; he supposes, moreover, that all the blacks would be affected with it, if they did not take such constant care to anoint their bodies with oil, or other unctuous ingredients, in order to prevent it. But this supposition doth not suit with what we read of their being naturally robust and strong, which lepers seldom or never are; and on that account the *Portuguese* have tried to convey some of them to *America*, in order to make them work in their mines; but have found them so

stubborn and untractable, that they have chosen to starve themselves to death, rather than submit to that slavery.

We have hinted above, that the *Loangoese* detest these white *Moors*, and would gladly eradicate them. They call them in their tongue *Mokiffes*, that is, *rural*, or *wood Demons*; and some are of opinion, that though they have their males and females, like the rest of mankind, they are incapable of procreating, some say, of coition (13). If this should be fact, though it contradicts what is hinted at the beginning of this note, it would incline one to believe them to be the unhappy offspring of some unnatural coition with those large baboons, which, we are told, have much of the human form, and are pretty numerous in their forests, and so lascivious, that they frequently ravish the women that come in their way; or at least that the native *Loangoese* deem them to be such. Sure it is, that some of those wild creatures that have been brought from thence into *Europe*, if we except the length and shape of their fingers and toes, and their being hairy behind, did, in all other respects, resemble the human species, and were very near as tall, especially those they call *Quoja mooroos*, from the neighbouring kingdom of *Quoja*, from which they are usually brought (14). Whatever they be, we are assured by all hands, that the king chiefly employs them in all his religious and superstitious ceremonies, and that they have the privilege of sitting before him (15).

(11) *Vossius Orig. Nili*, l. i. *Dapper Loango, La Croix, ubi sup.*

(13) *Ibid. ibid. & al. mult.*

(12) *Ogilvy's Afric. p. 508, & seq. Dapper,*

(14) *Ibid. ibid.*

(15) *Ibid. ibid.*

^a houses, and adorn their heads with feathers of cock pheasants, parrots, and other birds, paint their faces and bodies of divers colours, and hang little bits of linen, or cloth, little shells, pieces of iron, and other trinkets, on their bodies, and on the pedestals on which they are set, which are likewise made of earth, and somewhat like our stone mortars, in which the figure stands half in and half out; those they must equally consecrate to the bad as well as to the good demons; without which they would soon incur and feel the effects of their resentment^k. *Obliged to worship the bad and good.*

THE persons that are consecrated to the service of those deities, are usually well advanced in years, and chosen by the Enganga Mokisso, or chief of the magicians; and the ceremonies of their admission being somewhat ridiculous, the reader may see them in the margin (K). They are performed, however, before a numerous assembly, and by that time they are ended, the candidate begins to look wild, to make ugly wry faces, and to stretch his body into several indecent attitudes, with loud and terrible shrieks, and other frantic actions of a man possessed. He takes fire in his hands, and bites it without burning himself. Some of them are seen to run with desperate swiftness into some desert place, whither he must be sought out by beat of drum, and is found out with his body covered over with various leaves and other sorts of verdure, and brought home by his relations, with dances; and, if not really possessed by some demon, acts the part of one so well, that the people really believe him to be so. At his return he is asked by them, to what demon, law, and particular observation, he designs to bind himself (L); and as soon as he hath named one, a buckle, or ring, is fastened round his arm, which he must always wear, to put him in mind of his promise. By this time the spirit or demon, which they suppose to have caused all those various agitations, and to have given the answer above-mentioned by the mouth of the possessed, departs out of him, leaving him half dead. After he is come to himself, that ring becomes a warrant of his sincerity, and he swears by no other thing but the ring and the demon to which he hath dedicated himself; and so fearful are they of forswearing themselves, that they will dextrously avoid taking that oath, whenever they have no mind to speak the truth, or to perform their promise^l. *How consecrated.* *Their strange gambols and delusions.*

^k OGILBY'S *Afric.* DAPPER, DAVITY, LA CROIX, & al. ubi sup.

^l *Idem* ibid.

(K) The candidate for the Mokissohip is obliged to confine himself alone in a tent of palm leaves during the short time of his noviciate, which lasts only fifteen days; he must not speak one word to any one during the first nine days, nor salute any person even with the motion of his hands; to keep him in mind of it, he hath a parrot's feather stuck into each side of his mouth, and holds a stick in his hand, with a busto, or a man's head, carved on the upper end, which is one of the figures of their idols.

When the time is expired, he and his whole company, which chiefly consists of his relations, remove to some level ground, where neither tree nor shrub grows, where a drum is placed at the center, and the assembly form themselves into a large ring about it, and dance round at the sound of it; whilst the Enganga, or chief conjurer, who leads the dance, sings the praises of the Mokisso, or rural demon, and begs his assistance. The novice, if he be not sick, which is often the case of the candidates for this office, joins likewise in the dance, not in the ring, but around the drummer. This dancing continues about three days, after which the Enganga comes unperceived behind the novice, and scares him with his frightful outcries; upon which the drum immediately ceases, which had continued beating ever since four of the clock the evening before. The Enganga begins then to shew some of his phrenetic tricks, striking the idols with his stick, muttering some unintelligible words, and marking his own and the novice's body with little red and white spots, especially on the temples, eyebrows, and pit of the stomach, in a greater or smaller number, according to the height and violence of his phrensy. He howls hideously, stretches and distorts his whole body into various unseemly postures, takes burning coals in his hands, claps them to his mouth, without receiving any harm, and mimics all the extravagancies of a possessed person, which his pupil soon after (if we understand our authors, or they understood their inform-

ers aright, for they are very different and obscure in their accounts) strives to imitate as well as he can: and this is the ceremony that dubs him a Mokisso priest (16).

(L) These obligations are commonly of the negative kind, and consist in abstaining from some one single kind of meat, as the flesh of one kind of beast, fowl, or fish, some kinds of roots, pulse, fruits and herbs, going upon or over any water, and such-like; every tribe or family having some such obligatory ties, according to the demon peculiar to them.

As soon, therefore, as a child is born, the *Fetissero*, or priest, is sent for, who first interrogates the father and mother separately, wherein their peculiar vow, or obligation, and that of their ancestors, consists; and, being informed of it, he mutters something to himself, and then declares that the demon, or deity, enjoins the child to such or such observance and abstinence; that is, to one or two, or sometimes three of them, to which the mother takes special care to accustom them betimes.

Accordingly some of them will not allow themselves to go over the least puddle of water; others will cross a river over a bridge, though not in a boat, or any other way. Some will not suffer a razor nor scissars to go over their heads or faces; others will shave both; some will wear their hair long, and shave their beards; others will wear their beards, and shave their heads: and likewise with regard to their dress, the men are not allowed to go with their heads uncovered, but are obliged to wear some kind of cap or fillet about them. The women, on the contrary, are forbidden to wear any thing on their heads. The former are obliged to wear some furs over their privities: and the women, instead of them, are obliged to wear four or five pieces of Libongos, a sort of cloth, about two feet square, of the manufacture of the country (17), and which passes for current coin in it, as we shall see in the sequel.

(16) *Ogilby, ubi sup. p. 511, & seq. Dapper, La Croix, & al. ubi sup.*

(17) *Idem* ibid.

Little idols.

Of curing
diseases.Scrutiny about
the dead.Stupid notion
about them.Notions about
the soul.And of their
Mokisso.About the
deity and evil
spirits.

or-

de

or-

THE common people have also one or more of these Mokissos, or small idols; those of a higher rank wear them in greater numbers; and the king wears such quantities and variety of them, as would tire the reader with the bare mention. Whenever any one is sick, especially the king, or some great man, his friends and domestics will spend some days in getting his demon to enter into his body, and tell them, by the mouth of the patient, why, or for what crime or neglect, he suffers a person dedicated to him to be so punished; and, as soon as he hath acquainted them with the cause, then they try to pacify and bribe him, by fresh gifts and promises, to restore him to his health. And as they cannot be persuaded that any one can die a natural death, so, if the patient chance to die, they will spare neither time, cost, nor pains, in running from one of these conjurers to another, and from one province to another, sometimes during the space of two or three months, till they have found out one that can tell them both the cause and author of his death. Nothing can be more senseless than the implicit faith with which they receive the news, the notions they entertain concerning these feigned murders, and the method they take to retaliate them upon the pretended offender. They imagine, that the supposed murdered person is, by the same witchcraft, brought to life again, and spirited away into some desert place, where he is made to work hard to enrich his murderer, and is fed with meat without salt, because one single grain would enable him to take the most severe revenge on him. The folly of some goes so far as to imagine that souls may, by the same kind of witchcraft, be transported from one country to another, for the same ends; and that the natives of *Gibbi*, lately described, were much addicted to that diabolical commerce ^m.

THE *Loangoese* entertain various notions concerning the nature of the human soul, but all of them very extravagant and stupid. Those of the royal family imagine that the souls of their deceased relations transmigrate into the bodies of those that are afterwards born in the same family. Others think that the departed souls become demons, heroes, household gods, and guardian spirits, and make them little niches under the roof of the house, where they place their idols, which are commonly about a span long, and offer them some portion of their meat and drink, before they venture to taste a bit. Others assign them a place of resort under the earth, where they enjoy a new kind of life, in a higher or lower rank, according to their merits whilst embodied. A third sort think souls die with the bodies, unless they be kept alive by the witchcraft of an enemy, in order to render them serviceable to his avarice and interest. They all believe that their Mokissos, or, as the *Portuguese* call them, Fetissos, that is, the demon to whom they have been dedicated at their birth, have power to inflict punishments, or even death, on those who neglect or break any of those observances to which they have bound themselves. Accordingly, when a man enjoys a good degree of health, and other worldly prosperity, he naturally flatters himself that his Mokisso is well satisfied with his service and comportment; but, when matters go otherwise with him, he then thinks it high time to look about him, and to examine in what he hath displeased him, and what may be the properest means to regain his favour, or, at least, to ward off the deadly blow. But if one were to ask them what notion they have of the nature and power of those Mokissos, or what they mean by that word, they will answer that they understand by it that secret and incomprehensible energy or virtue, which they conceive and find to be lodged in some beings or things, of doing good and evil, and of communicating the knowledge of things past, present, and to come ⁿ. This, our author tells us, cannot be termed idolatry, seeing they neither attribute his power to the deity, of which they have scarcely any knowledge, nor to any evil spirit or devil, for which they have not so much as a name; so that they give the name of Mokisso to every thing in which they observe or suppose this extraordinary power. So that according to these authors, if they rightly understand, or have had this part of the *Loangoese* belief rightly explained to them, they, through mistake, ascribe those events to some extraordinary power and virtue of the Mokisso, which are either the effect of their imagination, or of natural means and the course of things. Thus if a man hath a good constitution, and lives chaste and regular, they attribute his health to the Mokisso, and to the salubrious rules and injunctions prescribed by it, instead of ascribing it to those virtues, which of themselves were capable of producing those effects (M). Whereas, did they look upon them to be more than the occult cause

^m OGILBY, *ibid.* p. 512, & seq. LA CROIX, *ubi sup.* vol. iii. p. 395, & seq. DAPPER, & al.

ⁿ DAPPER,

(M) We have great reason to question whether our authors above quoted were rightly instructed by their informers in all the particulars they have given us upon this head. If the *Loangoese* have no notion of a supreme deity, nor of any evil spirits, nor even a name in their language for the devil; if they stile every thing Mokisso, where they observe or suppose an over-

ruling power; whence can they imagine such an intelligent and over-ruling power can proceed? If they have no name for the devil, nor any notion of evil spirits, how came those authors to stile their Mokissos by that name? and their superstitious rites, conjuring and diabolical trade?

But it is plain, as we shall hereafter shew, from several

- a cause of some effect which is above their comprehension, did they imagine them to have a divine benevolent power, to be the disposers of good and evil, happiness and misery, rewards and punishments, both in this and a future life, which last they make a mere jest of, this would induce them to pay a suitable kind of worship to them, which yet they do not; and they would apply to them in a proper manner, instead of using such fortileges, and pretended conjuring tricks, which their juggling priests injoin them. Antient tradition and customs, and the example and practice of their princes and great men, whose interest it is to connive at and encourage such superstitions, all contribute to make them lay the whole stress of their good or ill fortune on the efficacy of such extravagant means, as conjuring songs, dances, drummings, and other preposterous ceremonies °.
- b BUT such is their extreme ignorance, it seems, that though their monarchs only stile themselves Mani, or lords of *Loango*, their subjects not only give them the title of Mokissos, but imagine them to be endowed with a kind of supernatural and unlimited power. He can, according to them, not only enrich and impoverish his subjects by one single word, raise destructive wars in the provinces, and send myriads of people to their graves; and, what is still more extraordinary, he can bring down, or withhold rains and storms at his pleasure. He can transform himself into a wild beast, and bend an elephant's tooth, so as to tie it in a knot. His nobles have likewise something of the same extraordinary power in a greater or lesser degree, according as their dignity is nearer or farther from the regal; according to which they are likewise tied to a greater or lesser number of rules and abstinences, but the king to the greatest number of all (N).
- c THE Engangas, or priests of this country, do all take the title of Mokisso; but are distinguished by the names of Mokisso, altar, or temple, which they serve, or, more properly, from the village in which they stand; as *Ganga-Therico*, *Ganga-Baesi-batta*, *Ganga-Kikokoo*, &c. There is a very great number of them in the kingdom, but neither temples, idols, nor ceremonies used in any of them, have any thing worth mentioning. We shall, however, describe one of them, and that, in every respect, the most remarkable of all, by which the reader may form a judgment of the rest.
- d It is that of *Therico*, a great village about four leagues northward of *Boarye*, or *Boarg*, the antient name of the capital *Loango* p. The temple, which makes a considerable part of the place, is a large building, the pillars of which, as well as the Mokisso, have the figure of a man. The Enganga, who is lord of the village, performs the service every morning, by striking a fleece of wool with his staff, and muttering some conjuring words, to which a youth, who assists him, makes regular responses. After which he addresses his petition to the Mokisso, in which he recommends to his care the health and prosperity of the king, the welfare of the country, the fertility of the land, the good success of their traffick, and their fishery. At the mention of the king's name, all the people clap their hands aloud, in token of assent and affection. This is all we are told concerning the worship of this Mokisso, in which there is little or nothing extravagant, or to be found fault with. But that of some others, especially of that of *Boesi-batta*, which is the next in dignity and rank, is performed with a greater and more noisy train of ceremonies, and pretended conjuring tricks, with the music of little bells,
- e

No notion of a future life.

Supernatural power attributed to their princes and nobles.

Strange education.

Variety of Mokissos.

That of Therico.

Absurdity of their worship of others.

° DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. ubi sup.

p See before, p. 536, & seq.

several ceremonies they observe towards their deceased friends, and the various wild ideas they entertain of their state and condition after death, that they entertain a kind of imperfect belief of a future life, of rewards and punishments, as well as of some deity that is the dispenser of them.

We are, indeed, told by *Odoard Lopez*, that they worship the sun as the greater or male, and the moon as the lesser or female, deity *; and, next to them, they are affirmed to acknowledge malevolent spirits, whom they call *Sagufchi*, or *Magufsi*, or according to *Battel*, *Mobissos*, to whom they pay an intire obedience, offer human and other sacrifices, according as their priests, who pretend a familiar converse with them, are pleased to prescribe †. From all which we may conclude, that they look upon the two luminaries to be the deities who dispense the good, and the Mokissos to be the inflictors of the evil, that happens to them both in this and the next life. And this may be probably the motive that induces them to stand in greater awe and to be more obedient to the latter than to the former.

(N) Thus, to give our readers an instance of this progression; when the first son of the king's sister, who is the presumptive heir, is born, he is conveyed to the village of *Kina*, where he is interdicted the eating of swine's flesh, all the time he sucks at the breast. As soon as he is weaned, he is removed to *Moanza*, where he is further interdicted the eating of a fruit called *Cola*. As soon as they perceive the down upon his cheeks, the care of him is committed to a celebrated priest, who is to instruct him how to abstain from all kind of fowl, except what he kills with his own hand, and directs the dressing of. As he draws nearer to the crown, he removes to *Salassi*, or, perhaps, *Salig*, *Bocko*, and *Caja*; in all which he binds himself in a still greater number of observances and abstinences of the like trifling nature, till he comes at length to mount the throne, where he plunges himself into an ocean of Mokissoish ceremonies, power, wisdom, and active intelligence of the Mokissate (19).

* *Ap. Pigafet, c. 10. ad fin. & alib. Dapper, & al.*† *Dawity, Loango, & auet. ab eo citat.*(19) *La Croix,*

drums, and other harsh instruments, but so ridiculous and void of sense or meaning, that we shall gladly forbear disgusting our readers with them. Those who are curious in such insignificant oddities, may see a fuller detail in the authors mentioned in the margin ^a.

*Funeral
obsequies.*

As they have no notion of a future life, except what the soul is forced to by enchantment; for the ill purposes lately hinted ^r, so all their mourning and funeral obsequies are calculated merely to express their respect for, and grief for the loss of, their deceased friends. Accordingly they hardly express any token of concern till the moribund is quite expired; and then it is that every one begins to howl and cry at a dreadful rate, croud about the dead body, bring it out of the house, and ask what was the cause of his death? whether want of food or other necessaries, or any enchantments, and the like? This loud hurly-burly lasts commonly about two or three hours; during which time some of the relations are busy in washing, comb-
ing, shaving, and anointing the deceased with red wood, paring his nails, and getting ready such of his goods as are to be cast into his grave, and others in digging it of a sufficient bigness to contain both it and them. As soon as all is thus far ready, they snatch up the corpse, and run away with it with all possible speed and hurry, the company following at the same furious rate; and, when they come to the place, throw the body and goods into the grave with the like precipitation. These are commonly some of the deceased's clothes, tools, weapons, &c. and, when they are too many for the grave to contain, they hang them upon short posts, stuck into the ground, after having first torn and mangled them, to prevent their being stolen. The mourning lasts six weeks; during which the relations of the deceased meet at the place morning and evening to bewail his death ^a.

*Their mourn-
ing;*

*for persons
of rank.*

*Other cere-
monies.*

If the deceased be a person of rank, they begin, even from the time of his falling sick, to make the strictest enquiries whether his disease be not caused by some inchantment. The Engangas, or juggling priests, are consulted about it, and give what answer and advice suit most to their interest or credit; and, if they pronounce him bewitched, all sorts of counter-charms are used for his cure. If none of them avail, and the patient die, they use much the same ceremonies with him as they do with those of meaner rank, but with this difference, that they extend the dead body on the floor, in some large chamber, instead of the street; and spend three days, instead of three hours, in lamenting his death, trimming his body, and making other preparations for his interment. All this time his male relations continue crying and howling about his corpse; whilst the female ones keep dancing in another apartment, and singing his panegyrics, setting forth the nobility of his lineage, the greatness of his estate, the number of his friends and enemies, and the state and grandeur in which he lived. The mention of his enemies by name seldom failing of creating a suspicion that some of them may have caused his death by witchcraft, especially if the Engangas have given their verdict in that sense, new and stricter enquiries are made; and if no certainty can be got out by that means, they unanimously resolve to consult one of the Mokissos, and every one contributes some clothes and other things to defray the expence of the enquiry. On the third day the corpse, with all the other goods that are to accompany it, are hurried away, with the same speed and precipitation lately mentioned, to the burying place, which is either in the fields, or at *Kienga*, where divers Engangas, or wizards, belonging to the Mokisso of *Kikokoo*, reside. There they throw the body and other utensils, such as an earthen pot, a wooden shovel, an arrow, a calabash, a drinking cup, a pipe, a tobacco-box, a staff, a lance, and others of the like nature. What is not thrown into the grave, is suspended on posts set around it; after which the mourning lasts two or three months, the friends and relations repairing to the place morning and evening, and making the usual howlings and lamentations over it, and the scrutiny after the cause of the person's death is carried on with the usual formality, by the near relation appointed by the rest for that purpose. The ceremony being only a mere juggle of the pretended conjurers, and having nothing either satisfactory or rational, the reader may see a short account of it in the margin (O), whilst we close up this of the funeral obsequies, with reminding

^a DAPPER, Loango, LA CROIX, ubi supra. p. 403, & seq. OGBURN'S Afric. p. 515.
* DAPPER, & al. ubi supra.

^r Sup. p. 548.

(O) It consists chiefly in consulting the Enganga about the reality of the person's being dispatched out of this world by some inchantment, and then in finding the inchanter out, and bringing him to condign punishment.

The first is done by consulting the Enganga about it, who, upon these occasions, commonly sits upon the ground, behind his house, with a large knife laid before him, which he often presses with his fingers, asking his pretended spirit, whether such a one, who is dead and buried, was killed by his Mokisso, for infringing

some of his injunctions? or whether any of his enemies caused him to be bewitched to death? He then begins to rub his hands one against another; and if he quickly after claps them one against the other, and leaves off rubbing, they take it for granted that the person was killed by his Mokisso, and not by inchantment; but if he continues rubbing and clapping alternately, they conclude that some witchcraft was used; and then the Enganga asks again, if he was bewitched to death? by whom was it done? an acquaintance or stranger? man or woman? where dwells the bewitcher?

a reminding the reader of what we touched upon on another account, concerning the right of inheritance; viz. that they are not the children, but the eldest brother or sister of the deceased that claim it[†].

THEY suffer no strangers to be buried in this country, but oblige them to be conveyed in a boat two miles from the shore, and to be flung into the sea. The occasion of this inhospitable custom, we are told, was this[‡]. A certain *Portuguese* gentleman chanced to die and to be buried there. He had not lain above four months in the ground, before a threatening famine, occasioned by want of rain, obliged the inhabitants to consult the Mokissos about the cause of it, who were answered, that a christian had been interred among them, and must be removed, and thrown into the sea, before they could obtain any rain. The people obeyed, and were blest with a plentiful rain within three days; and ever since that time they have not permitted any of them to be put into the ground. The commerce of this country consists chiefly in slaves, which are esteemed the greatest riches of it: we shall, however, forbear repeating what we have said of it in some foregoing chapters, particularly in the history of *Angola*[§], it being nearly the same, and carried on in the same manner along all these coasts. The *Loangoese* sell likewise great quantities of ivory, tin, lead, iron, and copper, which they fetch as far as from the mines of *Sundi*, which lie on the road to *Pombo*, which last almost adjoins to the *Abissinian* empire^{*}. The smiths and artists in mines go hence in the month of *September* for the kingdom of *Sundi*, and being arrived at the mountains where the copper mines are, set their slaves to work in them. They melt the ore on the spot; but as they have not the art of purifying it from other metals, which will intermix themselves with it, even within the bowels of the earth, their copper is neither so pure nor so valuable. The *Europeans* have, since the last century, sent some good artists to teach them how to refine it, but the natives are either so indocile or indolent, that they have not reaped any great advantage from their instructions. They are employed at that work until the month of *May* following, at which time they bring with their copper great quantities of elephants teeth, but of a smaller size, and of elephant's tails, which the *Portuguese* convey to *Loanda San Paulo*, where the negroes of that town have the art of weaving that hair into bracelets, collars, girdles, and other ornaments, exceedingly neat and beautiful.

THESE two last commodities the *Loangoese* bring from *Buka Maela*, al. *Boekamela*; in exchange for which they carry thither salt, palm-oil, *Silesia* tickings, cutlasses, looking-glasses, beads, and other such trifling rarities. This traffick might be made much more advantageous,

[†] See before, p. 545. DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. ubi sup.

[‡] Before, p. 497, & seq.

[§] BATTEL in Purchas Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 981.

^{*} See the map prefixed to the *Abissinian* history.

witcher? what Mokisso did he apply to to do the jobb?

If the Enganga can give them no satisfactory answer to those questions, which he seldom ventures to do, they will pursue their enquiry, and ramble from one end of the kingdom to the other, two or three months successively, consulting every Enganga and Mokisso, till they can, by some means or conjecture, pitch upon some body for the supposed offender, or at least upon some village where he lives. Having gone so far as they think fit in their enquiry, they apply to the king, or to the chief of the Bandas, for leave to summon the village to undergo the trial of the Bandas-cup. The king commonly appoints nine or ten persons to try the cause. These go and sit on the highway, on the ground, in the form of a half moon, and summon the whole hamlet to appear. Whoever neglects the summons, man or woman, are of course deemed guilty; for which reason they dare not absent themselves.

Accusers and accused being heard, a cup of the Bandas liquor is offered to every one of the latter; which while they drink, the judges beat their drums with small sticks, and afterwards cut them into little pieces, and throw them on the ground, and bid the accused to walk one after another upon them, and to fall down if they are guilty, and if innocent, to stand and piss upon them. If any of them trip or stumble, they are so overwhelmed with the hideous din of the by-standers, that they have no power to rise, and are therefore cast as guilty. But those that can keep upon their legs, and piss upon some of the chips of the sticks, are carried off in triumph to the village.

If none of the men are so unhappy as to fall, the

women must come next and drink one after another out of the same cup; and if any of them fall, they are hurried away to death without mercy, as well as the men. And it often happens that these unhappy victims of superstition and jugglery are half or three parts martyred before they come to the place of execution, by the haling and blows of the spectators, who, old and young, men and women, in this country, take an inhuman delight in tormenting them.

Our authors do not tell us exactly what liquor it is that the Bandas give them to drink, only *Dapper*, who calls it *Imbonda*, says, it is made from the root of a tree, or shrub, of that name, about six inches long, and resembling a white carrot. He adds, that the liquor brewed from it is excessively bitter, and so strong, that one root would serve to try an hundred people; and that by its astringency, which is attended with a suppression of urine, it is apter to fly up into the head; though he seems to allow, that, by the enchantment of the Enganga, or conjurer, it acquires a still greater strength and virtue. If that were the case, what need would there be to give it in such a large dose as a pint and a half to each person; which, nauseous as he describes it, and he tells us he tasted of it, one would think impossible for any one, especially of the female kind, to swallow down. However that be, we may reasonably conclude it, from the whole process, to be intoxicating to a high degree; and that those jugglers make it more or less so, according as they are bribed, or inclined to save or sacrifice a person. It is, however, seldom seen that the rich submit to this trial; so that the whole burden falls only on the poor, who are not in a condition to buy it off (20).

(20) *Dapper*, *La Croix*, ubi sup. *Ogilby's Afric.* p. 541.

Obstructed by the Giagas. and be extended as far as *Pombo*, *Monzo*, and the kingdom of *Micocco*, but for the plundering *Giagas* that swarm along these parts, and infest all the roads between *Loango* and *Pombo*; inasmuch, that the masters, not daring to hazard their persons, are obliged to carry it on by their slaves. The *Portuguese* export likewise from *Loango* several sorts of cloths, the manufacture of the country, some of which pass for money both there and in other neighbouring kingdoms. *Ivory traffick* As for the ivory trade, it hath been found long since to dwindle every year *very diminished.* more, whether it be that the elephants are almost exhausted, or that the natives think it too far to fetch it, the journey to and fro taking them full three months, there being no other way of bringing those elephants teeth but on the heads of their slaves.

THOSE *Europeans* that design to trade to *Loango*, are obliged to obtain a licence for it from the king, by dint of rich presents, not only to him, but to his mother, to his queen, to the two intendants of the finances, and to the governor of *Majumba*, which makes it very chargeable and difficult. Add to this, that the *Loangoese*, not understanding any language but their own, one is obliged to hire some of their fishermen, who have commonly a smattering of the *Portuguese*, to serve for interpreters and brokers^y.

Their money. THEIR money is no other than a slight piece of cloth of their own weaving, of which we have spoken a little higher; and four of which being sown together, each of the breadth and width of a span and a half, are worth about a penny. These pieces, which the *Portuguese* call *Pannos sambes*, were in great vogue before the establishing of the *East-India* companies, when all the provinces of *Holland* exchanged them for the copper and elephants teeth which they purchased. But from that time their value is greatly lessened; and seventeen of those *Libongos*, as they are called, are given for a *Silesia* ticking, and five for a pound of ivory^z.

Government. WE have already hinted that *Loango* was part of the kingdom of *Kongo*, and that the Mani, or governors, of its several provinces, revolted from it, and erected themselves into independent principalities, till one of them grew rich and powerful enough to subdue all the rest, and not only to assume the royal title and dignity, but to strip his old master of several other of his provinces, and to make himself so absolute in his new kingdom, as to be in some measure worshipped as a god by his subjects^a. They give him the name, or title, of *Sambapongo*, which is that of the deity, and ascribe almost as extensive a power to him, and address him either for rain or fruitful seasons, and temporal blessings, with even greater solemnity than other nations do their gods (P).

The kingdom how founded. Most of the king's chief ministers are likewise appointed Mani, or governors of provinces, the revenues of which enable them to live with greater splendor, and to make a greater figure at court, than they could do with the bare salaries of their respective posts. The Mani Bomma, for instance, is both high admiral and governor of *Lovangiri*. The Mani-mambo, or head general, hath the government of *Loango Mongo*, but commonly with two others joined in the same commission, as that province is thought too large, and of too great consequence, to be entrusted to one person. The Mani-boloor hath that of *Chilongo*, together with the superintendency of the Dakkins, or conjurers, and the Bandas. Mani-belullo hath a kind of sovereignty over the province of *Kilongatiamo Congo*, without paying any tribute or homage to the king. Mani-canga, or kinga, is lord lieutenant of *Piri*, and superintendant over the Cangas, or priests; and Mani-matta, which last word signifies a bow, is the commanding officer over the king's guards, or, according to others, is the intendant of the artillery^b. The Moeton-ambomba, or vice-admiral, hath the province of *Polovey*, and so of the rest. Besides these, the king appoints several inferior ministers for the management of his other affairs; among whom his cup-bearer, butler, and high steward, are the most in favour, and have the greatest sway with him. To all which we may add a great number of others,

^y DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, BATTEL, & al.
^z BATTEL, ubi sup. vol. ii. p. 980, & al. sup. citat. sup. p. 503.

^a Ibidem ibid. vide & supra, p. 498, & seq.
^b Confer. LA CROIX, DAPPER, OGILBY, ubi

(P) *Battel*, who was present at one of these grand ceremonies, when they addressed that prince for a supply of rain, tells us, that every one of the supplicants brought him a present; after which he appointed a day for the solemnity; which when come, all his grandees and chief officers assembled themselves, with their men all armed as for war. They presented themselves before him in their proper turns, with their bows and arrows, which they variously handled with great dexterity, kneeling at his feet. He sat in an open place, where there was a carpet spread on the ground, about fifteen fathoms in length, and as many in breadth, of a rich stuff they call *Enjak*, and is wrought in the manner of our velvets.

On this carpet was his throne, raised about two yards from the ground, on which he sat; and having thanked his nobles for their duty, commanded the *Dembis*, a large kind of kettle-drum, to strike up, and his eight *Pongos* (or large trumpets, made of elephants teeth) to sound. In the height of this music, or rather horrid noise, the king stood up, took his bow in his hand, and shot an arrow upwards towards the sky, which was accompanied with the loudest shoutings of the whole assembly. The ceremony was succeeded by a plentiful rain, and the day concluded with the greatest rejoicings (21).

(21) *Battel ap. Purchas*, vol. ii. p. 980.

a mostly nobles, who have their several districts assigned by the king, and over which they preside as inferior judges, particularly in his capital of *Loango*, where they act as inferior magistrates ^d.

THESE monarchs are reckoned very powerful, and capable of bringing vast armies into the field. Their country is, indeed, very narrow towards the sea, but spreads itself wider in the inland, and extends itself very far towards the east. All his subjects that are able bear arms, being like so many inrolled soldiers, and obliged to appear in arms at the usual musters, to perform their respective exercises before him, and to follow him or his generals to the wars, where-ever he commands them; yet they live in peace with their neighbours, especially with the kings of *Cacongo* and *Angoy*. Their troops are armed with darts, which have pretty large heads of iron, like our halberds, or the antient *Roman* javelins. They have a handle about the middle of the staff, by means of which they throw them with great force and justness. They carry also a kind of dagger, resembling in some measure the heads of their darts ^e. Their targets are big enough to cover almost the whole body, and strong enough to repel an arrow or dart, being made of the hard and thick hides of an empacha, a creature somewhat less than an ox, which the *Germans* call dante ^f, and whose hides are transported from their country into the kingdoms of *Kongo*, *Angola* and *Loango*, by the *Portuguese*, as we have elsewhere hinted, and there made into jerkins, corselets, and breast-plates. *His strength. Forces. Weapons. Long targets.*

THEIR laws, whether they have any compiled body of them, or which is much more likely, whether they immediately depend upon the king's will, are much more gentle than in other neighbouring states, except in crimes committed against the king's person, dignity, or honour. They never condemn a man to death for theft, but content themselves with obliging the offender to restore either the theft or equivalent to it, and exposing him, with his hands tied behind him to a tree or a post, to the sport and laughter of the spectators. If a bankrupt who hath wronged whole families by borrowing, afterwards absconds or runs away, the creditors have a right to seize on one or more of his near relations, and hold him or them in confinement till the debt is satisfied; but we do not find that any other punishment is provided against the capital debtor, or run-away. *Laws.*

WE have observed, under a foregoing article, that adultery is only punished with a fine; but this indulgence is so far from extending to the king's wives and concubines, that, if any of them be debauched or suspected to be so, both she and her paramour are condemned to the flames, and burnt alive, without remission, in sight of each other. Those monarchs have commonly a vast number of wives, because they are obliged to keep those of their predecessors as well as their own, inasmuch, that they amount sometimes to six or seven thousand. These he keeps confined in his seraglio, and only singles out some of them for his pleasures, and obliges the rest to employ themselves in some sorts of useful work. Should any of these be found pregnant, the crime of incontinence is too fully proved for her to escape the punishment of it, but she must moreover confess her partner in it, which they seldom are prevailed upon to do but by dint of torture, and will sometimes cause an innocent person to share in their dreadful fate, in order to save the beloved paramour. But if they are even barely suspected of inconstancy, both she and her pretended gallant are doomed to the Banda's bitter cup, lately mentioned; and, if found guilty by that fallacious ordeal (Q), both are immediately executed ^h. *Against adultery. The king's concubines how punished for it. How tried for it.*

BESIDES the crimes of rebellion, revolt, high treason, all which are punished with the most severe deaths and confiscation, at the king's pleasure, it is reckoned here a capital and unpardonable crime, if any subject be found guilty of the crime of incontinence, or of any other crime, which is punished with the most severe deaths and confiscation, at the king's pleasure, it is reckoned here a capital and unpardonable crime.

^d Idem ibid.

^e PIGAFET, Relat. of Congo, p. 31.

DAPPER, LA CROIX, vol. iii. p. 372. OGILBY'S Afric. ubi sup.

^f See before, vol. v. p. 686.

^g BATTEL,

(Q) Battel, who saw this detestable ceremony often performed at the capital of *Loango*, informs us, that those Bandas are arrant jugglers and knaves, who could so qualify the dose, as to make an innocent person fall, or a guilty one escape; so that, in fact, the poor were commonly the only sufferers, whilst the rich got themselves acquitted by dint of bribery. He adds, that there passes not a week in which there is not some persons brought to this dreadful ordeal, and that great numbers are destroyed by it, through the knavery of the Bandas; who are yet so dextrous in acting their parts, that the cheat is never perceived (22).

The same author tells us in one place, that the spectators dispatch the pretended criminal with their knives,

as soon as they perceive him to turn giddy and stagger; and in another, that they cry out, *undoke, undoke*, that is, *wicked wizard, or witch*, and knock him or her on the head, and, dragging the body away, cast it headlong down some precipice (23). But this must be understood only of those who are tried and found guilty of bewitching any one to death; against whom the relations of the deceased let themselves loose with the utmost fury (24). For as to the women of the king's seraglio, who are found guilty of unfaithfulness or incontinence, both they and their supposed gallants are condemned to the flames, and executed in full sight of one another (25).

(22) In Purchas Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 983. *vid. sup.* p. 456, & 546, & al.

(23) Conf. vol. ii. ubi sup. & vol. v. p. 771.

(24) De hoc, (25) Vide Dapper, Loango, La Croix, vol. iii. p. 372. Ogilby, ubi sup. & al.

*Death to see
the king eat
or drink.*

donable offence to see him either eat or drink (R), though he generally dines and sups in a public, and in the presence of a great number of his nobles and attendants. He commonly contents himself with two meals a day, and hath two houses appropriated to that purpose, the one for eating, and the other for drinking. To the first he repairs commonly about ten of the clock, which is his dinner hour, and there finds his victuals ready brought in some sort of baskets, a servant going before them with a little bell, to give notice that the king's table is going to be covered. The high steward hath no sooner laid his meat before him, but he immediately retires, and locks the door after him, leaving neither man nor beast in it to see him eat; his numerous court being waiting all the while in an antichamber, in order to follow him to his drinking-house, to which he usually adjourns as soon as he hath dinedⁱ.

*His drinking-
hall describ'd.*

THIS last is the grandest and noblest apartment in the whole palace, and is surrounded with a spacious court, inclosed with palisadoes of palm-trees, it being likewise the place where he administers justice to his subjects. The room is hung round with a rich tapestry, about eight

His throne.

feet high; and on the farther end of it is the Tial, or royal throne, which is made of fine palmetto pillars, white and black, and curiously wrought and interwoven in the manner of basket work. The front of the apartment is wide open, to let in the fresh air; and about twenty feet beyond it stands a screen, or partition, quite across, to keep the palm wine which he drinks from being seen. On each side of the throne stand two large osier baskets of black and red palmetto, in which the natives tell you the king keeps his lares, or familiar spirits, who guard and preserve his person; and other conjuring charms to prolong his life. On each side

*Manner of his
eating and
drinking.*

of him stand his two cup-bearers, one of whom reaches him the cup, when he beckons for it, and the other, who holds two iron rods, not unlike two drum-sticks, strikes them together, to give notice that he is going to drink. Upon which, all the nobles, both in the hall and out of it, fall down with their faces to the ground, and the cup-bearer, who presents the wine to him, turns his back. In this posture they all continue till notice is given, by the ceasing of the signal, that he hath drank his wine; upon which they immediately get up, and by their loud clapping of hands, express their joy and good wishes for him. It is likewise another mark of respect, whenever any one is allowed to drink in his presence, to turn his back towards him. No one is permitted to drink out of his cup, or to eat of the victuals which he leaves after dinner or supper; but the remainder is carefully gathered up, and buried in the earth^k.

*His banquet-
ing house, and
hall of au-
dience.*

As this drinking-hall is likewise the place where he hears causes, and where matters of the greatest importance are discussed, it often happens that he stays in it till about an hour after sunset; but, if there be nothing of that nature upon the tapis, he commonly retires to his seraglio, and passes the rest of the afternoon with some of his wives. About seven, or soon after, he repairs to his eating-house, where he eats his supper, with the same ceremonies used at dinner, and then adjourns to the banquetting-house, and stays there usually till bed-time, that is, till about nine or ten of the clock, and then retires to his rest, being usually attended by two or three torches, to light him from one apartment to another (S).

HE

ⁱ BATTEL, LA CROIX, & al. ubi sup.

^k. Ibidem ibid.

(R) The reason of this custom is founded, if *Battel* was rightly informed (26), on a superstitious notion which reigns among them, that it would endanger his life if he was seen eating or drinking. And this ridiculous whim is so strongly impressed on those monarchs, that they will cause even their own children to be put to immediate death; of which we have the two following remarkable instances, related by two authors who were then at court when they happened.

The first is of a nobleman's child, about seven or eight years old, who having been accidentally left asleep in the banquetting house, awaked just as the king was drinking; for which he was condemned to die. All that his father could obtain was a reprieve of seven days; which being expired, the child was brought and struck on the nose with a hammer, and his blood dropped upon the king's Mokisso; after which, a halter being tied about his neck, he was dragged to the broad way, where the malefactors are commonly executed who are found guilty by means of the *Bandas* crench (27).

The other, still more remarkable, is one of the king's sons, about twelve years old, who unfortunately

coming in when his father was drinking, was by him condemned to be quartered, and carried about the city, and a proclamation was made, that it was for seeing the king drink (28).

Much the same misfortune happened in *Bruno's* time, to another young prince, about nine years of age, who rising and running to his father's embraces, whilst he was drinking, the chief priest cried out that he must be put to death. Immediately after which his head was cleft with a hatchet by an unknown hand, and the priest took some of the blood and rubbed it upon the king's arm, to avert the evil omen (29).

This law extends even to brute animals; inasmuch, that a favourite dog, presented to the king by a *Portuguese*, chancing to come into the room when he was at dinner, was ordered to be immediately killed (30).

(S) We must not, however, suppose that these monarchs are so tenacious of those rules, as if they were observed alike by all. So far from that, *Battel* tells us, that though the then reigning one was never to be found in the audience hall but in the afternoon, yet his predecessor, whom he calls *Tomba*, would never give audience to any except in the night; so that the

(26) *In Purchas Pilgr.* vol. ii. p. 980.

(27) *Ogilby, ubi sup.* p. 505. *Battel, ubi sup.*

(28) *Iidem*

ibid. (29) *Bruno on Navig. ap. de Brys. Ind. Orient. part i. Append. p. 12 (2).*

(30) *Ogilby, ubi sup.*

vid. & Dapper & La Croix, vol. iii. p. 375.

a HE seldom or never stirs out of his palace, but on some grand festival, or upon some solemn occasion, such as receiving of an embassy, hunting of some mischievous leopard that lurks about his capital, or quelling of some revolt. He likewise shews himself abroad on the day in which they begin to plough and sow his own lands, or when his vassals come to pay their usual homage, and yearly tribute. Upon these occasions he publicly repairs to a spacious green that faces his palace, in the center of the city, where is erected a throne of white and black wickers of palm-tree, curiously interwoven, and raised upon a foot-pace, and adorned with other curious embellishments.

Days on which he appears in public.

b CLOSE to the back of the throne, is spread a kind of escutcheon, or shield, pendent on a pole, and made up of various pieces of *European* stuffs, curiously joined, and of different colours. On each side the throne are set about eight umbrellas, or fans, curiously wrought with the finest of their country thread, and fixed at the ends of long sticks, which run through the center of them. These umbrellas, which the natives call *Pos* and *Mani*, or, according to *Battel*, *Pongos*, have the form of a hemisphere inverted, and about two yards in diameter; and the staff to which they are fixed is about the thickness of a man's arm, and the length of two or three yards, with a large tassel, or bushy tuft above, and several others under the half-concave. All these, and several other pensile ornaments, of different materials, being whirled about horizontally with great vehemence by proper persons appointed for that office, raise a kind of artificial breeze, very refreshing and delightful to all that are near them¹.

The palace and throne described. Fans to cool the air.

c THE ground before the throne is covered with a large carpet, or cloth of quilted leaves, neatly sewed, about forty yards long, and twenty broad, on which none but the king or his children may set their foot, but, round about it, there is room enough left for two or three persons to pass; and beyond that all the nobles and officers of the household are seated cross-legged around, some on the ground, and others on cushions, or carpets, each holding in their hand, and waving about, a buffalo's tail. The servants in great numbers surround their masters on the outside, all seated in the same posture; and, at proper places and distances, are placed the musicians, or players upon various instruments, such as the reader may see described in the margin (T), which not only give a very agreeable sound, but add likewise an air of grandeur to the solemnity. Before the king's carpet above-mentioned sit a number of dwarfs, with their backs towards the throne. These are by the natives called *Bakke*, and white *Moors*. *Bakke*, by some *Mimos*, and by others *European Pigmies*^m, and are said to be but half a man's stature, but thick and squat, and to be chiefly employed in killing of elephants, which are in great plenty in their territories, which lie near a month's journey north-east of *Loango*, on the road to *Micocco*. Those that are brought from thence are generally chosen for their deformity, especially the disproportionate largeness of their headsⁿ. Their cloathing is suited to their appearance, being no other than the skins of beasts tied about their middle. These the king causes to be intermixed, by way of contrast, with a number of white *Moors* we have described in a former note^o, and both together make a very grotesque figure, in their antic gestures and in their motions.

Music playing before him.

His dwarfs and white Moors.

e BEFORE the running passage that leads to the royal throne, stand three or four officers, with iron instruments in their hands, not unlike in shape and sound to those bells which our country people hang about cows and sheeps necks, the noise of which is to command silence; and in the city, where the same men likewise officiate as criers, they proclaim the king's orders, and notify things either lost or found, by the sound of the same instruments^p (U).

As

¹ OGILBY, ubi sup. LA CROIX, ubi sup. DAPPER, & al.

^a PIGAFET, DAPPER, & al.

^o See before, p. 546, & seq. sub not. (I).

^m DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. ubi sup.

^p OGILBY, ubi sup. p. 508.

place was often crowded with people till midnight (31). In like manner some spend great part of the day with their wives, and visit them only in the night; so that their will or humour seems to be their only rule.

(T) These are of three sorts, the one made of ivory, like our hunting horns, but of different sizes and bores, but which, joined together, yield a loud yet pleasant sound (32).

The second sort is the drum, which they have of various sizes, and is made and beat much after the same manner as those of *Kongo* and *Angola* formerly described (33).

The third is like a *Biscayan* tabor, that is shaped like our large sieves, with a drum skin, instead of a lawn or wire grate. The hoop about it hath holes of about

one inch and a half, or two inches, in which are fastened flat pieces of tin or brass through a wire, which make a kind of jingle every time the tabor is moved, or beat with the hand (34).

(U) *Battel* tells us, that the king himself hath one of these bells; which is such a terror to all thieves in his capital, that none of them dare keep any thing stolen, after they have heard the sound of it; of which he gives a signal instance which happened to him during his stay in it. He lived in a mean slight house, built after the manner of the country, and had a fowl-ing piece hanging against the wall in a cloth case, which were stolen from him. But upon complaint, the bell was ordered to be rung through the city, and both gun and case were found by the next morning lying

(31) *Battel*, ubi sup. p. 980. Ogilby, La Croix, & al. pass. before, p. 498, & seq. sub not. (F).

(32) Ogilby, ubi sup. La Croix, vol. iii, p. 380. Dapper, & al.

(33) See before

The dance performed before the king.

The leaping salute paid to the king.

Tilling of his land.

Manner of giving audience. How addressed.

His hunting of the leopard.

Manner of taking and killing it.

As soon as the king is seated on his throne, the music playing all the while, a set of officers, a or gentlemen, begin a brawl, or round dance, called *Kilomba*, around the royal carpet, in which they toss their arms about backwards and forwards, and show all possible activity with their bodies; and when any of them hath been so happy as to please his majesty by his performance, of which notice is given to him by his opening arms, he immediately draws nearer to the throne, and after rolling himself several times on the sand, to testify his gratitude and subjection, some of them are allowed to clap their hands upon his knees, and their heads into his bosom; and others to express their joy in some more humble guise^a. The nobles have the privilege of saluting the king in the former manner, and in approaching nearer and nearer to his person, taking several large steps, or bounds in the air, backwards and forwards; and as these have their separate seats on each side of the throne, they cause their own vassals, who b attend them on these occasions, to perform the ceremony to them; and this is called the *Kilombo*, or leaping salute, and is always used upon the grand occasions above-mentioned, and particularly when the king's vassals come to pay their homage and tribute to him^c.

THE next grand solemnity is called the Seeding-time, and falls always on the 4th of *January*, when men and their wives appear before him in the same state, in order to till and sow his lands. The men appear in arms, whilst the women are busied in breaking the ground, not, indeed, to assist them in, but to see that they go through with the slavery, to protect them from insults, and to prevent their quarrelling one with another. This is a service to which they must all submit, and from which none can absent themselves without incurring some pecuniary penalty, and to which the king himself repairs in person about three in the afternoon, to encourage them, and see that his work is well done. In the evening they are all invited to sup at his charge; and this is esteemed a grand festival among them. In the like manner is every vassal obliged to send his wives to till the land of his respective lord; and when they have performed this last service, they are at liberty to go and work for themselves on what waste piece of ground they like best; for all the rest of the lands are held in common: and when any one hath begun to cultivate one spot, it is not lawful for another to interfere with him in it^d.

WHEN an ambassador is admitted to audience, or a nobleman or gentleman comes to present a suit or complaint, they must open the ceremony with the clapping of their hands two or three times; and when answered in the same manner, they cry aloud, *Empo lausan bian Pongo*; that is, *Hearken for God's sake*, or, *in God's name*: to which he is answered, *Tie-sambie Zingha*; that is, *Long live God*; which is as much as to say, that they are permitted to speak, and do so accordingly, beginning their speech, or request, with the word *Wag*, and ending with *In mama wag*, or, *I here conclude*. If any person present hath aught to object against it, he is allowed to do it, but must begin and end with the same words; which, we are told, are used in all their pleadings, warrants, and orders from the king^e.

THE last occasion on which the king shews himself in public, is on the hunting of some leopard within the neighbourhood of his capital. These creatures being numerous and very hurtful in these parts, the noblemen are allowed to summon all their vassals to hunt and destroy them; and when any of them hath destroyed one of those animals, he gives notice of it to the king, by bringing the tail of it to *Loango*, and hanging it on a palmetto pole before the royal palace. But if any of those vermin are discovered within the neighbourhood of that capital, the king, upon the first notice of it, orders all the inhabitants, by beat of drum and sound of the trumpet, to appear in arms, and to accompany him to the place where the creature is lodged. If it be too far for him to walk to it, he is carried thither in his wicker chair (W), borne upon four mens shoulders. When they are come to the leopard's den, or to the wood where his haunt is, the people set themselves about, some to surround and beset the avenues, armed with their bows and javelins, whilst others lay their traps, or spread their nets, to catch it alive. A third sort fall on beating the wood, sounding their trumpets, beating their drums, and making a most hideous din to dislodge it, till the affrighted creature, f unable to break its way thro' volleys of darts and arrows, is forced into the net or trap, where, in the presence of the prince, every one strives to dispatch it. He then orders it to be flayed

^a Ibidem ibid. & al.

^c Ibidem ubi sup.

^d DAPPER Loango, LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 385. OGILBY & al. ^e OGILBY, ubi sup. p. 508. LA CROIX, p. 386.

before his door. He adds another instance of a person who recovered a bag of beads, of an hundred pound weight, by the same method (35).

(W) This is no better than a plain ordinary square seat, made of palmetto or other twigs, neatly woven, and about two feet deep. It is commonly covered

with blue cloth, and hath two staves, one on each side, by which the porters carry it like those we have described at *Angola* and *Kongo*, with this difference, that the latter are laid upon their head, and the former upon their shoulders (36).

(35) Purchas Pilgr. vol. v. p. 770, & seq. La Croix, ibid. vol. iii. p. 387. Ogilby, & al.

(36) See before, p. 459, & seq. See also Dapper Loango,

a by one of his officers, and the skin to be carried to his palace, the body being opened, and the gall taken out; the former is buried very deep in a hole dug for that purpose, upon the spot; and the latter, which is reckoned among them one of the strongest poisons, is cut up and flung into the next river, to prevent an ill use being made of it. The skin is carried in triumph by the huntsmen to the palace, where the ceremony is closed with singing, dancing, and variety of other pastimes ^u.

THEIR funeral obsequies are performed with great pomp, and much after the same manner we have observed among those neighbouring kingdoms that have not been converted to christianity; but with this manifest difference, however, at least of later years, that they have left off that inhuman custom, so much in vogue in these *African* parts, of burying wives, relations, domestics, and slaves, alive with them; instead of which, they surround the funeral seat, on which the corpse is placed, with little pictures of clay, wood, wax, and other materials, to serve them as their attendants into the other world; yet some slaves, we are told, they still slaughter, and bury in the same or some adjacent vault. These vaults are made large enough to contain, besides the corpse, which is always arrayed in the most pompous manner, and with all the regalia, a great number of other utensils and household lumber, as pots, kettles, pans, pitchers, cups, clothes, linen, &c. These slaves, we are told, are buried with their masters, not only to attend them in the other life, but likewise to bear witness, when they come to appear before the great monarch, or God, of the other world, how they have lived and behaved in this ^w; which, if true, though it confirms what we have before observed of their obscure and imperfect idea of the Supreme Being, yet plainly confutes what some authors have affirmed of their disbelief of a future state ^{*}.

WE have already observed, that the inheritance goes not to the children, but to the elder brother or elder sister's children; and the same rule is observed in the succession to the crown; and, to prevent confusion and disputes about it, those who claim a pretension to it, have particular towns or villages assigned for them to live in, nearer or farther from that of *Loango*, according to their being further from, or nearer to, the succession: they have likewise their titles from those towns; thus the next heir to the crown is called *Mani-kay*, from the town of that name, about five or six miles north-west of that capital. The next to him is called *Mani-bokke*, and lives at that town, which is between fifteen and sixteen miles farther up the country. *Mani-sallaga*, or *Salag*, the third in rank, lives at *Salag*, thirty-five miles from *Loango*. *Mani-kat*, the fourth in course, lives at *Kat*, a village about fifty miles. And *Mani-inyami*, the fifth and last, at a hamlet southwards of that capital, and near the kingdom of *Cacongo*. So that when the prince on the throne dies, *Mani-kay*, who succeeds him, removes to *Loango*, and the other four remove one stage nearer to it, according to their rank, and a new one is nominated to succeed *Mani-inyami*. But though *Mani-kay* enters into his government immediately after the demise of his predecessor, he commonly stays in his old residence about six months longer, that is, till the funeral ceremonies of his interment and mourning are ended, before he makes his public appearance at court ^x.

WE know little more of the history of those monarchs, than what hath been already said, either in this section, or in the two preceding chapters, relating to those of *Kongo* and *Angola*, against whom, especially the former, they continued for some time in a state of war, after they had shaken off their yoke, and made themselves absolutely independent, in the manner we have already related ^y. It was not long, however, before they found means to reconcile them to that brave though mortifying step, and to prevail on them (other circumstances concurring) to live in peace and amity with them; and in that friendly state they were in, when our *Portuguese* historian landed first in these parts ^z. Since which time we do not meet with any hostile transactions that have passed between them, but, on the contrary, have frequently found them strictly allied against some other neighbouring princes to the eastward of their dominions, and oftener still in suppressing the *Giagas*, those constant pests of their mutual traffick, and common invaders, and perpetual terror of every realm along these coasts.

THIS beneficial commerce, which hath been still carried on between the subjects of these two crowns, notwithstanding their above-mentioned rupture, and might have been made more extensive and gainful to both, but for the frequent inroads of these plundering canibals, who infest every road, and never could be totally suppressed, with their united forces, hath however so closely combined the inhabitants of both, that it was once firmly hoped that the conversion of the one to christianity, would be soon followed by that of the other. This may appear ill-grounded, considering the ignorance and strange superstition of the *Loangoese*; and yet we are told by several hands, that in their conversing with the *Kongoese* converts, they had expressed an earnest desire for some proper missionaries, who might come and instruct them in that faith, for which they professed a much greater liking, by what they had observed

^u Ibidem ibid. ^w OGILBY, & al. ubi sup. ^{*} De hoc, vide sup. p. 548, & seq. ^x BATTEL ap. Purchas, vol. ii. p. 383. OGILBY, ubi sup. p. 503, & seq. ^y Before, p. 418, & seq. 456, & seq. ^z ODOARD. LOPEZ ad. Pigafet, lib. i. c. 5.

The cause of
the scarcity of
missionaries in
those hot cli-
mates.

in their neighbours. than they now had for their old idolatrous and heathenish worship. What a is still more surprising, their own monarchs, respected and idolized as they are by their subjects, and conceited as they are of their imaginary power, wisdom, and greatness, did yet condescend to make several pressing instances to the kings of *Kongo* and *Angola*, as well as to the *Portuguese* viceroy at *Loanda*, to the same intent, and to promise the greatest encouragement to any missionaries that should come to preach the gospel in his dominions^a. They even offered a free and advantageous trade into their country, not to the *Portuguese* only, but to any *European* nation that would send them christian preachers of any order or denomination, yet never could obtain the satisfaction of entertaining any of those so much longed-for and desired guests; which was owing to the great scarcity there was of such holy men in both these kingdoms, the occasion of which we have already sufficiently hinted^{*}; viz. the b small number of them that are sent thither from *Europe*, and the terrible havock which the inclemency of the weather, change of diet and climate, and constant fatigues, make among those few that arrive safe thither; insomuch, that we are told by one of the latest writers that came from thence, that throughout the whole kingdom of *Kongo*, which is mostly christian, and in alliance with the *Portuguese*, and which one would expect to be better supplied with them, there were not above six Capuchins, exclusive of those that are settled at the cathedral of *St. Salvadore*, to perform the priestly functions through that vast extent of ground[†]. If to this we add the vast fatigues which their long and painful marches through sultry climes and barren deserts, in pursuit of their ministry, exposes them to, without, perhaps, any proper sustenance or refreshment to support them under it, and the great difficulty there is to supply c their place, when any sink under the arduous task, we shall cease wondering to find that kingdom continuing still destitute of the light of the gospel, notwithstanding the earnest longings which those monarchs and their subjects have expressed after it.

^a Ibidem ibid. vide & DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. sup. citat.
alib. pass.

^{*} See before, p. 482, & seq. 499, &
† MICHAEL ANGELO's voyage to Kongo 1666, ap. Labat, ubi sup. vol. v. p. 174, & seq.

APPENDIX to the Western Ethiopic History, being an account of the dreadful incursions of a new tribe of Giagas into the kingdoms of Kongo, Loango, &c. thence, through the heart of Africa, quite to the eastern coast; together with their particular laws, government, strange and bloody customs, &c.

Horrid excursions and
butcheries.

Cross the heart
of Africa, and
ravages the
eastern coast.

HAVING had frequent occasion to mention this new and strange set of canibals in some d of the foregoing chapters^{*}, as not only different from, but as much more inhuman and destructive than those there described; it might be looked upon as a considerable omission, if we did not here subjoin a more full account of that infernal race, of their laws and customs, and especially of their horrid butcheries and devastations, than could be possibly done hitherto, without too great a deviation from, and interruption of, the thread of the history we were then upon[†]; for we must here observe, that these are not only in many respects different from the former, (not to mention their vast and extensive ravages through the southern parts of *Africa*) but boast themselves to be of a more antient and noble extract, that is, according to their own estimation, of a more savage, intrepid, and merciless nature than any other of the *Giagan* tribes, and, in fact, they have spread the terror of their name and horrid devastations not only much farther, but to a much higher degree of cruelty, than any other of that name that we can read of, as the sequel will easily shew; but more particularly in that long and extensive, as well as dreadful incursion they made towards the east, when having reduced the greatest part of *Western Ethiopia* into a desolate wilderness (by which time they were become so numerous and terrible, that they carried all before them, and put all that came in their way to fire and sword) they led their furious hosts, in separate columns, across the heart of that vast continent, till the eastern ocean put a stop to their further progress eastwards, though not to their horrid ravages and butcheries, which they then began to spread on their right and left hand, along the eastern coast, as far northward as the kingdoms of *Melinda* and *Magadoxo*, and southwards quite to the country of the *Hottentots*. These and other particulars relating to their return, new government, strange laws, female lawgivers and viragos, and other no less strange customs, we hope our readers will not think unworthy a place in f

^{*} See before, p. 414, & seq.

[†] Ibid. p. 418, & alib. pass.

a this *Ethiopic* history, and shall therefore close it with as succinct an account of them as the subject will permit.

WHAT part of *Africa* this strange and barbarous nation came originally from, is variously conjectured. The most probable opinion is that which brings them down from the empire of *Monoemugi*, and more particularly from the neighbourhood of the famed springs of two great rivers which have been vulgarly mistaken for the *Nile* and *Zaire*, though more probably, perhaps, near that of the latter (A). This opinion is founded on the etymology of their antient names *Giakasi*, and *Engaggiagbi*, which implies people that live near some spring heads^a. *Their uncertain origin.*

BUT whatever part of *Africa* they originally came from, which is neither certain nor material, they seem to have settled at first about the kingdom of *Anfiko*, which lies many days journey north from that of *Loango*, and to have spread themselves along those spacious wastes that lie between them. For there we find them still joined and intermixed with the *Anfikans*, and subject to the same monarch, though they differ greatly from them in their manners, customs, religion, &c. From thence they are supposed to have spread themselves, by degrees, along the eastern frontiers of *Loango*, *Kongo*, and *Angola*, which, as was formerly observed, were heretofore all under one prince^b, thence eastward unto the kingdom of *Metamba*, of their own erecting, of which they made themselves masters, and southward as far as that of *Benguela*, if not greatly beyond it; and from all these new settlements have perpetually harrassed their neighbours on all sides with their inroads and ravages ever since^c. *Their irruption into Kongo and other parts.*

THEY have neither towns nor houses, nor any settled habitation, but, like the wild *Arabs* we have formerly described^d, roam from place to place in tents, and change their dwelling as their fancy or occasions lead them. They neither sow nor plant, but fall foul on every thing that comes in their way, and live altogether upon plunder and robbery. They are tall, lusty, and strong, yet nimble and swift of foot, and climb up the steep mountains, and craggy rocks, like the wild goats. Their women are stout, well-shaped, fertile, warlike, and active; and both sexes are so stout and intrepid, that no enterprize is thought too hard or dangerous for them to venture upon; and whenever any plunder or prey comes in their way, they rush upon it at all hazards, and with a fearless unconcern for their lives. They look upon it as the greatest mark of bravery to attack the fiercest and strongest creatures; and as a still greater one to be more fierce and inhuman than they: and this extends not only to the nations they invade, but to those of their own, and even to their relations and children, whom they make no scruple to butcher and eat, for want of other food; though, for the most part, they take such care in this particular, that it must be owing to some great misfortune or unforeseen accident, if their *Their wandering and plundering life. Cruelty and horrid ravages.*

^a PIGAFET, l. ii. c. 5. CAVAZ. apud Labat, l. ii. c. 7. p. 90. FET, ubi supra, DAPPER, LA CROIX, LABAT, & al. supra citat.

^b See before, pass.

^c Vide PIGA-

^d See before, vol. v. p. 669, & seqq.

(A) Odoard Lopez is the first *European* writer who hath mentioned these *Giagas*, and tells us that they had that name given to them by the *Kongose*; but that they, in their own language, call themselves *Agag*, and *Agagi* (1). But our countryman Battel, who had a much better opportunity to inform himself of their original name, as he had lived and carried a musket under them about sixteen months, tells us that they call themselves *Imbangolas* (2); which is the name, in all probability, of the *Imbii* and *Gallas*, two nations, or perhaps tribes, equally barbarous in their manners, and infamous all over these parts of *Africa*, for their ravages and eating the flesh of their captives, and whom we have shewn in a former chapter to have been long before settled in that part of *Abissinia*, near the heads of the *Nile* (3), whence they made frequent incursions into that empire, and committed the most dreadful ravages.

This is a more probable opinion, than that which brings them down from the high mountains of *Sierra Leone*, and to have spread themselves, like a vast torrent, southward as far as the kingdom of *Benguela*; that is, between six and seven hundred leagues; it being scarcely credible that those barren mountains, chiefly inhabited by lions and wild beasts, from which they had that name given them by the *Portuguese*, should be able to furnish so many myriads of those plunderers, as such an expedition and extensive conquest do suppose (4). But let them come from what part of *Africa* they will, see-

ing we find them so early settled near the head, and on each side of the *Upper Nile*, under the names of *Agas* and *Gallas*, where they often (5) met with a powerful repulse from the *Abissinians*, on account of their barbarous customs and horrid ravages, may we not reasonably conclude, that it was from thence that they spread themselves all over the *Western Ethiopia*? Some suppose these *Gallas* to be descended from the *Jews* dispersed either at the captivity of the ten tribes, or those that followed under *Nebuchadnezzar* or *Titus*; for which they can have no other foundation than their use of circumcision, and the kind reception which the *Abissinian* emperors gave them in their dominions upon that account, as they imagine; but neither their religion, if they can be said to have any, nor their laws, bloody customs, nor any thing else belonging to them, countenances that supposition; and the *Jews* who were permitted to settle there some ages ago, were as different from the *Gallas*, who over-ran the empire, in every respect, as any two nations could be (6): whereas the *Giagas* we are now upon, differ in nothing from these *Gallas*, excepting that they exceed them in their barbarity; which the reader will have the less reason to wonder at, if he supposes them, with us, to have been expelled *Abissinia* upon that very account, and for refusing to turn Christians; and especially when he sees, in the sequel of this appendix, by what means they came gradually to degenerate into that excess of inhumanity.

(1) Apud Pigafet, lib. i. c. 13. lib. ii. c. 9.

(2) Apud Purchas Pilgr. vol. vii. c. 10, & al.

(3) See

before, p. 175, & seq. vide & Tellez, Lobo, Jarric, & al. Abiss. Script.

(4) Dawity, Dapper, La Croix Afric.

vol. iii. Abissinia, lib. i. sect. v. p. 259.

(5) Ibid. & al. supra citat. vide & supra, p. 177, & seq. La

Croix, ubi supra, & al.

(6) De his, vide Tellez Hist. Abissinia, lib. i. c. 6. & alib. pass. Ludolph Hist. Ethiopiae,

lib. i. c. 16, §. 10, & seq. Lobo, & al.

Zimbo first
leads them into
these parts.

Their success
and dreadful
butcheries in
Ethiopia.

Beastly food.

Increase in
number and
cruelty.

Divide them-
selves into
separate bo-
dies.

Defeated by
the Portu-
guese.

Zimbo's re-
venge on them.

Cruelty to the
prisoners.

Descent on the
island of Qui-
loa successful.

shambles are not stored with variety of flesh, and especially with that of their unhappy cap- a
tives^e. The first chief under whom they invaded and made themselves masters of a great part
of the vast empire of *Kongo*, was called *Zimbo*, who was afterwards succeeded by a virago, no
less warlike and cruel, named *Tem-ban-dumba*, who gave them a set of the most inhuman and
execrable laws, which are still extant amongst them. And from these two sprung those famous
leaders *Kassanghi* and *Kalanga*, mentioned in a former chapter^f, and several other *Giagan*
princes, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel.

ZIMBO first appeared in those parts, at the head of a numerous body of *Musimbi*, who were
either his subjects, or had been raked by him from other wilds of *Africa*, to attend him on his
expedition, in hopes of meeting with better fare, and enriching themselves by the plunder of
those nations through which he engaged to lead them, as to certain victory and wealth. They b
readily accepted his offers; and, inticed by such attractive prospects, they flocked to him in such
numbers, that he soon saw himself at the head of a numerous army, who all promised to obey
him in every thing, and follow him where-ever he led them. He brought likewise with him a
favourite heroine, of the same name with the virago above-mentioned, who served him at once
as a concubine and a counsellor; and with these penetrated, without any considerable opposi-
tion, almost to the very center of the *Kongoesse* empire, committing the most dreadful ravages
and butcheries where-ever they came, leaving nothing behind but desolation and ruin. What
was still more dreadful, these hungry vermin, who were accustomed to feed on human flesh,
made no less horrid havock among the unhappy *Ethiopians* who fell into their hands, and
whom they wantonly put to the most excruciating deaths, merely to give a higher relish to their c
flesh; though they were naturally such monsters of beastliness, that when that failed them, they
as greedily fell foul upon the most loathsome creatures, reptiles, insects of all kinds, and even
any stinking and half-corrupted carrion, that fell in their way. Whenever these failed, they
made no difficulty to attack the most fierce and cruel wild beast for their food, such as lions,
tygers, leopards, &c. but as these creatures are naturally affrighted at multitudes, and will
convey themselves into the thickest forests for safety, whence there is no possibility of driving
them out, they had recourse to setting the whole wood on fire, and waiting for their coming
out, in order either to dispatch them with their weapons, or to penetrate into it, and feed upon
their half-roasted carcases. So that they seldom left any territory, before they had utterly reduced
it to a mere barren wilderness^e.

THESE horrid devastations brought daily new recruits to his army; the unhappy *Kongoesse*
flocking to him in shoals, in hopes to preserve themselves from the famine which that spread
where-ever it passed; and *Zimbo* grew every day more powerful, till having one day mustered
up all his forces, and finding them too numerous and unwieldy to continue longer in one body,
he thought proper to divide them into several corps; and having set some of his most intre-
pid officers over them, dispersed them into several parts of *Ethiopia*, to spread fire and sword,
and desolation, where-ever they came. One of them, named *Quizzuwa*, a man no less brutish
than martial, and so elated with his success, that he embellished the floor, walls, and cincture
of his house and Tomba, or temple of his idols, with the craniums and bones of the human
bodies which had been served at his table, and had the insolence to go and attack the *Portu- e*
guese at one of their fortresses named *Teto*, in the kingdom of *Monoemugi*: but he there met
with the fortune he had justly deserved, being totally defeated and killed, with a vast number of
his *Mombi*, and the rest either put to flight or taken prisoners.

ZIMBO did not let this loss go long unrevenged; he marched with all possible speed to the
fort, with a fresh supply of forces, engaged the *Portuguese* commander again, and, after an
obstinate struggle on both sides, defeated and killed him, and made a dreadful slaughter among
the rest of his forces. Those whom he took prisoners underwent a much crueller fate; for
these he caused to be put to the most torturing deaths, particularly their chaplain, a Dominican
friar, whom he had observed to be more than commonly busy in encouraging the soldiers to
fight. All their heads were ordered to be stuck upon lances, and carried away as trophies, f
together with all the church vestments, *Zimbo* himself marching at their head, arrayed in a
priestly habit, and carrying a chalice in his hand, in derision to their religion^h.

FLUSHED with this success, he made a descent upon the island of *Quiloa* (B), formerly in the
hands of the *Portuguese*, but now of the *Mohammedan Moors*, and made himself master of some
part

^e CAVAZ. apud Labat, l. ii. c. 7. PIGAFET, ubi supra. See also before, p. 415, & seq. ^f Before, p. 416, & seq. ^g CAVAZ. apud Labat, ubi supra, p. 93, & seq. ^h Idem ibid. p. 95, & seq.

(B) This island is situate on the eastern side of *Africa*, on the coast of *Zanguebar*, near the mouths of the rivers *Cuabo* and *Kifima*, under the eighth degree and a half of south latitude. The *Portuguese*, who first discovered it, built a strong fortress upon it, and had settled a consi-

derable factory in it, but abandoned the one, and razed the other, by order of their king, and settled themselves at *Melinda* and *Mosambico*, on the same coast, which were more convenient for their commerce.

The island, however, is well inhabited, being very fertile

a part of it, in which he put 3000 inhabitants to the sword, whose bodies he gave to his troops to glut themselves with, together with the plunder, and took the rest prisoners, made slaves of some of them, and the others he ordered to be sacrificed to his idols, and among these last the traitor who had assisted him to surprize the island, of which he himself was an inhabitant. But first, to shew his abhorrence to his treachery, he caused him to be tortured in the most exquisite manner; after which he appointed him to be the first victim to be offered to his gods.

He made much the same successful attempt upon that of *Mosambico*, on the south of *Quiloo*; *Descent on Mosambico.* where both the inhabitants and *Portuguese* that were settled among them, being alarmed at his approach, and much more at his horrid cruelties, had unanimously resolved to oppose his descent at the hazard of their lives. They were moreover encouraged to this brave resolution by the expectation they were in of the *European* fleet, which was coming to their relief; but had the misfortune to see it dispersed by a dreadful storm which intervened, and themselves, as it were, abandoned by Providence to that inexorable monster of cruelty, who quickly landed with his canibals, and did not stir from it till they had stripped it of every thing that was valuable, and of every living, especially human, creature, that could glut their ravenous jaws¹.

His next attempt was upon the kingdom of *Melinda* (C). At the first news of his approach, the inhabitants, as they did every-where, were consulting how to save their lives and valuable effects, by betaking themselves to their woods and deserts. They were, however, dissuaded from it by their generous monarch, who represented to them, in the strongest terms, how shameful a thing it would be for so brave a nation to abandon their country to a set of banditti and robbers, who had neither religion, honour, nor humanity; protesting at the same time, that whatever they might resolve upon, with regard to their own safety, he was fully determined to meet and engage them, and to defend his country and subjects to the last drop of his blood, against those barbarians and inhuman invaders, and trust to the divine Providence for his assistance in so just a cause. By these words his people were so effectually encouraged, that they resolved, one and all, to stand by him to the last man; and the king, having prepared every thing for an obstinate fight, set out with them to meet the enemy at some distance from his capital. *Attempt upon Melinda.*

d ZIMBO advanced at the head of his victorious canibals, all richly laden with the spoil of *Quiloo*, *Mosambico*, and other places, and engaged the *Melindans*, with his usual fierceness and assurance of success. The engagement was obstinate and bloody, and lasted several hours. At length the savages began to give way, and betake themselves to flight, in spite of their general's endeavours to rally them; and the king rightly deeming such a pest of human kind unworthy of any mercy, ordered his men to pursue and slay all they could come at; which they did with such readiness and bravery, that very few, except some of the most nimble-footed, escaped their fury. A dreadful massacre was made of all the rest, and an immense spoil found in their camp. *The king's noble defence of it.* Zimbo had the good fortune to escape with a small number of his bravest troops, with which he retired to the woods, till he could get together the poor remains of his other fugitives^k. *Zimbo totally defeated.*

THIS dreadful and unexpected blow, the loss of so many thousands of his men, and of such immense riches, the desolations which he had left behind where he had passed, and where he could now expect nothing but famine and misery, should he attempt to return to his old settlements either of *Kongo* or *Anfiko*, with his shattered and disheartened remains, made him resolve upon a new project, which might be executed with more safety and ease, which was to make a tour round the coasts of *Africa*, in which there was a prospect of daily increasing his army with new volunteers amongst those savages, and enriching himself with such new spoils as should fall in his way. He accordingly set out, and steered his course southwards, along the eastern coasts, till he came to the *Cape of Good Hope*, without meeting with any opposition or disaster; *A horrid slaughter of his Giagas.* *He marches round to the Cape of Good Hope;*

¹ CAVAZ. *ibid.* p. 98, & seq.

^k *Idem ibid.* ubi supra, p. 99, & seq.

fertile and healthy for the climate, and carries on a considerable traffick (1); all which might easily tempt Zimbo to make a descent upon it. But as our author doth not tell us of his having any navy or vessels to transport his men thither (2), it is more likely that he mistook the island for the kingdom of *Quiloo*, which last is upon *Terra firma*, and near the same coast with *Mosambico* and *Melinda*, where that *Giagan* chief made his two next attempts.

(C) This kingdom, as we hinted in the last note, lies

on the same coast of *Zanguebar*, but nearer the equinox; its capital *Melinda* lying under the second degree and half of south latitude, and on an island at the mouth of the river of its name. It was once the residence of its monarchs, who were opulent and powerful, but is now become the capital of the *Portuguese* conquests on this coast; since which time the king's residence hath been removed to the city of *Mombaso*, where most of the governors of this coast, we are told (3), do likewise reside.

(1) *Vide Fitau D'scouvert. des Portugais. tom. i. p. 111, & seq. Jarric, tom. ii. c. 13. Dapper Afric. & al.*
 (2) *Labat ex Cava. lib. ii. c. 7. p. 97, & seq. De hac, vide supra, p. 345, & seq. Dapper, ubi supra, Fitau, Labat ubi supra, vide de hoc, p. 339, & seq. (3) De Lisle's Atlas,*

and, as he found his army to augment, he divided them, for the better conveniency of living and plundering, into several columns, which he however forbade to separate themselves so far, but that they might, upon any emergency, be able to rejoin the rest.

and then turns
to the north-
ward,

and fixes his
camp at Ki-
lombo ;

where he dies.

His officers
disperse.

Dongii, the
father of
Tem-ban-
dumba, set-
tles at Gan-
ghella, and
dies.

His martial
wife com-
mands his ar-
my.

Tem-ban-
dumba, her
daughter, a
bloody virago.

Her amours
and cruelties.

Revolts from
her mother.

Est. em'd and
feared by her
army.

FROM the *Cape of Good Hope* above-mentioned he began to wheel about to the northward, till he came to the great river *Cuneva*, which flows southwards from the *Sallan* mountains, in *Upper Bemba*, and discharges itself into the *Ethiopic* sea, about the 17th degree of south latitude, where he settled himself between that river and the sea-coasts. Here he began to fix his resting place, and to build some few wretched huts for his men, in form of a camp, or large village, which he called, in their language, *Kilombo*, distributing them into several bodies, under proper commanders, and reserving to himself the supreme command over the whole. He was, however, of too restless a temper to continue long in that quiet situation ; his ambitious mind was ever hatching some new exploit ; to complete which he soon set about increasing his army to a much higher degree, and to make other preparations for a favourite expedition he had been projecting, when death put an unexpected end to all his designs, how, and by what means, we are not told, and carried off soon after likewise his favourite concubine *Tem-ban-dumba*, the faithful companion of all his travels. After their death, the surviving commanders, not caring to submit, or become dependant on any other chief, quickly agreed to break off their community, and each of them went and took upon him the chief command of his own troops. Some of them moved off in quest of new settlements ; and the rest staid in the old ones, which had been assigned to them, and from thence sprang their several tribes, and diversity of governments we meet with in most parts of *Africa*.

AMONG their chiefs that separated themselves from the rest, was one named *Dongii*, who is particularly famed among the *Giagas* for being the father of that infernal virago, hinted at in the beginning of this appendix ; who gave them a new set of the most inhuman, or rather diabolical, laws, by which they became more known by the name of a sect, than of a nation, and she the most absolute and inhuman legislatrix and tyranness over them, and more particularly over her own sex. As there is, therefore, so little to be met with worth notice in any of the other tribes, except their frequent inroads and horrid ravages, of which we have seen so many instances in the foregoing chapters, we shall confine ourselves to the history, reign, religion, and other curious particulars only, which are related of that surprising woman, if such a monster could deserve that name ; all whose principles and actions rather demonstrate her to have been some fury broke out of hell, to be a curse not only to all her subjects, but to all the *Ethiopians* that had the ill luck to be situated near her dominions¹.

TEM-BAN-DUMBA was born at *Kilombo*, the camp which *Zimbo* chose for his last retreat, and had that name given her in compliment to his favourite concubine. After their deaths, *Dongii* her father removed with his small army to the province of *Ganghella*, or *Ganguella*, situate on the south side of the kingdom of *Metamba*, where dying soon after, his wife *Mussaza*, a bold masculine woman, took the command of it into her hands ; and having been brought up in the martial, or rather plundering trade, from her youth, quickly gave them such proofs of her intrepid courage, and bloody disposition, that they readily submitted themselves to her conduct, and followed her in her most dangerous expeditions, in which they were sure to see her the foremost in every engagement, and hindermost in retreating. She affected to appear upon all occasions armed and dressed like a male warrior ; and clad her daughter, in whom she observed the same martial and intrepid courage, in the same dress, taking the young virago with her in all her expeditions, in order to train her up in the same trade.

TEM-BAN-DUMBA, though then but young and tender, made such proficiency under her mother, and discovered such prudence and presence of mind on the greatest emergencies and difficulties, that *Mussaza* made no scruple to intrust her with the command of some of her forces, whilst she led the rest on to some important exploits ; at which the young amazon was so elated, that she could hardly brook to be any longer in subjection to her^m.

WHAT added to the uneasiness of her restraint was, that, being of a no less amorous than warlike temper, she used to indulge herself in the embraces of several gallant youths of her army, of whom she, through the fickleness of her sex and younger years, became no sooner tired, than she caused them to be privately put to death, to make way for new ones. For this her mother had often reprimanded her so severely, that, being no longer able to bear her constraint, she broke out into an open rebellion against her. She had already displayed such an intrepid bravery on so many occasions, that this bold action of hers, instead of disgracing, made her the more admired as well as dreaded by the whole savage army, who began to think her something more than human, and expressed the utmost eagerness to come and fight under her banner ; so that the greater part of her mother's forces came gradually over to her, and she quickly saw herself at the head of a numerous army, by whom she was more punctually obeyed

¹ CAVAZ. *ibid.* p. 100, & seq.

^m *Ibid.* p. 103, & seq.

a than any general of the other sex could have been, as they imagined her indeed to excel them all in courage, prudence, and every other martial qualification.

As soon as she found that her exploits and behaviour had raised in their minds such an extraordinary idea in her favour, her ambition, which, by that time, was swelled to an unmeasurable height, inspired her with a new project to improve them to the greatest advantage, though by such means as must have filled any, but such an army of savage monsters, with horror, instead of regard, for her; but which, she too well knew, would inspire them with veneration and dread, and enable her to enlarge her dominions beyond their present scanty limits.

To execute her ambitious project the more effectually, she ordered her whole army to be drawn up in arms before her, and appearing before them in her masculine military dress, b prepared them, by a proper preface, in which she acquainted them with her sanguine views of making them victorious and happy under her conduct, and, by their valour and assistance, to lay the foundation of a powerful and glorious kingdom and government, which should eternise her memory, and make them dreaded by all the *Ethiopic* realms around them.^{Her project to become absolute.}

BUT first of all she told them, that she must and would instruct and initiate them in the laws and rites of the antient *Giagas*, their ancestors (D), as the most infallible means to make them as successful and opulent as the late *Zimbo* their leader, without the danger of exposing themselves to the same disasters and misfortunes. To convince them how much she was in earnest, and expected to be obeyed, she told them she would herself forthwith set them an example worthy of their imitation and valour; unless they were greatly degenerated from the courage and intrepidity of their celebrated race; and, if they were, would infallibly revive it in them. Having thus far raised their expectations, and fixed their attentive eyes and ears on her, she ordered an only son, which she had by one of her paramours, to be brought to her, together with a large pestle and mortar, in which, instead of overwhelming him with the caresses of a young and tender mother, as they might reasonably expect, she, to their great surprize, and without the least shew of remorse, pounded the innocent babe alive, till she had reduced the bones, flesh, &c. into a pulp, among which she brayed several kinds of powders, herbs, roots, oil, and other drugs; and having mixed the whole in a kettle over a slow fire, into an ointment, she stripped herself, and ordered some of her maids to anoint her with it from head to foot, before them all. This done, she resumed her martial dress, and told them, that that was the sovereign d balsam which would render them not only strong and robust, and fit for martial exploits, but invulnerable and invincible, and a terror to all other nations.^{Speech to her army.}

It is hardly to be conceived, says our author, how that unnatural action was admired, and how speedily and universally it was followed, by her barbarian subjects; much less to reckon the many thousands of male infants that were butchered in the same horrid manner, and for the same hellish purposes.^{Founds the Giaga sect.}

SHE presently after made it a law, that none of her subjects should undertake any thing of consequence, or even consult about any enterprize, till they had previously anointed themselves with that detestable ointment, which, she told them, would inspire them with wisdom to chuse, and courage and resolution to execute, all their projects with undoubted success: and, that there never might be wanting a supply of it, she enacted some other edicts, by which several sorts of male children were excluded from being admitted into the *Kilombo*, or camp, or even from being brought up; some of which were ordered to be pounded and boiled for the use above-mentioned, and others, that were either deformed or defective, to be thrown to the dogs; to all which she added those infants which the chiefs and persons of rank should voluntarily offer for the common benefit of the whole, and which, she said, had by far greater virtue and efficacy, when made into ointment, than those of the meaner sort. Neither did she suffer any woman to be brought to-bed in,^{Horrid murder of her son.}

^a Ibid. p. 105, & seq.

(D) Our author (4), who had not only conversed some time amongst them, and had converted many of them to the Christian faith, from whom he learned all these particulars, seems to make a doubt, whether there had indeed been any such diabolical laws among the antient *Giagas*, or whether she only pretended it, in order to reconcile them the more easily to, and induce them the more effectually to observe, them, and, at the same time, to throw off the odium of whatever might appear shocking and unnatural from herself.

It is hard, indeed, on the one hand, to conceive how so young a female warrior, cruel as she might be in her natural disposition, and ambitious as she was to be looked upon as something not only above herself, but above human nature, could devise such a body of laws, and introduce

a set of customs, so opposite and shocking to it: and, on the other, it is no less unlikely that her subjects would have so readily subscribed or adhered to either, if they had not been already inured to the practice of, at least, the far greater part of them, by the example of their forefathers; so that, upon the whole, she seems to us to have only given the sanction of a law to a set of inhuman customs, which had gradually introduced themselves amongst those barbarians, in order to render them more fierce, intrepid, and dreadful to their neighbours; and if we suppose her to have made any addition to their barbarity, it might be only with a view of shewing herself more hardened in the butchering trade, and consequently more fit to command over them.^{Followed by her army.}

(4) *Labat ex Carac. lib. ii. c. 7. p. 111.*

the camp ; which, she affirmed, polluted it to such a degree, as nothing could expiate but the death both of the mother and child^o ; so that, to deter pregnant women from it, she condemned them, whether the mischance was voluntary or no, to kill their offspring with their own hand, or to be themselves put to death (E).

which she
calls Quixil-
las.

Is forced to
abate the se-
verity of
them.

Commands the
eating of hu-
man flesh.
Forbids that
of women,

which makes
it more longed
for.

THESE laws, which she styled Quixillas, and pretended to have been derived from time immemorial from the antient *Giagas*, are still, for the most part, religiously observed by that barbarous nation ; though she was forced herself to abate of the severity of such of them as were either detrimental to the increase of the male kind, or too shocking against the natural affection of parents, and might at length terminate in a general discontent, or perhaps in an open rebellion ; especially as she had introduced others more agreeable to their natural barbarity, and equally capable of inuring them to it ; and among these, that of feeding upon human flesh, preferably to any other food. But here she had, out of regard to her own sex, made an exception against killing any of them for any such purpose, or even to eat them, whether they either died a natural, or were put to a violent, death. These last are by their law reserved for another kind of sacrifice ; viz. to be butchered at the tomb of some noble or favourite person that chances to die, in order to be interred with and attend him into the next world^p. But this prohibition, which excepts the females from becoming a dainty dish to the cannibal tribe, hath rather served to whet their appetite after it, especially among the great, who, in spite of the penalties it subjects them to, run the hazard of glutting themselves with it, as being by far the most delicious to their taste. And our author mentions one of their chiefs, named *Giaga Cajsango*, who seldom failed of having some young woman killed every day for his table^q.

SHE had likewise expressly forbid her army to carry any women with them on any warlike expedition, as being too apt to mollify the hearts of her soldiers : but this law was as little observed as the last-mentioned, some of her chiefs making no scruple to carry them about with them by hundreds, either to satisfy their lust, or to be butchered for their table.

SEVERAL other laws she gave them, which seemed wholly calculated to extinguish not only all humanity from among them, but likewise all bashfulness and modesty in either sex : the reader may see an instance or two in the margin (F). As for those which related to their worship,

^o CAVAZ. apud Labat, p. 110, & seq. p. 123.

^p De his, vide supra, p. 417, & seq.

^q CAVAZ. apud Labat

(E) The same good Capuchin above-quoted gives several pregnant proofs of the strictness with which that bloody legislatrix caused those her laws to be obeyed, from the confession of several of his female converts, and the extraordinary grief and abhorrence which they expressed at the remembrance of their having, in compliance with them, submitted to butcher, with their own hands, some two or three or more of their own children ; her edicts, dreadful and shocking as they were to nature, not being sufficient to restrain the innate incontinence of either sex from stolen embraces, much less to be delivered of their burthen when pregnant, without being discovered by some of the watchful Quixillas ; so they call their priests, or rather jugglers, whose interest it is to keep a vigilant eye over the sex, in order to extort some considerable presents from the parents, to preserve the child ; which is commonly the case with those who have wherewith to bribe them into a connivance ; or, if they are not in a condition to redeem them, to have them assigned over to death, and yield a delicious meal to those voracious cannibals (5).

(F) One of them was, that as soon as a young female perceived the usual tokens of puberty, she was to give notice of it, that all her friends and acquaintance might come to congratulate her upon the agreeable prospect of her becoming a mother of children, and an useful member of society. But if, after this, and her having been married, or enjoyed as a mistress, four or five years, she gave no signs of pregnancy, she was condemned to die, as an useless clog to the community, and either be reserved against the funeral obsequies of some great person, in order to attend him in the other world, or given up to the owner to be butchered and eat (6).

Another was, that when any of her officers was to set out upon some expedition, he was to bring his favourite wife or concubine out with him into a public place, and, in full sight of a numerous circle of spectators, go

through the whole exercise of the matrimonial converse with her, without the least shew of reluctance or bashfulness. And this even the greatest commander in her army must submit to, or else run the risk of being discharged with shame and disgrace (7).

Our author, and others of his fraternity, who endeavoured to introduce Christianity among them, tell us, that their zeal hath often made them run the risk of their lives, by the opposition and remonstrances they have made against these and the like immodest and unnatural customs ; and that though they have had the good fortune to come off with some few insults or angry threats from the Quixillas, yet they could hardly ever reduce any of these barbarians either from their beastly ways, or inhuman rites. And even among those they had made converts of, and baptised, they could never abolish the custom among them of divorcing their wives for sterility, and marrying others more likely to be pregnant. All that they have been able to do was only to be more cautious in concealing their irregularities from them (8). But after all, there ever were but little hopes of bringing those inhuman cannibals to a liking of the gospel precepts ; against which almost every one of their laws and vicious inveterate customs is a kind of insuperable barrier.

We have, indeed, elsewhere seen the swift progress it made in the kingdom of *Metamba*, during the latter end of the surprising reign of their queen *Zingha* ; and how, soon after her death, it was, in a great measure, extirpated ; those barbarians having for the most part been forced, by that queen's edicts, to make outward profession of it, but preserved the same bent and affection for their diabolical rites : no wonder then that they should be so ready to return to them as soon as they could do it impunely (9). It must be owned, however, that Don *Salvador*, the viceroy of *Angola*, had much better success in causing several of these inhuman

(5) Labat ex Cavaz. *ibid.* p. 121, & seq.
(8) *Ibid.* ubi supra, p. 123, & alib. pass.

(6) *Idem ibid.* lib. ii. c. 7. p. 125.
(9) *Vide supra*, p. 520, & seq.

(7) *Idem ibid.* p. 130.

a ship, they were comprised in a few superstitious ceremonies, such as preserving the bones of their deceased friends in boxes made portable for that purpose, in order to offer human victims, and consulting them upon all emergencies, of which we have already given an account elsewhere^r. The rest of them she turned over to the care or discretion of her Quixillas, or priests, who failed not to multiply them to a very great degree, and to calculate them for their own interest, insomuch that those voracious vermin became a most grievous burden to the whole people, both small and great, as they gave them a specious handle for fleecing the rich, and oppressing the poor^s; all which the politic queen was obliged and glad to connive at, as these jugglers were the main supports of her authority.

But those she gave them with respect to her political government, were in much greater number, though all of the same inhuman nature, and calculated to encourage and inure her subjects to all manner of rapine, bloodshed, and remorseless cruelty; but which are indeed too shocking to deserve a further detail, especially as we have had occasion to speak of several of them which were afterwards introduced and universally practised in the kingdom of *Metamba*, under the reign of that no less superstitious and bloody princess queen *Zingha*, whilst she continued attached to that cursed sect^t. Upon the whole, *Tem-ban-dumba* had so hardened all her forces in their destructive trade, that they spread fire and slaughter all over the *Western Ethiopia*, without mercy, or almost any opposition; and if at any time they met with a stout repulse, or even defeat, from some of her warlike neighbours, instead of being discouraged, she only grew more fierce and desperate, reinforced her army with all possible speed, and fell upon them with such eagerness and fury, that every thing was forced to give way to her, or flee from her victorious arms. And what still more effectually animated her troops to follow her through the most arduous and dangerous enterprizes, was the applause and recompence they were sure to find at their return to the Kilombo, especially with respect to the distribution of the plunder and slaves, and the number of these which were to be butchered at their usual festivals, after every successful expedition^u.

BEFORE we come to speak of the close of her reign, it will not be displeasing to our readers, we hope, if we give them a short account of her martial discipline, court, chief officers, and other particulars, which our author observed, during his abode with them, and which, tho' taken notice of by other writers^v as well as he, may well deserve some mention in this work. We have already observed that her *Giagas* life was a constant roaming from place to place for the sake of plunder; their Kilombos, or camps, which very much resemble the antient *Roman* *Castra*, or the present *Libates*, or *Ethiopian* villages, formerly described^w, were built of such materials, and in such a manner, that they were quickly and easily reared, and all as nearly as possible in the same form. The officers, who are the chief directors of them, having pitched upon a proper spot, divide it into seven distinct quarters, each of them under the government of its own particular commander. In the center of it stands the royal pavillion, surrounded by those of the ministers, officers, and servants, belonging to the court, the whole of which composes a spacious square, which is commonly surrounded with a strong thorny hedge, but so disposed, that it is more like a labyrinth than a circular fence. Within this all that belong to the court, and chief officers of the army, have their separate habitations, in order to be always within call in case of an alarm, sudden surprize, or other disaster, under pain of death.

THE next in rank is the quarter of the *Kalambolo*, or general of the army under the king or queen. This officer is styled *Muta-aita*, or chief of the war, and is the next in authority, as being the person who orders and directs all military expeditions, encampments, engagements, and retreats, and must therefore be an experienced and intrepid warrior, cruel, and void of all compassion and humanity. He is commonly attended in all his excursions by the chief of the *Singhillos*, whom he consults about the plan, execution, success, and other particulars relating to them. He must likewise be a very strict observer of all the superstitious rites prescribed by the impious *Quixillian* laws, seeing the omission of any one of them would be sufficient to render his enterprizes abortive and unfortunate^x.

^r See before, p. 527, & alib. pass.

^s De his, vide supra, p. 442, & seq. sub not (A).

^t See be-

fore, p. 519, & seq.

^u CAVAZ. ubi supra, p. 137, & seq.

^v PIGAFET, MERELLA, CURTI, & al.

^w See before, p. 415, & seq.

^x LABAT, ibid. p. 105, & seq.

rites to be abolished among them, than these good *Capuchins*; and that his ambassies, which he sent to queen *Zingha*, to the *Giagan* chiefs *Cassange*, *Kalomga*, and *Calomba*, accompanied on the one hand with rich presents and great promises, and on the other with threats of his *Portuguese* forces and artillery, prevailed more powerfully upon them than all the friars praying and preaching could do, to abolish those detestable practices; info-

much, that our author tells us, of his own knowledge, that *Tem-ban-dumba's* laws, as well as the whole *Giagan* sect, daily declined; but whether they have been since wholly abolished or no, is a question which it is out of our power to resolve; there having been no missionaries sent amongst them that we know of, at least during this present century (10).

(10) De his, vide Jarric, tom. ii. c. 5. Lopez apud Pigafet, lib. ii. c. 5. Battel apud Purchas Pilgr. lib. vii. c. 10. sect. 3. Cavazzi, ubi supra, c. 7. pass. & al.

- 3d. THE third quarter is that of the Tendela, or officer who commands the Ecoona, or rear-guard, and is the chief of all the electors, as well as supreme officer during an interregnum, and as such is held in the highest esteem, next to the prince. The fourth quarter is that which looks towards the Mutunda, or east, and is commanded by the Mani-lumbo, who is the chief engineer of all the fences or hedges, with which the camp is fortified, and particularly that part of it which belongs to the royal family. Upon which account he is authorized to come into the royal presence whenever he thinks fit, and this access renders him much respected at court.
- 4th. The fifth quarter is that which looks towards the west, and is commanded by an officer, who is intrusted with all private commissions, and charged with the execution of them. The sixth quarter is that which is commanded by the Illunda, or captain of the Quicumba, or baggage, in time of war; and in time of peace, whenever any such happens, which is but seldom, is intrusted with the care of filling the magazines with arms, and is to see them kept in good order, and in readiness to be distributed to the soldiery upon all emergencies. The seventh or last quarter is commanded by another Illunda, or keeper of the royal wardrobe, and baggage, &c. and seldom stirs far from it. This last is looked upon as a place of great trust, and commonly given to a prince of the blood, remarkable for his loyalty.

Intendant of
the provisions.

To all these great officers we may add that of the Manicurio, or superintendant of the provisions, who is usually chosen for his singular dexterity, and inexorable rapaciousness, in the art of plundering and ravaging; to this end he hath a great number of officers and slaves under him, equally qualified for the purpose; for the *Giagas* know not what it is to procure either victuals or other provisions but by main force, except what they sometimes purchase from the *Euro-peans*, in exchange for their slaves, who being mostly very nimble-footed, very often give them the slip before their new masters can chain them fast for their use. This office of purveyor relates only to the court; for as to the soldiery they are obliged to get their provisions where they can².

Soldiery live
upon plunder.

Their fore-
runners, or
spies.

Weapons.

Way of fight-
ing.

THE last office worth mentioning is that of their Piumbis, or fore-runners, who are a kind of spies, whose business it is to be in continual motion, and to endeavour to discover the situation, strength, and numbers of the enemy, to skirmish, oppose, or even attack them, as occasion offers, and to support the van in their first onset. These Piumbis are usually chosen from among the stoutest and most intrepid of the whole army, and fight accordingly the most desperately of all. The weapons in use among all the *Giagas* are the dart, or javelin, the bow and arrow, hatchet, dagger, and leathern shield; which last is very tough, and of sufficient length to cover the whole body. They all fight on foot, either for want of horses, or the art of using them in war. Their chief excellency consists in their strength and activity of body, in the artfully covering themselves, and the throwing of their missile weapons, by which they commonly annoy the enemy, and make them spend their shot against their shields; after which they renew the onset with such fresh vigour, as seldom fails of putting them to flight, which is always followed by a horrid slaughter, unless it be, as *Lopez* pleasantly hints, when they engage the *Amazons* (G), who are naturally more swift-footed than they, the dread of being devoured by those canibals adding speed to their heels².

² LABAT, *ibid.* p. 152, & seq.

^a PIGAFET, l. ii. c. 19. & al. *supra* citat.

(G) We shall not here repeat what hath been already said concerning these female warriors, either ancient (11) or modern (12), in all the four parts of the world. These we are speaking of are said to be chiefly in the kingdom of *Monomotapa*, or, as *Sanut* will have it, in a canton near *Damut*, or *Gorago*, where they live independent of any other monarchs but their own female ones, on the south of that kingdom. We are even told, that those brave women compose the best part of that monarch's forces, and fight with the greatest bravery against his enemies (13); notwithstanding which, we much wonder, that neither our good Capuchin *Cavazzi*, nor our countryman *Battel*, who had sojourned amongst these *Giagas* sixteen months, should not only be silent about their wars against these female heroines, but absolutely deny all that *Lopez*, and from him *Pigafet*, have told us concerning them (14).

Hence *Halkins*, and some other modern travellers, have been inclined to believe, that whatever hath been said likewise of these *Giagas* and other *African* nations

feeding upon human flesh, deserves as little credit as their pretended wars with those *Amazons*. But the contrary is very plain, not only from the good old friar above-mentioned, who had frequently been a melancholy witness of their inhuman feasts, during his long abode amongst them, but from several other authors we might here quote (15), and particularly *Battel*, who affirms that they prefer human flesh before beef and kid, although they have plenty of both (16). But we have given so many instances of this inhuman custom from undoubted authorities, in the preceding chapters, that it were needless to dwell any longer on that shocking subject. Though therefore the notion of those swarthy *Amazons* may be justly suspected, and may probably have taken its rise from those two *Amazonian* queens, or rather furies, *Tem-ban-dumba* and *Zingha*, who have rendered themselves so notorious for their warlike exploits (17), yet there can be no room to doubt of the inhuman customs above-mentioned being practised by all the *Giagan* tribes that infest those southern parts.

(11) See *Anc. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 266. 278, & *alib. pass.* vol. iii. p. 721. (12) See before, p. 511, & seq. (13) *Sanut*, *Dapper*, *Davity Afric.* (14) *Apud Purchas Relat.* p. 773. (15) *Lopez apud Pigafet*, lib. i. c. 13. *ad fin. lib. ii. c. 5 & 9. Boter. Benin. part i. lib. iii. Fr. Maria Giwia Neopol. Meroll voy. to Kongo.* (16) *Battel*, *ubi supra*, & *al. mult.* (17) See before, p. 510, & seq. 562, & seq.

a WHEN they invade any country where they expect any considerable opposition, their way is to intrench themselves, and continue quiet a month or two, and only alarm the inhabitants with frequent skirmishes, till they think they have sufficiently harried them; or, if these assault them, by standing only on the defensive, two or three days, till they have spent their strength and fury; upon which their commanding officer sends out a large detachment in the night, to be in ambush at some distance from the enemies camp. On the morrow, the attack being renewed, the poor natives, finding themselves attacked in front and rear, are easily put to the rout, and leave their country to be ravaged at the pleasure of those bloody invaders^b.

THEIR monarchs take great state upon them, none being admitted to sit before them on a chair except the *Giaga* Kalambolo, or head general, lately mentioned, who sitting as supreme judge, both civil and criminal, is allowed one with a back to it; which custom is thought to have been introduced at first by the *Portuguese*; but the *Tendela*, who likewise sits as judge, is only allowed a little stool about a span high. Persons of a certain high rank are qualified to sit in the presence, upon a carpet, but are obliged to spread it with their own hands. Those who are admitted to speak to them must do it with their bodies bent almost double, or, if of an inferior rank, prostrate upon the ground, and their mouths almost close to the earth. If their monarch chances to sneeze, cough, or break wind, the whole audience must wish him health and long life upon it; and those who are nearest to his person must give notice to those that stand at a distance to do the same, by the beat of a kettle-drum; upon which they all express their good wishes, by the clapping of their hands^c.

THE *Giagas* are not over-nice in their dress, excepting those of the highest rank. The men and women of the lower class are contented to go not only bare-headed and bare-footed, but bare all over but their middle, about which they commonly wear a bit of cloth, which scarcely covers half of their thighs; and if their princes and nobles, and other persons of distinction, indulge themselves in gaudy apparel, it is rather out of pride and grandeur than from any affectation of modesty; a virtue against which their legislatrix levelled some of her laws, as was lately hinted, and for which the whole libidinous *Ethiopic* nation shew but little regard; so that whatever finery the richer sort may bedeck themselves with, is altogether by way of ornament. *Battel*, who served for some time under the Kalambolo, or, as he writes it, Kalandolo, or head general, gives us the following description of his master's dress.

d "HE wore long hair, set off with many knots of Bamba-shells. His neck was adorned with a collar of Masoes, which are another kind of shells, found along the *Ethiopic* coasts, and sold among them for about the value of twenty shillings. His middle was covered with a girdle of Landes, or beads made of ostrich eggs, and under it a palm cloth as fine as silk. His body was painted with various figures, and anointed every day with human fat, (or perhaps more probably with the ointment prescribed by their legislatrix) formerly mentioned^d. He wore across his nose a piece of copper, about two inches long, and two others of the same sort in his ears, and his body was always painted red and white." He doth not mention his wearing any thing on his hands or feet, but adds, that "He had commonly twenty or thirty wives, who carried his bows and arrows, and four others his drinking cups; and that when he drank, they all kneeled down, and clapped their hands and sung^e." As to the women of rank, though they wear only a cloth about their middle, they take a pride in adorning their hair, necks, arms, and legs, with shells and beads of several sorts; but have a disagreeable custom of pulling out four of their teeth, two above and two below; and those who refuse to do so are despised by the rest, and are not suffered to come amongst them (H).

^b PICAFET, BATTEL, DAPPER, LABAT, & al. before, p. 563, & seq.

^c CAVAZ. apud LABAT, ubi sup. p. 156, & seq.

WE

^d See

(H) We have already observed, from Father *Cavaz*'s account, that few of these wives are permitted to bring up their own children, but in several cases were obliged, by the *Quixillian* laws, to destroy them. Our countryman *Battel* agrees with him in that respect; and adds, that they supply that defect, which would otherwise depopulate their country in a little time, by bringing up the boys and girls they take in their excursions upon other nations, the boys to become soldiers, and the girls to be made either wives or drudges as they happen to please. The former, he adds, they oblige to wear a collar about their necks, as a mark of slavery, till they are grown lusty and strong, and brought up to all the hardships and fatigues of war; and that it is never taken off till they have given full proof of their cou-

rage and intrepidity, by bringing an enemy's head to the general, when the reproachful mark is removed, and they are declared *Gongos*, or soldiers. This encouragement, we are told, naturally inspires them with an ambition of becoming the sooner such, and to shew themselves fearless and intrepid in the greatest dangers, and even to despise and court them, for the sake of becoming free, and being enlisted in the bloody trade of war and plunder.

Our author adds, that when he was among them, there were not above twelve natural *Giagas*, who were all captains in an army which consisted of upwards of 16,000 men; it being then above 60 years since they had left *Sierra de Leone*, the country they last came from (18).

(18) *Battel*, ubi sup.

Sequel of the
queen's history.

WE shall pass by several others of their detestable rites and customs, and superstitious cruelties, especially as we have already spoken of them under a former article, particularly their offering such numbers of victims at the funeral obsequies of their princes and great men, various kinds of ordeals and knavish juggles of priests, &c. ^f; (all or the greatest part of which owed their origin to their ambitious and inhuman queen *Tem-ban-dumba*), and proceed to the sequel of her life and reign, who, after she had filled the greatest part of *Ethiopia* with terror, blood, and slaughter, fell at length a victim to that lust and incontinency which she had so severely punished in some thousands of her own sex.

She falls in
love with a
soldier,

AFTER having murdered some hecatombs of her own paramours, to prevent the discovery of her private debauches, she grew at length enamoured with a fresh one, in whom, tho' then only a private soldier, she discovered such excellencies of body and mind, as made her quickly overlook the vast distance that was between her and him. He was named *Kulembo*, was tall, strong, and well-shaped, bold and intrepid, and in no way inferior to her in craftiness and cruelty; and as he was not ignorant of the fate which had attended so many of his predecessors, so neither did he accept of her condescending offers, but with a fixed resolution to retaliate upon her as soon as he found her affection began to cool towards him. In the mean time he strove to please her in every thing, and, in a little while, gained such an ascendant over her,

and marries
him;

that he prevailed upon her to marry him. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated with great pomp, after their manner, that is, with the deaths of a vast number of human and other victims, for the entertainment of their numerous guests; yet neither could this, nor the many other favours she heaped upon him, prevent his keeping so watchful an eye over her, as he became more and more apprised of her fickle, inconstant, lewd, and tyrannic disposition, that he at length perceived, in spite of her female address, he was become quite indifferent, if not wholly disagreeable, to her.

but grows
tired of him,

He thought it then high time to ward off the blow that threatened him, by renewing and doubling his caresses to her, by sumptuous banquets, and such other entertainments and diversions, as he knew were most likely to suspend her treacherous intentions against him.

for which he
poisons her.

He plied her in particular with variety of *European* wines, and with the most delightful cordial waters, till he found an opportunity of conveying a strong dose of poison into one of them, of which she had no sooner drank, than she expired, as he expected, in his arms. He had the same success in the artful part he acted of a most tender and afflicted husband, and passed altogether unsuspected of having had a hand in the death of a spouse which he so deeply lamented, even to the attempting, more than once, to sheath his sword in his own breast. This counterfeited excess of grief, joined to his known and tried valour and conduct, made so deep an impression on the minds of the *Giagas*, who might probably be, by this time, quite tired of her inflexible laws and government, that he was declared her successor, and proclaimed their king presently after, not only without opposition, but with all possible demonstrations of joy ^g.

He is elected
king.

Grand funeral
of the queen.

Sepulchre.

KULEMBO's next care was to order his spouse's funeral obsequies with such magnificence as should give his new subjects a fresh proof of his pretended affection for her. The place which he chose for her interment was on a distant eminence, where he caused a spacious cave to be dug, and divided into several large apartments, all hung with some of the richest cloths and stuffs from *Europe*, and the floors covered with the finest furs, and curious mattings. That in

^f See before, p. 418, & al. plur.

^g LABAT, *ibid.* p. 140, & seq.

But we have elsewhere observed, that their inhuman lawgiver had been obliged to relax much from the severity of that law, even during her life time, not only on account of its destructive tendency, but more on account of the discontent it created among the majority of her subjects, who could not divest themselves, like that tyrant, of their natural affection for their offspring, but would run the risk of preserving them out of the camp, in spite of her severe edicts against it.

Accordingly our missionary informs us of a concession she made for admitting now-and-then a number of them into the Kilombo, and the ceremony with which they were brought in; which was as follows.

When the parents had obtained leave, not without seeming great difficulty and many entreaties, of the chief of the Kilombo, to have them admitted; on the day appointed by him, which commonly proves a great festival, after sundry ointments and superstitious rites, the chief of the Kilombo appears with his favourite wife, accompanied with a band of music, in the great square; whilst the mothers, on the outside of the camp, take care to have their children brought and concealed

under bushes, or other places out of sight, till the signal is given, and then come dancing and singing towards the place. The men appear in arms, and there is a kind of mock-fight, in which they strive to outdo each other in martial dexterity. This is followed by a tiresome dance, in which the mothers of the concealed children join, and falling out together, shew them the place where the children are concealed. Upon which each man touches his own with the point of his lance, and brings it away, not as his own offspring, but as his captive taken in war. Immediately after this the children are anointed with the same ointment lately described, on their breasts, shoulders, and right arm, by way of purification; after which their mothers are allowed to bring them home into the camp, having first of all taken care to pay the chief his perquisite dues, which, though considerable, are easily complied with by the fond and joyful parents (19). But this ceremony, odd and elusory as it is, plainly shews, that they still kept a kind of formal regard to the old ordinance of their inhuman legislatrix, and that she had really enacted such an unnatural law.

(19) *Cavaz. apud Labat, ubi supra, lib. ii. c. 7. p. 118, & seq.*

a which her corpse was to be laid was stored with the choicest meats and liquors: she was bedecked with all her costly ornaments, and seated on a throne in a commanding attitude. It was borne by the first ministers of state, guarded by the militia, and followed by the king and the whole court, who accompanied it with their most dreadful outcries, heightened by the sound of all their martial music, which of itself would have been sufficient to have drowned the loudest peals of thunder. The procession was closed by the unhappy human victims, which were to be either butchered over her grave, or buried alive with her in it, and which amounted to a prodigious number of each sex.

WHEN they were come to the place, the corpse was deposited in the apartment prepared for it, amidst the most hideous outcries of the court and soldiery, and the horrid sound of their martial instruments, the victims were slain, and part of their blood poured in abundance over her, and the rest drank in large draughts by the mourners. Those victims that were designed to attend her in the other world, went down into the grave, with seeming intrepidity, and some with marks of joy. The carcases of the slain were thrown in afterwards, and the whole place filled with earth (1). After which the funeral pomp retired to the camp, and the new monarch took the reins of the government upon him^b.

By that time a number of other *Giagan* chiefs had separated themselves at the heads of so many flying armies, and had dispersed themselves over other parts of both *Ethiopias*, where they committed their usual ravages, leaving nothing behind them, where-ever they passed, but the most melancholy marks of utter desolation. The most remarkable of these destroyers were *Calendo*, *Caottea*, *Caja*, *Cabucco*, and *Cajumbo*, who became in time very considerable in their respective families, besides many others, of inferior note, not worth mentioning. Among all those tribes of murdering plunderers, the new monarch of the *Musimbi Giagas* did not neglect signalizing the beginning of his reign, by his frequent excursions and ravages, even after his heart became captivated by a beauteous slave, who quickly induced him to exchange the martial trade for the pleasures of the matrimonial life; he ceased not to send his officers and forces upon new exploits, whilst he and his beloved queen were employed in begetting a numerous female progeny, till he at length expired in her embraces, and was since honoured by her and all his subjects as an inferior deity. Her grief did not hinder her outliving him a considerable number of years, being above 100 before she followed him into the other world; and by that time he became so exhausted of her natural heat, that her servants were obliged to expose her, upon a cow's hide, to the rays of the most scorching sun, to thaw her blood; a privilege, our author tells us, which is allowed amongst them to none but kings and queens^c.

CALENDO was succeeded by *Chingarii*, who was born in the same province, and a person not only equal to him in valour, but of a more brutish and fierce disposition, answerable to his name, which, in their language, signifies a lion. There had hardly appeared amongst them a chief so cruel, ambitious, and thirsting after rapine and slaughter, or who had exceeded him in the ravaging trade. Till having ventured to try his bravery against the *Portuguese* of *Angola*, he found himself overmatched, and was defeated and slain in that country.

His successor, named *Caluximbo*, was a man of noble courage and conduct, and had been rather more successful in all his enterprises, though of so gentle and humane a disposition, that he could never be prevailed upon to eat any human flesh, or drink human blood amongst them, either before or after his election. For this, and no other cause, his barbarian subjects conceived an invincible aversion against him; and, under pretence that their late queen resented his open violation of her laws, a notion which the *Singhillos*, or priests, took care to spread about, he was assassinated to appease her anger, and three hecatombs of victims of each sex were ordered to be butchered at his funeral obsequies^d.

His successors, according to our author, who places the four following at their head; *viz.* *Cassange*, *Cajombo*, *Cabucco*, and *Casa*, are in all thirty, and these four above-named different from, and of a much older date than some of the same name, mentioned in this and some

^a Idem ibid. p. 143, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 147.

^c CAVAZ. ubi sup. p. 148, & seq.

(1) Much after the same manner, though in a proportionably lower degree of pomp, do those of inferior rank bury their dead. The cave is smaller, but made big enough to contain the body in a sitting posture on a chair, two of his wives, one on each side, with their arms broke, provisions for the mouth, clothes, weapons, and other utensils for table and kitchen. They likewise butcher a number of his slaves according to his rank, together with some other sorts of victims, whose

blood is poured upon the dead, to allay the thirsty soul, and the flesh serves to feast the relations and attendants. When the cave is filled with earth, they raise a kind of mount over it of earth, stones, and such other materials, mingled with the bones of the victims; and upon it they fix a number of short posts, or stakes, some with little flags, others with the skulls of the human victims; all which serve to denote the rank and quality of the deceased (20).

(20) *Battel*, apud *Purchas Pilgr.* vol. ii. p. 977. vol. v. p. 773. *Cavaz.* apud *Labat*, lib. i. c. 17. p. 397, & al. *supra citat.*

A. D. 1648. *Cassange Calanga, in league with the Portuguese, abolishes some inhuman customs.* former chapters, though probably of the same family with them¹. We are neither told how a long this dynasty lasted, nor any thing particular concerning any of these thirty chiefs, till we come to the three last; the oldest of whom, named *Cassange Calanga* (of whom we have had occasion to speak in a former chapter) having entered into an alliance with the *Portuguese* viceroy of *Angola*, against the then bloody queen *Zingba*, who reigned at that time over the *Metamban Giagas*, was prevailed upon by that noble governor to abolish some of the *Quixillian* laws of the late queen *Tem-ban-dumba*, particularly those that related to the destroying their own children, and bringing up in their stead those which they brought away captives in their excursions. The motive of which inhuman law was to prevent that plundering nation from incumbering themselves with the care and luggage of their own children, which would have been not only a clog and retardment to their frequent ravages and inroads, b but might have proved a means of enervating them of their fierceness and remorseless cruelty.

Affassinated by his son. *Another son raised to the crown.* HOWEVER that was, *Cassange*, out of complaisance to the *Portuguese*, consented to abolish those laws among his *Musimbi Giagas*; for which he was soon after assassinated by one of his sons, and interred with the usual ceremonies; but the parricide did not long enjoy the crown, which he had so vilely seized on. The *Giagas*, according to their laws, claimed the right of election, and set up another son of the deceased upon the throne, named *Cassange-Canguin-Gurii*, who, to gain the friendship of the *Portuguese* nation, caused himself to be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, and was baptized by the name of *Don Pascale*^m. But whether through fear of being dethroned by his incensed subjects, or, as our author c thinks, through a too strong propensity to *Giagan* customs, especially an insatiable appetite after human flesh, he afterwards apostatized, and became more cruel and blood-thirsty, and committed greater ravages, than any of his predecessors, spreading death and destruction everywhere around him, and stripping all the adjacent princes of whole provinces, either reducing them under the most dreadful slavery, or abandoning them to the most desolate and deplorable conditionⁿ.

What credit ought to be given to this history; HERE our author concludes the history of the *Musimbi Giagas*, and here we shall take leave of the whole detestable nation, without going farther after him through the other tribes of those barbarous canibals, among whom the difference is so small, that our readers will easily form an idea of the rest, from what we have said of this; if we have not already disgusted d them with this sketch of their inhuman laws, and almost incredible barbarity, and incurred their censure for having given too much credit to our authors, especially with respect to what they relate concerning those savages strange fondness for human flesh and blood.

and to the authors who have wrote upon it. WE are not insensible of what hath been said by judicious and learned men to explode the shocking notion of anthropophagi out of the world; yet do not think the whole amount to be sufficient to authorize us to pass over, much less to give the lie to, what so many otherwise credible, eye-witnesses have assured us of the truth of it, not by one or two hasty observations, but by frequent repeated instances of it, during a sufficient residence among, and acquaintance with, them, to take off all possible suspicion of a mistake. *Lopez* assures us, that he saw human flesh publicly sold in their shambles^o. And *Battel*, who carried arms under e them during the space of sixteen months, and had been so often present at these inhuman banquets, can hardly be supposed to have been mistaken in the victims which were butchered and eaten before his face^p.

ALL this is again confirmed by innumerable other instances by the good old Capuchin *Cavazzi*, who, in all probability, had never seen, nor so much as heard of, *Battel's* account, and who, though he did not, like him, carry arms, during his fourteen years residence in this western *Ethiopia*, yet was frequently engaged in spiritual combats with their chiefs and their priests, against that and others of their barbarous customs, in company with many others of his function, who were all alike eye-witnesses of them. Add to all this, that the most shocking and horrid scenes of this nature, were those which not only he and his brethren, but a number f of other laymen, had observed in the kingdom of *Metamba*, during the apostacy of queen *Zingba*, some who were deputies, and even ambassadors from the *Angolic* viceroy, to that then impious princess, and continued long enough at her court to be all likewise eye-witnesses of those abominable practices.

BUT if any of our readers should still think them too unnatural to be true, and rather suspect the united testimony of those writers to be one joint piece of forgery, than a real fact, we hope we shall still be acquitted of the charge of over-credulity, since it is the duty of an impartial historian, in cases of this nature, to relate facts and things as he finds them asserted by his authors, and not in the light they may appear to him or others. Had any other writers, from the same long residence in those parts, attempted to contradict or discredit what hath been so g

¹ CAVAZ. *ibid.* p. 149, & seq.
 PIGAFET, l. i. c. 5.

^m A. D. 1657.

ⁿ LABAT ex CAVAZ. l. ii. p. 149, & seq.

^o Vide

^p See PURCHAS Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 977. & vol. v. p. 773, & alib. pass.

- a strenuously and strongly affirmed by those whom we have followed, yet would it have been incumbent upon us to have laid both relations before our readers, and left the decision to their judgment : how much more, therefore, must it be so, when nothing positive has yet been offered on one side to confute what hath been so unanimously and peremptorily affirmed by the other ? What is more shocking and unnatural than those dreadful macerations and intolerable penances which those gloomy devotees among the brahmans in *India* practise upon themselves, horrid funeral rites, &c. who yet believe the supreme being to be infinite in goodness ? and shall we dispute the credibility of those horrid customs, said to be practised by a barbarous nation, bred and nurtured up from their infancy in blood and slaughter, against those they are at enmity with, or even against their own relations and offspring, especially when, by the natural incentives of custom and education, wrong notions of honour and bravery, &c. they are drawn and hurried away to this excess of cruelty, and by the still more powerful motive of fear, even the worst of fear such poor ignorant creatures can be capable of, fear of the most terrible disasters and punishments, both in this and the next life, from their incensed titular gods, the only deities they know or worship, who, their Singhillos tell them, are the spirits of their deceased heroes and princes, ever thirsting after human blood, and inexorable, if not constantly supplied and satiated with it by their votaries, on account of the miseries and torments they endure in the other world for want of it ? So that, upon the whole, there is no calamity happens to them, whether famine, pestilence, earthquakes, grievous droughts, losses, sickness, death, or any other plague, which they do not imagine to be inflicted by those implacable deities for their neglect, and sent upon them as the forerunners of much worse in the other world, if they do not speedily appease them by whole hecatombs of fresh victims. Even the very usual noises caused by the winds, wild beasts, or, as is often the case, by the knavish Singhillos, are interpreted by them as the howlings of those pretended titular spirits after more bloodshed ; which, if not readily answered, will be unavoidably followed by some grievous disaster. Is it, therefore, any wonder, that a nation, fascinated by such dreadful prejudices, should so eagerly run to the slaughter of their neighbours, should fight and massacre without mercy or remorse, or make such inhuman rejoicings after a successful excursion, which at once rids them of so many fears, and yields them such joyful prospects ; and the more so, the more inhumanly, or, in their language and notion, the more bravely and intrepidly, they have executed it ?
- d But may not we add to all these incentives to their excessive inhumanity, those of resentment and revenge against a nation of invaders, who, under the specious pretence of trade, and, which is still worse, of religion, having once got footing into so many provinces, and so distant from their own, made no scruple, as soon as they had it in their power, to subdue its unwary inhabitants by the most destructive wars, and then to doom them to the most intolerable slavery under them, and to keep them under their tyrannic subjection by the most horrid cruelties and exactions ? How far might not such unjust and cruel usage contribute to confirm and harden them in, or, to speak more properly, to drive them into a greater excess of barbarity ? But, not to insist farther on this disagreeable topic, our doubtful readers need but go back to what we have formerly observed of the *Scythians*, *Gauls*, and especially our *British* druids ^u, (though, in other respects, vastly superior to these *Ethiopians* in learning and politeness) to be satisfied how far ambition, avarice, and superstition, are capable of driving men and whole nations into the most horrid cruelties and inhuman customs ; so that there will be less need to doubt or wonder at these we find affirmed by so many hands to be in use among the *Giagas*, *Gallas*, *Imbii*, and other canibal nations we have mentioned in this and some of the foregoing chapters.
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^r LOPEZ apud Pigafet, l. i. c. 5. l. ii. c. 19. DAPPER, BATTEL, ubi supra. JARRIC, vol. ii. c. 5. BOTER Benin, part i. l. iii. FR. MORIA GIOVAN Neapolit. MEROÛL. Voyage to Kongo. LABAT ex Cavaz. l. ii. p. 88, & seq. & al. pass. ^s De his, vide int. al. TAVERNIER voyag. l. iv. p. 166, & seq. ^t LABAT, ubi sup. l. ii. c. 7 & 8, pass. ^u See Anc. Hist. vol. ii. p. 252, & seq. p. 271, & seq. vol. vii. p. 334, & seq. 371, & seq. [417], & seq. & al. pass.

C H A P. XIV.

*The history of the kingdom of Anfiko.*Boundaries
and extent.

THIS kingdom, bounded by the river *Umbre*, which runs into the *Zaire*, and the kingdom of *Wangua*, has the *Amboes*, who border on *Loango*, on the west, some deserts of *Nubia* on the north, and the provinces of *Songo* and *Sonda*, parts of *Kongo*, on the south. *Anfiko*, according to *Jarric*, who makes no mention of its eastern or western confines, extends from *Coongo* to *Nubia*. There are copper-mines, the rhinoceros, lions, and other wild beasts ^a.

Inhabitants.

THE *Anfikans*, a neat, well-proportioned, and strong people, who have no lands or inheritance, wander, like *Arabs*, from one place to another, regardless of life, and intrepid in their undertakings; who, neither sowing nor reaping, live upon plunder and slaughter; are dreaded for their extreme brutality, and never traded with by *Europeans*, although open and frank, and, in all appearance, without deceit. Their language is barbarous, and difficult to be learned, even by the inhabitants of *Kongo*. The most distinguished *Anfikans* wear red and black caps of *Portuguese* velvet, and the inferior sort of both sexes go bare-footed, and naked from the waist upwards; who, to preserve their health, anoint their bodies with a composition of pounded white sandal-wood and palm-oil ^b.

Diet.

THEIR food is human flesh; and there are public markets, wherein human bodies are hung up for sale instead of beef and mutton. These people believe themselves possessed of a right to dispose arbitrarily of their slaves; the being an enemy justifies their practice; and prisoners of war are fattened, killed, and eat, or sold to butchers. Discontented slaves offer themselves for food to their masters; fathers and sons, brothers and sisters, reciprocally feed upon each other, without the least horror; and infants just born are eat by their unnatural and cruel mothers. There are no graves for the dead amongst *Anfikans*, but the bellies of the survivors, who eat the deceased as soon as expired ^c.

Cruelty.

Government.

Currency.

Trade.

THE king of *Anfiko*, or the great *Macoco*, whose dominion extends over thirteen kingdoms, is esteemed the most powerful monarch in *Africa*. The *zimbis*, or shell, formerly mentioned *, which is fished for at *Loango* and *Angola*, is the current coin of the country, for which the natives exchange their own and slaves from *Nubia*, as also for salt, silk, glass, knives, and other merchandizes ^d.

Weapons.

THEIR arms are battle-axes, and small but very strong, bows, strengthened and adorned with serpents skins, with strings of supple and tender shoots of trees, like reeds, that never break, and short arrows of hard and light wood. The *Anfikans*, who kill birds flying, shoot with surprising swiftness; insomuch that they can discharge twenty-eight arrows from the bow before the first falls to the ground; and they manage the battle-ax with equal dexterity, one end of which is sharpened, and cuts like a wedge, and the other flattened like a mallet, with an handle set between, about half the length of the iron, rounded at the end like an apple, and covered with the skin of a serpent; with the flat end they screen their bodies, and ward off the darts of their enemies. They have daggers likewise in serpent skin scabbards, which they carry in ivory belts, three fingers broad, and two thick, trimmed with dante, or lante, skins ^e.

Religion.

THEIR religion is idolatry; and they worship the sun as their chief deity, whom they represent in the figure of a man, and the moon, under that of a woman, and an infinite number of inferior deities, each man having one peculiar idol, to whom he offers sacrifices, and whom he constantly invokes in dangerous enterprizes; and it is said, that the devil gives answers, and instructions how to proceed ^f.

Giagas.

THERE are but few remains of the antient *Giagas*, mentioned in the foregoing appendix, whose four generals, or chiefs, *Cassange*, *Cajombo*, *Cabucco*, and *Casa*, commanded each a separate army †; the present are mostly natives of the countries they inhabit, inheriting the barbarity of their masters, and the most cruel of canibal nations. These people, who try the courage of their prisoners of war by shooting at the youngest and best made among them as at butts, and directing the arrows above or round their heads, fall on and devour those who discover the least signs of fear; and boring the noses and ears, and drawing the two fore-teeth of the upper jaw of those who appear intrepid and resolute, bring them up to a superior degree of barbarity, by training and accustoming them to the most horrid cruelties. These *Giagas* are scattered throughout *Africa*, but their principal residence is in the kingdom of *Anfiko*, and on the south-east of *Angola* ^g.

^a PIGAFET apud La Croix, vol. iii. p. 410. before, p. 332 (L).

^b Idem ibid. p. 14, & seq.

^c Ibid. ubi sup.

* See

^d PIGAFET apud La Croix, ubi supra, p. 15, 27.

^e Idem ibid. p. 16.

^f Idem

† See before, p. 569.

^g PIGAFET apud La Croix, ubi supra, p. 17.

^a THE antient inhabitants of *Angola* have a tradition that the *Giagas* were strangers originally, who settled in this kingdom; that some ages ago they came from *Sierra Leona*, and over-ran, like a torrent, the whole coast, as far as *Benguela*, as we have shewn in a former section*: that, being weakened by victories, and disabled to force the defiles, in order to return to their own country, they arrived on the borders of *Monomotapa*, whose army giving them battle, conquered and routed them; and that they were forced to remain in the provinces of *Anfiko*, and round about *Angola*; though it is very surprising this conquest should take place, from the great improbability of such numbers leaving *Sierra Leona* together, and of over-running and subduing, in so short a time, a tract of six or seven hundred leagues, inhabited by numbers of nations, governed by powerful kings, as those of *Ardra*, *Benin*, and *Loango*, and surrounded by numerous rivers and mountains^b.

* See before, p. 414, & seq.

^b LA CROIX, ubi sup.

The kingdom of Fungeno.

^c FUNGENO, or *Fungando*, a kingdom tributary to the Great Macoco, is situate between the rivers *Zaire* and *Coanza*, to the east of *Conde*. Stuffs made of the bark of matamba, consisting of long strings, like hemp, are the currency of *Loango* and *Angola*; on which account the *Portuguese* trade with the natives for stuffs and slaves, who trade also themselves with the people of *Nimeamago*, a kingdom situate on the south-east of *Macoco*. The prince of *Nimeamago* living in friendship with the Great Macoco, his subjects travel without danger through his dominions, and traffick at *Fungeno*ⁱ.

ⁱ Idem ibid.

The kingdom of Biafar, or Biafra.

^d THIS kingdom, situate on the east of *Benin*, on the west of, and divided by a chain of mountains from, *Medra*, extends on the south to the 4th degree of north latitude. The natives are the most addicted of all Negroes to, and infatuated with, magic; imagining themselves capable of causing rain, thunder, and lightning; and therefore worship, with great zeal, and sacrifice their children to, the devil^k.

^k LA CROIX, vol. iii. p. 291.

The province of Calbaria.

^e THIS country, adjoining to *Rio Real*, or *Royal River*, takes the name of *Calbaria* from that river. Near the coast, on the west bank of the river, which though large, is, in many places, too shallow for vessels of burden, is a town, called by the *Dutch Wyndorp*, and by the Negroes, from the great quantity of wine, *Toke*; two branches spread themselves to the east and west from the river, whose course runs constantly north. In the west branch is a road, three or four leagues in length, for trading vessels; and the town *Calbaria* is situate on the north side of this arm, a place of great trade with the *Dutch*, inclosed with pallisadoes, watered on the south by the river, and defended on the north by a boggy wood. On the south of this rivulet is an island of an oval figure, at a distance from the continent, from which it is divided only by a shallow canal, whose land is low, and covered with woods^l.

^f ABOUT twelve leagues westward of *Calbaria* lies *Belli*, governed by one captain; and twenty leagues above the mouth is an arm of *Rio Real*, running east-north-east, and many other rivers near the banks. The province of *Krike*, bordering on the west of *Moco*, lies about twenty miles from the coast, on the back of *Rio Real*; and going southward of *Moco*, towards the coast, is the province of *Bani*, whose principal town is *Culeba*, the chief of this country, which extends westward from the river *Calbaria*, as far as *Sangma*, and has ten under officers. The cannibal Negroes, inhabitants of the eastern banks of *Calbaria*, who, as at *Ardra*, circumcise the women that are marriageable with ants, eat the slain only, and sell the prisoners of war at *Calbaria*. In the province of *Moco* is a sort of iron coin, whose pieces are as large as the palm of the hand, with long tails. The canoes made use of by *Calbarian* Negroes are pointed at both ends, are sixty feet long, and six broad; a fire-place is in the center for dressing victuals, with planks across for rowers. On each side is a range of twenty: near each rower

^l Idem ibid. p. 298, & seq.

hangs a quiver of arrows, in case of an attack, these nations living in continual war. The canoes carry 80 persons; the slaves only are exposed to the damps of the air, the masters being sheltered in the night by reed mats, spread upon poles, and fixed up in the manner of tents.

LOITOMBA river, called by the *Portuguese Rio do Santo Domingo*, is three leagues from the mouth of *Rio Real*, at the east end of which is a large town, inhabited by Negro traders, who traffick in slaves, which they bring from distant countries. Next to *Loitomba* is old *Calbaria*, or *Calborg* river. The interjacent country is unprovided with water: the coast from *Rio Real* to antient *Calborg* is 24 leagues in extent, north-north-east. *Rio de Rey*, or *King's River*, is the next, extremely large and wide, with three fathoms water, upon a muddy bottom, and without sand-banks, or rocks to defend the entrance; the country round is low and marshy. There is no sweet water but from rain, which *Europeans*, who trade upon this coast, are obliged to purchase at a dear rate.

THE *Calborgos*, a wicked, deceitful, and filthy people, who go naked, the private parts excepted, which are covered with a belt round the middle, with their bodies bedaubed with various colours, and figures traced on their foreheads, inhabit the country near the source of this river, at a great distance from the coast. The *Calborgos* have no sincerity or natural love; parents sell their children, husbands their wives, brothers their sisters, &c. Criminals are declared innocent in this country who make an incision in, and suck the blood out of, their arms.

THE great trade of this river consists in slaves, which are exchanged for small copper bars, 13 or 14, weighing about 22 pounds, purchase a good slave. Coral grains and copper basons are likewise imported; and the Negroes, who deal in acori, arrows, knives, and ivory, have brought, for years, 400 quintals of elephants teeth, and 500 slaves to market, at a village near the coast, situate on the banks of a rivulet that runs into this river ^m.

^m LA CROIX, ubi supra.

C H A P. XV.

The history of Benin, under the antient division of Guiney.

S E C T. I.

Containing a geographical account of the whole coast, with all its subdivisions into distinct provinces and districts, particularly of the kingdom of Benin; the manners, laws, and religion of the natives; its cities, rivers, trade, and commodities; with many other particulars, which it would be too tedious to recite in the contents.

Introduction to the history of Guiney.

IN writing the history of *Guiney*, we labour under difficulties from the too great abundance of materials, which are thrown together in one rude chaos, in the undigested collection of voyages, with which this and every state in *Europe* is surfeited. A faithful abstract of these, reduced into historical form, will be an arduous and difficult undertaking, though not insuperable. Here is no clue to guide our steps, no plan of history to serve as a thread for our narrative. Materials are jumbled together, without regard to method or diction; the very perusal of which is more laborious and fatiguing than the whole of the execution besides. Father *Cavazzi* is perhaps the only author of value for stile and disposition, who has treated this subject; but he will be of little use; his description of the country being too general, often false, and the whole of his work chiefly employed in the recital of events, which will make the smallest part of our design. *Bosman* is indeed an author of credit; his relations are accurate, and his manner entertaining; but as he followed an epistolary stile, no plan or system of arrangement is pursued. Under these circumstances we resolved to have recourse to the original materials to form our own plan, and digest the whole in the same order we have hitherto maintained. The difficulty of the undertaking will, we hope, be compensated by the satisfaction the reader will receive in the perusal of the first, copious, clear, and authentic, annals of this coast, even if they should be deficient in some of those embellishments, the principal care of modern historians.

Geographical description of the coast of Guiney.

GUINEY, or, according to most writers, *Ghinney*, or *Guinea*, is a vast extended coast, stretching from four degrees and a half to ten degrees and a half north latitude, lying between the great river *Camerone* on the east, and the mouth of the river *Sierra Leona* on the west, comprehending 30 degrees of longitude. Other geographers confine its limits between *Cape Lo-*

a *Lop-Gonsalvo*, or *Cape Negro*, and the river *Senegal*. The appellation of *Guiney* is probably unknown to the natural inhabitants, and seems to be derived from the name *Gbeneboa*, imposed by the early *Portuguese* navigators on a country south of *Senegal*. Some writers, however, are hardy enough to derive the term *Guiney* from the dry nature of the soil and climate; the word, according to them, signifying as much in the language of the natives. But surely they did not reflect that no country under heaven is better watered with rivers, springs, and rain!

THE general division of this coast is into south and north. The first extends from the river *Senegal* to *Sierra Leona*. South *Guiney* comprehends six distinct coasts, called provinces, and known by different names; viz. the *Grain Coast*, by some termed the *Pepper Coast*, the *Ivory Coast*, the *Gold Coast*, the *Slave Coast*, and those of *Benin* and *Biafara*. However, the more general and common division is contained under four districts; viz. the *Slave*, *Gold*, *Ivory*, and *Grain Coasts*^a. The *Slave Coast*, or *Benin*, is bounded by *Nigritia* on the north, by the unknown inward parts of *Africa* on the east, by *Kongo*, or that part of the *Atlantic* ocean called the *Gulph of Guiney*, on the south, and on the west by the *Gold Coast*; stretching along the sea-coast from the river *Camerone* on the east, to the *Danish* fort of *Christianburgh*, near the river *Volta*, on the west. The chief rivers of this division are, the great river *Camerone*, which bounds it to the south-east, the river *Del Rey* on the westward, the rivers *Forcades*, *Formosa*, and *Lagos*, still further west, and, lastly, the river *Volta*, at the extremity of the western boundary.

THE chief towns, which give name to a variety of different kingdoms within this district, are, *Benin*, situated on the river *Formosa*, in seven degrees and a half north latitude; *Awerri*, standing at the mouth of the river *Forcades*, and subject to the *Portuguese*; *Arebo*, on the east side of the river *Formosa*; *Great Ardrab*; *Little Ardrab*; both standing near the river *Lagos*; *Whidab*, or *Fida*, situated between the *Lagos* and the *Volta*; *Great* and *Little Popo*, both on the same coast, west of *Whidab*; *Lampo*, or *Alampo*, a little to the westward of the mouth of the river *Volta*. As to the country of *Benin Proper*, no *European* nation has planted settlements there, besides the *Portuguese*, who are in a manner the despotic sovereigns of this district. If we may credit their missionaries, they have converted the natives to christianity; however, other travellers inform us, that the inhabitants of the sea-coast are a miserable sort of profelytes, a profligate, wretched, and abandoned race, addicted to all manner of vice, and more artificial in their depravity than the original and unmixed inhabitants of remote countries.

THE *Gold Coast*, so called from the abundance of that metal it affords, is terminated by *Nigritia*, or *Negroeland*, on the north; by the *Slave Coast* on the east; the ocean on the south; and by the *Tooth* or *Ivory Coast* on the west. Its rivers are, the *Rio Cobra*, or *Ancobar*, by some termed the *Gold River*; with some others of less note. The capitals giving name to a number of petty kingdoms are, *Aquamboe*, *Agona*, *Fantyn*, *Acron*, *Fetu*, *Sabo*, *Commani*, *Axim*, *Ante*, *Adom*, *Jabi*, &c.

THE next division of *Guiney* is the *Ivory* or *Tooth Coast*, taking its name from the elephants' teeth found here. It is bounded likewise by *Nigritia* on the north; by the *Gold Coast* on the east; by the ocean on the south; and by the *Malaguette* or *Grain Coast* on the west. Among the most remarkable towns and places on this coast are, *Jaque*, *Cape Laboe*, *Drumyn*, *Bot-town*, *Sina*, *Sestre*, *Palmas*, &c. The principal rivers are those of *Rio de Suero*, and *Rio Escravos*.

THE last and most western division of *Guiney* is the *Malaguette*, *Grain*, or *Pepper Coast*, bounded by *Nigritia* on the north; the *Ivory Coast* on the east; and on the south and west by the ocean. Its chief rivers are the *Rio de Sestro*, the *Rio de St. Paul*, and the river *de Sierra Leona*. Its capitals of the several petty states contained under the general division are, the towns of *Basso*, *Sanguin*, *Sestro*, *Tomba*, *Buga*, and *Gorea*^b.

To begin with the first of these divisions. The kingdom of *Benin* is a region of great extent, the limits of which are but imperfectly ascertained. We find it mentioned by writers under the names of *Benin*, *Binnin*, *Binni*, or *Benni*; the first of which, as the most common, we have retained. Most historians, however, place it between the 19th and 35th degrees of east longitude, and the 3d and 10th parallels of latitude. Hence they reckon it extends 930 miles east and west, and about 640 north and south; a prodigious tract of land to remain for so long a time imperfectly known. On this supposition, its boundaries to the west will be the *Gold Coast*, and the gulph of *Benin*, separated by the river *Volta*. On the north will be *Nigritia*, the kingdoms of *Mayack* and *Makoko* on the east, and the gulph of *Kongo* on the south. However, these particulars are very indistinctly marked by geographers, and with as little precision by the writers of voyages. *Prevost*, the most accurate compiler of voyages, greatly retrenches the above limits of the kingdom of *Benin*^c; but we will not oppress the reader with a variety of opinions and barbarous terms, to which he can affix no determinate and clear ideas.

^a PREVOST Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. vi. l. ii. c. 1. BOSMAN Epist. 21.

^c Tom. vi. l. ii. c. 1.

^b Aut. citat. loc. citat.

The air and
climate.

Towns.

River of Be-
nin, or For-
mosa.

Arebo.

Agatton.

Meiberg.

Cruel massacre
of the natives
of Meiberg.

Benin, the
city.

THE first discovery of this kingdom is attributed to *Juan Alfonso de Aveiro*, a *Portuguese*, a who gave the appellation of *Formosa* to the river *Benin*, from the verdure and beauty of its banks, continually adorned with tall, strait, and spreading trees. Notwithstanding the apparent satisfaction it affords, and the pleasing scene it presents to the eye, the air is noxious and pestilential, owing to the gross vapours exhaled by the sun's heat from its marshy banks. The vermin produced by the heat is another inconvenience equally insupportable. Here are such quantities of mosquito flies as render life intolerable; their sting being poignant, and, from the effects, seemingly poisonous, producing violent heats and inflammations on the parts, with convulsions, extreme vomitings, and other dangerous symptoms^d. On the banks of this river are some towns, where the *Europeans*, particularly the *Dutch*, carry on a commerce. They are called by *Nyendael*, *Bododo*, *Arebo*, or *Arbon*, *Agatton*, or *Gatton*, and *Meiberg*. The first contains about 50 houses, or little cabins, built of reeds, and covered with leaves. Here a viceroy has his residence, attended by a council, whose jurisdiction extends over this canton in all civil affairs, levying taxes, and rating duties and imposts on merchandize. In criminal cases of great importance, the viceroy and council are obliged to send to *Benin*, the capital, for the orders of the court^e.

ABOUT two miles from the mouth of the river, it divides itself into two branches, distant two *English* miles from each other. Upon one of them stands the little town of *Awerri*, or *Ouverne*, governed by a free and independent prince. *Arebo*, which now is the center of commerce of *Benin*, is situated sixty leagues up the river. Notwithstanding the river branches out into innumerable streams, ships of burthen can go a great way higher, and anchor in fine large creeks and sandy bays. *Arebo* is a fine, large, and populous city, of an oval figure, the houses larger, but built with the same materials, and in the same taste, as those of *Bododo*. The city and adjacent country are under the government of a viceroy and council, with similar powers as those of *Bododo*. The *Portuguese* have a factory and church at *Awerri*, and here at *Arebo* the *English* and *Dutch* had a settlement, agents, and factors. The former, however, through carelessness, have suffered theirs to fall into ruin, and at present it is totally abandoned^f.

AGATTON, or *Gatton*, has likewise been a place of consideration for its extent, commerce, and the number of its inhabitants. By the ravages of war it is now almost totally deserted. It stands on the *Formosa*, 24 leagues higher than *Arbok*, a canal separating the districts belonging to each town; and about ten leagues north of *Oedo*, or *Benin*, the capital of the empire.

THE last of the four commercial towns is *Meiberg*, a name given this place by the *Dutch*. Here the *Hollanders* carry on a great trade, and maintain a considerable settlement, rendered famous by a tragical event. *Beeldfyder*, a *Dutch* factor, having conceived a violent passion for one of the women belonging to the Negro governor, took the resolution of carrying her away. The governor, transported with rage, attacked the *Dutch* settlement with a body of troops, and forced the factor to retreat on board a vessel lying in the road, after having receiving a wound, of which he soon died. Upon this the director-general, who was ill-informed of the circumstances, imprudently determined to avenge the death of the factor. For this purpose he fitted out a brigantine, and surprized the blacks at *Meiberg*, massacring, without mercy, man, woman, and child, as they came in his way. The news of this event soon reaching the court at *Benin*, his majesty demanded an explication of the causes of this bloody execution. After being informed, instead of turning his resentment against the *Dutch*, who had broke through all the laws of justice, hospitality, and humanity, he exerted it, from views of policy, with the most horrible circumstances of barbarity, against the innocent governor, and his whole race; ordering them to be extirpated without exception, and their dead bodies to be given a prey to the wild beasts. The *Dutch*, perceiving the king so zealously attached to the interests of commerce, have ever since remained there, with a despotic and arbitrary sway over the unhappy wretches, the natural proprietors^g.

BENIN, the capital, is a city of great extent. *Artus* of *Dantzic* calls it eleven miles in circumference, containing 100,000 inhabitants. You enter it by a large street, which, according to the same writer, is eight times wider than any street in *Holland*^h. This we apprehend to be a sort of avenue or great road leading to the city, since other travellers, who have measured it, call it eight leagues in length. It passes through the city, dividing it into two equal parts, and is itself cut by innumerable other streets that traverse it. For the whole eight leagues the houses stand so close on each side the road, that it may well be mistaken for a street. After advancing twelve miles, you come to a large gate, which divides the city from the suburbs. The gate is of wood; but it is defended by a strong bastion of mud and earth, surrounded by a deep ditch forty feet wide. Here a guard is constantly kept to receive the tolls, duties, and imposts, upon merchandize. All the streets of the city are strait, long, and broad, adorned

^d BARBOT, p. 355.
part vi. p. 119.

^e Ibid.

^f PREVOST, *ibid.*

^g BOSMAN *Enq.* 21.

^h Vol. ii.

a with a variety of shops filled with *European* merchandize, as well as the commodities of the country. Formerly the houses stood close, the whole street appearing like one complete building, every part of it in a manner surcharged with inhabitants; at present it is broke by numberless chasms and ruins, that seem to presage its short duration. As the country affords no stone, all the houses are built with mud and clay, covered with reeds, straw, or clay, with an elegance that is astonishing. Nor is the architecture of the principal buildings altogether contemptible; many of them being not unworthy of a more civilized people¹. Only natives are permitted to live here; several of whom are wealthy, and trade to a great extent. Here the women are employed in keeping the streets neat and clean; in which respect the inhabitants of *Benin* are not exceeded by the *Hollanders* themselves. A principle part of the city is taken up The royal palace.

b by the royal palace, which is rather prodigious in its dimensions than commodious or elegant in the contrivance. The eye is first met by a long gallery, sustained by fifty-eight strong planks, rough and unpolished, above twelve feet in height, and three in circumference. Passing this gallery, you come to a high mud wall, which hath three gates. That in the center is decorated at the top with a wooden turret of a spiral form, 70 feet high. Upon the very extremity of this cone is fixed a large copper snake, well cast, carved, and bearing marks of a proficiency in the arts. Within the gate you are presented with an area of fine turf, a quarter of a mile in length, and near as broad; at the further end of which is another gallery in the same taste as the former, only that the pilasters, which sustain it, are ornamented with human figures, and many of them cut out in that form, but in a gross and awkward manner. Behind a canvas curtain are shewn four heads cast in brass, neither resembling the human or brute figure, each of them supported by a large elephant's tooth, the king's property. Passing through this gallery and another gate, you have the king's dwelling-house in front; an appearance that by no means dazzles with its pomp and magnificence. Here is another snake over the porch, done probably by the same artist as that on the turret. In the first apartment is the king's audience-chamber, where, in presence of the chief nobility or officers of the court, he receives foreign ministers and ambassadors. His throne is of ivory, under a canopy of rich silk. This chamber of audience would likewise seem to be the repository of his majesty's merchandize (for here the king, as well as his subjects, is a trader), it being filled with loads of elephants teeth, and other commodities, lying in a confusion, which plainly indicates they are not intended for ornament. The room is hung with fine tapestry, and the floor covered with mats and carpets of an indifferent manufacture. All the city, except the royal palace, is falling into decay; and the reason assigned for it by *Nyendaël* is the following². The king, jealous of the wealth of two petty princes *of the street*, as they are called, ordered them to be seized, put to death, and their effects confiscated to his own use, under pretence that they had conspired against his life. They gave the clearest proofs of their innocence; but the king was determined; nothing being so inexorable and deaf to the cries of pity as avarice. Soon after this barbarity, he meditated the destruction of another person, whose growing wealth excited his jealousy and natural passion for money. This nobleman, being timely apprised of his majesty's intention, quitted the city, and with him left it three-fourths of the inhabitants, who were strongly attached to his person, and apprehensive how far the king might exert his prerogative of being wicked. They were pursued by his majesty, who, immediately on their departure, had assembled an army. He was, however, so warmly received by the fugitives, that he was forced to retreat with loss and disappointment. After this he made a second attempt to oblige them to return by force; but the event was agreeable to justice; he was defeated and pursued in his turn by the nobleman, who, entering the city sword-in-hand, plundered the whole except the palace, which was too strongly defended for him to make an impression on. For ten successive years he continued with his fugitive band to harass, plunder, and molest, the inhabitants of *Benin*, till at length, by the mediation of the *Portuguese*, a peace was concluded; by which he was granted a free and full pardon, and even requested to return to his habitation. As he did not chuse again to put himself into the power of a prince, whose disposition he was but too well acquainted with, he fixed his residence at a place three days journey from the capital, where he kept a court that greatly eclipsed that of the king. All endeavours were in vain used to bring his adherents back to the city³. They were promised lucrative posts and honours about court; but they preferred poverty with freedom, to wealth and dignity with servitude; whence the city *Benin* has ever since remained in a manner depopulated (A). Cause of the decline of Benin.

BESIDES

¹ NYENDAËL, p. 432.² Ibid. p. 434. DAPPER, p. 18.³ Idem ibid.

(A) Since the time of *Artus*, from whom this account is chiefly taken, the *Europeans* have found a thousand occasions of visiting the different parts of the city, notwithstanding the jealousy of the natives in this particular. MOD. HIST. VOL. VI.

lar. Here so apprehensive are they of the curiosity of strangers, that, as soon as a foreigner enters the city, he is received by officers appointed solely to attend him. The pretext is civility, and the desire of shewing him every

*Commodities of
the country.*

BESIDES the dry merchandize with which the markets of *Benin* abound, they are also well stocked with eatables, a little particular in their kind. Here they expose dogs to sale for eating, of which the negroes are fond. Roasted monkeys, apes, and baboons, are everywhere to be seen. Bats, rats, lizards dried in the sun, palm-wine and fruit, form the most luxurious entertainments, and stand continually exposed to sale in the streets.

Government.

As to the government, it is despotic, as may be seen from the instance we have given. The empire is divided into an infinite number of petty royalties, all of them subject to the king of *Benin*. Although they boast of being born freemen, yet can nothing be more servile than the blind obedience they pay to the king's authority. They are even proud of being looked upon as the slaves of the monarch; that being deemed a distinguishing mark of honour.

*Disposition of
the natives.*

THE natives of *Great Benin* are in general a good-natured, gentle, and civil people, from whom, by kind usage, any thing may be obtained. If they receive presents, they return them by double the value; and will even steal to enable their gratitude. If a stranger makes a request, he is seldom refused, however inconvenient it may be to comply with his desire. In short, their disposition is no less easily worked upon by soft means, than inflexible to all kind of severity and rough usage. By courtesy their pride is flattered, their self-importance raised, and a parasite will succeed in points which a blusterer would try in vain to effect. They are quick and alert in business, greatly attached to their antient manners, and shocked at any the least innovation. In this alone, perhaps, they are disagreeable, many of their customs being equally disgusting and unnatural to an *European*. In their bargains in trade, with strangers especially, their tenaciousness of their own opinions renders it difficult to deal with them. It frequently happens that a bargain for elephants teeth will take up some weeks before it is completed, with so many ceremonious civilities, truly ridiculous, is it preceded; yet with each other, where they repose a confidence, no people make greater dispatch. *Nyendaël* complains of another inconvenience, which attends the commerce of that country. The *Dutch* and *Portuguese*, he says, are obliged to trust them with goods to make *paans* or cloths of, for the payment of which they frequently stay so long, that, from the approach of the unhealthy season, the consumption of provisions, and mortality among their people, they are under the necessity of leaving the country without their money. However, upon their return, they are honestly paid to the last farthing ^a.

*Method of
carrying on
business.*

THE government appoints a kind of brokers called *Mercadors*, or *Fiadors*, to treat with strangers about all merchandize. These *Mercadors* speak a corrupt *Portuguese*, which enables them to converse with *Europeans*. This qualification is esteemed by their countrymen their only excellency, as without it they are looked upon as the refuse and dregs of the people, because they trade upon borrowed capitals; in such esteem are riches held even among negroes and barbarians, and such is the contempt affixed to poverty. Among themselves all private bargains are dispatched with the utmost secrecy for fear of exciting the jealousy or avarice of their governors. Their being represented to these as great traders would infallibly be attended with ruinous consequences; for the governors keep a number of emissaries in constant employment, always ready to accuse those persons they are desirous of sacrificing to their interest and ambition. For this reason those who are out of power, and bear no share in the government, carefully conceal their wealth, putting forth every appearance of poverty, in order to escape the rapacious hands of their superiors. This obliges them all to an artful and cunning civility, in order to avoid accusers, and bribe by respect and deference those men to whom they are afraid of offering money ^b.

*The political
division of the
people into
classes, with
an account of
each.
First class.*

THE state of *Benin* is divided into three classes of men, besides the king, whose will is a law. The first and highest rank or branch of the government is composed of three persons called *Great Lords*, who are always about the king's person. Whoever wants to apply for favours from the throne must first address himself to them. They undertake to present the petition, and to return his majesty's answer; but in fact acquaint him with no more than they think proper, so that the supreme government may be said to be lodged in the three great lords. They are the more secure in their usurpation, inasmuch as besides them hardly any other persons are admitted into the king's presence, much less to his conversation ^c.

Second class.

THE next state or class is composed of those petty princes called *Street Kings*, or *Ares de Roe*, some of which preside over the commons, and others over the slaves; some over military affairs, while others superintend every thing relating to cattle, and the fruits of the earth. Out of this class there is a particular supervisor over every branch of trade, manufacture, farming, and every thing relative to civil or military police. From this degree of men are elected the viceroys and governors of provinces, subject to the king; all of them under the direction, and

^a P. 436.

^b NYENDAEL, loc. citat.

^c ARTUS, T. ii. p. 120.

every thing deserving notice; but the real design to limit his curiosity, and mislead his inquiries, with regard to the situation of the streets, the strength of the place, the number of the guards, and the police. They would seem either afraid or ashamed of the weakness and ruinous condition of their capital.

responsible

- a responsible for their conduct to the three great lords. These honourable posts are obtained by the recommendation of the great lords; the king, as an ensign of his dignity, presenting them with a string of coral on their appointment, that being equivalent to the badge of the order of knighthood in *Europe*. This string they are perpetually to wear about their necks, without presuming, under the penalty of degradation, and even death, ever to lay it aside on any account whatever. If they are so unhappy as by accident to lose it, or to suffer it to be stolen from them, they are *ipso facto* condemned to death, without even the possibility of the king's reprieve. Of this *Nyendaël* gives the following instances: At the time this gentleman resided in the kingdom of *Benin*, an *Are de Roe* had his chain stolen from him, upon which he was seized, and put to death, without form of trial. The person who had committed the theft was likewise taken and condemned, as were three persons supposed to be accessory to the fact. Thus five men lost their lives for a chain of coral, intrinsically not worth two-pence. The second instance happened in 1700, and with more extraordinary circumstances: The captain of a *Portuguese* ship having staid after all the *European* fleet had sailed, in order to collect some debts, finding that they came in but slowly, he resolved to cause the *Are de Roe*, his greatest debtor, to be conveyed on board his ship. This the other resisted, endeavouring to make his escape, which produced a scuffle with the sailors. Here the pilot, who had received some hurt in the fray, laid hold of the coral chain, broke it in pieces, and flung them overboard; on which the *Are de Roe*, quite dispirited with the fatal accident, surrendered himself to the *Portuguese*. As his confinement was not strict, he found means, when the pilot was asleep, to lay hold of a blunderbuss, with which he shot him through the head. Nor was he contented with this revenge; he seized upon a cutlass, and hewed the carcase in pieces, saying, *That he had now punished the villain, and was indifferent about the consequence; for, continues he, when my coral was thrown over-board, I was dead by the law; now my creditor is the same, and I have had the satisfaction of revenge.* The captain, not chusing to punish him by his own authority, delivered him up to justice. He was immediately committed to a dungeon, and, upon the arrival of the next *Portuguese* ship, punished with death, without discriminating murder from the involuntary accident of losing the coral chain ^a.
- THESE badges of honour are carefully kept by the king in his own possession; and the counterfeiting or possessing any of them, without being legally invested therewith, is punished with death. They are made of a pale reddish coëtile earth, finely glazed and speckled like marble, with a great variety of beautiful colours.
- d THE third order of state consists of the *Fiadors*, who likewise wear the coral, but with some distinctions of subordination and inferiority to the *Ares de Roes*. Besides the *Fiadors*, under the same class are ranked the *Mercadores*, or merchants, the *Fulladors*, or pleaders, the *Veilles*, or elders, all of them discriminated with some distinguishing mark or method of wearing the coral chain. To these succeed the *Plebeians*, as next in order. This class of people is in general indolent, lazy, and idle; few of them, besides the extreme poor, chusing to work or better their condition by labour and industry. The whole burden of the necessary work is laid upon the women and slaves, whether it be tilling the ground, spinning cotton, weaving cloths, cleaning the streets, or whatever be the occupation. Besides weavers, the only artists in this country are smiths, carpenters, and leather-dressers, all of them such bunglers in their profession, that an *European* boy, with a month's instruction, would far surpass those who have employed their whole lives in the business ^b.
- e SUCH of the natives as can afford it, feed well. Their common diet is beef, mutton, or fowls, with yams for bread, which, after boiling, they beat into a sort of cake. They frequently make entertainments for each other, the recrements of which are constantly distributed among the poor; a practice worthy the imitation of more polished nations. The meaner ranks of people content themselves with smoked or dried fish, which, salted, greatly resembles in taste the *Dutch Ras* or *Reckel*. Their bread is made of yams, bananas, and beans, mixed and beat up together. For their drink they use the limpid brook, or water mixed with a bad wine they call *Pardon*. The richer sort drink water and *European* brandy to their meals ^c.
- f THE king, great lords, and every viceroy and governor, support, according to their ability, a certain number of poor at their residences. The blind, the lame, and infirm, are the objects of their charity; as for the lazy, they are suffered to starve if they refuse to supply their own wants. By this excellent police, not a beggar or vagrant is to be seen. The public officers keep the idle to their labour, to prevent their infirmities, the consequence of poverty, from increasing the tax on themselves. This necessary care succeeds so happily, that in spite of their natural indolence, the indigent are but few. Liberality and generosity are distinguishing qualities in the natives of *Benin*; but they accompany their donations with an ostentation that destroys the grace and beauty of the action. Nay, so intoxicated are they with
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^a NYENDAEL, p. 430.

^b Ibid. etiam ARTUS, loc. citat.

^c NYEND. p. 441.

the love of praise, and the reputation of liberality, that they often impoverish themselves, and ruin their families, to excite admiration ^d.

Dress of the natives.

THEIR dress is neat, ornamental, and far exceeding in magnificence that of the negroes of the *Gold Coast*. The rich among them wear first a white callico, or cotton petticoat, about a yard in length, and half a yard in breadth, by way of drawers. This they cover with another fine piece of callico of sixteen or twenty yards, which they very artfully and becomingly plait in the middle, throwing over it a scarf a yard long, and a foot wide, the ends of which are adorned with a handsome lace or fringe. As to the upper part of the body, it is mostly naked. Such is the dress in which they appear in public; at home their cloathing is more simple and less expensive, consisting only of a coarse *paan* for drawers, covered with a large painted cloth worn in the manner of a cloak, and of home manufacture.

AMONG the ladies, those of better fashion wear fine callico *paans* beautifully chequered with various colours, but in a form that cannot be described in words. The dress is long and open behind, or on one side, just as fancy directs. The face and upper part of the body is covered with a thin veil, which they remove among their friends and intimates of either sex. The neck they adorn with strings and chains of coral, agreeably disposed and wrought. Upon their arms and legs they wear bright copper or iron bracelets, of a mean workmanship, and all their fingers are crowded with rings of the same metal. Upon the whole, their persons are not disagreeable, after custom has rendered them familiar to the eye; and, excepting the rings and bracelets, the dress is by no means unbecoming or inelegant. The meaner degrees of women, as well as the men, differ from those of higher rank only in the quality of their clothes, the form being in every respect the same. Almost all their children go naked till the age of ten or twelve years; the girls indeed are directed by nature when to wear clothes; till then, their whole dress consists of a few strings of coral twisted round their waist, rather for ornament than decency. The men neither curl or adorn their hair, but suffer it to flow in its natural order, except in two or three parts, which they buckle, in order to suspend a bunch of coral to each lock. The women, on the other hand, use great art in dressing their hair, which they throw into a variety of different forms, great and small buckles, high and low foretops, sometimes plaited up behind, at other times flowing in wanton ringlets down the neck; but generally divided on the crown of the head, by which means the curls are brought into exact order and form. Some anoint it with a kind of oil they express or roast out of oil nuts, whence it loses its black colour, and in process of time turns to a beautiful but unbecoming green, or yellow, of which they are fond ^e.

Marriages.

THE men marry as many women as their circumstances will permit, the laws limiting them to no determinate number. They have scarce any nuptial ceremonies, and indeed the rite is so frequent, that it must diminish its solemnity. The only circumstance in which it differs from a common assembly of friends, is, the elegance and profusion of the entertainment. *Nyendaël* indeed relates the process of courtship in the following manner: If a man loves a virgin, he discovers his passion to the most considerable person among his relations, who proceeds to the virgin's house, and demands her of her friends. If she be not already engaged, he seldom meets with a repulse. As soon as the consent of the parents is obtained, the match goes on, and the bridegroom presents his future bride with a suit of clothes, bracelets, rings, and necklace, proportioned to the degree of his affection and wealth. After having treated the relations on both sides with a handsome collation, the marriage is ended, and confirmed without any other ceremony. *Nyendaël* adds, that this entertainment is not given to the friends assembled into one company, but that each has his share sent home to his house ^f.

Jealousy of the men.

THE natives are jealous of each other to a degree of madness, but never take offence at any liberties taken with their wives by *Europeans*, deeming it impossible that the taste of the women should be so depraved as to grant unbecoming favours to a white man. Among the people of fashion, the women here live after the manner of the *Eastern* nations, cooped up from all conversation with the males of their own complexion and features; but treated otherwise with great tenderness, in order to alleviate the misfortune of the loss of liberty. If the master of the house receives a visit from any of his acquaintance, his wife immediately retires, unless the stranger prove an *European*, in which case they are desired to remain in their seats. They use every female artifice to engage the affections of their husbands, knowing how much their happiness depends upon his will ^g.

Respect for the Europeans.

Punishment of adultery.

ADULTERY, and every violation of the marriage bed, is punished in three different ways. If, among the lower class of people, a husband suspects the fidelity of his wife, he tries every method to surprise her in the fact, without which he has no power of inflicting any other punishment than ill usage. If he succeeds in detecting the intrigue, he becomes immediately possessed of all the estate real and personal of the gallant, which he may from that instant

^d Ibid. 445.

etiam NYENDAËL, loc. cit.

^e NYENDAËL, p. 400.

^f ARTUS, tom. ii. part vi. p. 114.

^g Ibid.

a seize, occupy, and enjoy, as his own. The offending wife is disciplined with a cudgel, driven out of the house, and left to seek her fortune, which commonly ends in misery, few persons choosing to receive her into their houses, and fewer still to marry the woman who has so grossly violated her faith. The method usually practised in such cases is, to retire into a country where they are not known: here they either pass for widows, and watch for a second opportunity of matrimony, or else enter upon trade, or subsist by labour. Among persons of condition, the crime is atoned for by a sum of money, which the relations of the wife advance, in order to avoid the scandal annexed to adultery. After this, she passes with the husband, and all her acquaintance, for a woman of virtue, proportioned to the money received by the husband. As to the governors and *Ares de Roe*, they punish this crime with the utmost severity. Both the woman and gallant are immediately put to death, if they are taken in the fact; their bodies are thrown upon dunghills, a prey to the birds of the air, and beasts of the field, without process of law, or form of trial. From the severity of the punishment it is that the violation of the marriage bed is less known in *Benin* than in any other country. Men are deterred from indulging themselves in a passion attended with such ruinous and fatal consequences ^b.

In general the negroes of this country are libidinous, and much addicted to venery, which they ascribe to the free use of *Pardon* wine, and good eating. This, however, is an observation which will hold not only in *Benin*, but in almost all warm climates. Their conversation is pure, and free from all obscenity; the rites of love they hold as sacred, to be spoken of only in places destined for that purpose, in retreats, and in a manner neither to offend the eye nor ear; yet the delicate hint, the well-wrapped double-entendre, is so far from being prohibited, that the person possessed of this talent passes for the first of wits. Hence it is that conversation is continually enlivened with well-contrived fables, and chaste similes, tending however to this point. The pregnant wife is forbid the caresses of her husband till after delivery. If the infant proves a male, it is presented to the king, as properly and of right belonging to him; but the females are the property of the father, are intirely under his power, live with him till marriage, and in this are wholly directed by his will ^c.

ABOUT a fortnight after birth both males and females are circumcised, the former by the loss of the præputium, the latter of the clitoris; a custom that prevailed among most primitive nations, though it might be difficult to assign the cause. The infants have, besides, small incisions made, in a manner expressive of certain figures, all over their bodies. The females are more tortured with those unnatural ornaments than the males, and both at the pleasure of the parent. When the infant is seven days old, the parents, imagining that now it has escaped the greatest danger, give an entertainment, and, to appease evil spirits from doing them an injury, they strew the roads with their best provisions and wines ^d.

WHEN a woman bears two children at a birth, it is deemed a happy omen; the king is made acquainted with it, and public rejoicings are ordered to be kept, which they express by a variety of wretched music, vocal and instrumental. As the task of suckling both children is esteemed too difficult for the mother, the father by law is obliged to look out for a nurse, who has lost her own child; and that no advantage may be taken of his circumstances, her price is rated by authority ^e. At *Arebo* only, twin births are reputed a bad omen, and attended with great grief to the unhappy parents. Here they actually treat the mother with the utmost barbarity, killing both her and the children, and sacrificing them to a certain demon which they are firmly persuaded haunts the village. If the husband happens to be uncommonly fond of his wife, he purchases her life, and sacrifices in her stead a female slave; but the children, without possibility of redemption, are the atoning offering which this cruel and savage law requires (A). Such an impression have those dismal events made upon the men in general, that those whose circumstances are able to support the expence, usually send their wives to be delivered in another country; whence it is probable that this more than savage custom will one day be abolished. The wood supposed to be frequented by this evil spirit is kept so sacred, that no foreign negro of either sex is permitted to enter it. If a native of

^a NYENDAEL, p. 452.^b Ubi supra.^c ARTUS, loc. citat.^d NYEND. p. 453.

(A) Nyendaël relates, that when he resided, A. 1699, in *Benin*, a merchant's wife was delivered of twins. He redeemed the mother by the sacrifice of a female slave, but put the children to death. Nyendaël had afterwards frequent opportunities of conversing with the unhappy woman, who could never bear the sight of a child, it always exciting the melancholy reflection of the unmerited fate of her own little innocents. The following year a priest's wife was delivered of two children, which, with a slave in the room of his wife,

he was forced to sacrifice with his own hands, by reason of his sacerdotal function. Nothing could be more moving than to see a heart capable of the emotions of pity, and parental tenderness, compelled by inhuman custom to perform rites the most abominable and savage. The affliction of the poor man was extreme, and plainly shewed, that neither habit, the dictates of blind superstition, nor even the warmest zeal for duty and religion, could suppress the cries of nature, and the tender feelings of humanity.

Arebo accidentally falls into any path leading to this wood, he is obliged, however pressing his business may be, to pursue it to the end without looking back; the violation of which custom, or of that other cruel one of murdering their wives and children, they believe will be attended with a plague, famine, or some public calamity. Notwithstanding this rivetted superstition, *Nyendaël* says, that he has frequently gone a shooting here; and, to ridicule their stupid credulity, has frequently turned back before he proceeded half way in the track leading to the wood. At first they imagined he would instantly fall down dead, or be seized with some violent disorder; but perceiving that no bad consequences followed his boldness, their faith was somewhat staggered. The roguish priests, however, destroyed all his endeavours by their artful salvoes and subterfuges; affirming, that no inference could be drawn from the practice of a white man, their god not taking any concern about him; and that if a negro were to attempt the same thing, the consequence would most certainly be fatal^m.

The women fruitful at Benin. Menstruous women esteemed unclean, and the restrictions upon them.

No women upon earth are more prolific than the females of this country. Here a barren woman is as rare as contemptible, the greatest ignominy being affixed to this infirmity; while a fruitful woman is held in the utmost esteem and adoration. Menstruous women are deemed unclean; they are prohibited from entering their husbands apartment, touching any thing belonging to his dress or diet, and even from cleaning the house; nay, they are frequently obliged to quit the house, and live solitary and deserted in another at some distance, during this period; after which, and bathing, they are again restored to their former privileges. If they are interrogated concerning the origin of circumcision, and this opinion, that women, during their *Catamenia*, are unclean; they answer, that those customs were handed down to them traditionally from their ancestorsⁿ, yet are they bigotted in both, as if they were supported by reason and the lights of nature and revelation.

The method of treating the sick at Benin. Priests the physicians.

THE inhabitants of the kingdom of *Benin* seem less afraid of death than the other natives of the same coast. They are not terrified at its approach, ascribing the duration of life to the gods; yet they use the proper means to prolong it. Their first resource, upon their being seized with any disorder, is the priest, who here, as in several other barbarous countries, performs the office of physician. He first applies some green herbs of certain qualities; if these prove ineffectual, he has recourse to sacrifices, and appeasing the gods. The speedy cure of the patient greatly augments the reputation of the priest; but if he recovers slowly, he is dismissed, and another called. If, after all endeavours, the patient dies, they are never at a loss, any more than in *Europe*, for reasons in defence of their mal-practice. Notwithstanding this great confidence in their priests, little is done for them; they commonly are rich only in fame; the gratitude of the patient continuing no longer than the disease, and the sacrifices being offered at the expence of the priest, which frequently amount to more than his fee^o. When any person dies, the body is washed carefully. The natives of *Benin*, who breathe their last in any of the other provinces of the kingdom, are brought with the utmost caution to the place of their birth, the body being first dried over a slow fire, then put into a close coffin, and sweetened with aromatics. As it frequently happens that a conveyance does not offer for years, the body all this while remains unburied, nor can the funeral rites be performed with propriety but in their native soil. The nearest relations of the deceased express their grief after various fashions: some shave their hair, others their beards, and others but half of either. The public mourning is usually limited to the term of fourteen or fifteen days. Their plaints and lamentations are accommodated to the sounds of certain musical instruments, with long intermediate stops, during which they quaff liberally their *Pardon* wine. When the last obsequies are performed, every man retires to his own home, where the nearest relations, who continue in mourning, bewail the deceased in this manner, at stated periods, for the time limited by custom. Husbands and parents generally prolong their mourning to three or four months^p.

Deaths and burials.

Customs observed at the last obsequies of the king.

WHEN a king dies, his funeral obsequies are performed with some extraordinary ceremonies. A well is dug before the palace, so deep, that the workmen are often suffocated in the pit themselves have made. It is so narrow at the top, that a stone of five feet in length and three feet in breadth will conveniently cover it; but its dimensions at the bottom are very considerable. Here the body of the king is first laid, in the presence of a prodigious concourse of people of both sexes, all of whom contend for the honour of being buried with him. Such as are chosen for this high dignity are put in with him, and the grave inclosed by a stone. Next morning the nobles return, and, removing the stone, dip their heads in the water with which the pit is generally filled, and ask the persons buried with the king, whether they have met with their royal master. If they make any reply, the stone is again put into its former place, and they return next day to the same ceremony; otherwise, they conclude that they have met with the king, and are now attending him in his flight to eternity; upon which the

^m ARTUS, loc. citat.

ⁿ NYENDAEL, p. 456.

^o Ibid.

^p ARTUS, et NYEND. ubi. sup.

solemnity

- a solemnity is closed, and the rites duly performed ¹. Hence we may naturally infer, that they have an idea, however gross, of futurity, and that the soul or spirit exists, either with or without the body. *Barbot* adds, that the ceremony being ended, the first minister, or one of the three great lords, go to the king's successor, who then comes to the grave, and examining into the truth of the report, orders the tomb-stone to be laid, and upon it a banquet of the most delicate wines and sweetmeats. Every one eats and drinks heartily till night, when the mob, intoxicated with liquor, run about the streets, committing the wildest excesses and riots. They put every one to death that obstructs them, men, women, children, and brute animals, cutting off their heads, which they carry to the royal sepulchre, and throw in as offerings to the deceased king, together with all the clothes and effects of those persons they have sacrificed to his manes ². Yet, amidst these barbarous and cruel customs, the kingdom of *Benin* is governed by laws which breathe nothing but humanity, and sympathy for misfortune and distress; witness their laws in favour of the poor.

THE right of inheritance devolves in the following manner: When a person of condition dies, the eldest son succeeds as sole heir, but presents a slave by way of heriot or tribute to the king, and another to the three great lords, with a petition that he may succeed to his father's estate. The king grants his request, and he is accordingly declared lawful heir to his father. The fortunes of the younger children depend intirely on his pleasure; but the widow has by law a jointure proportioned to the estate, and her rank and quality. His father's other wives the son takes home, and, if he pleases, uses them in the same capacity his father did. Those, however, of them, whose charms have no power of attracting him, he sets, with their children, to work, in order to support themselves with credit, and little expence to him. The next akin succeeds to the effects of the deceased; but, in failure of heirs male, the king inherits ³.

THE punishment of crimes is regulated in this manner: If a thief is taken in the fact, he is forced to make restitution, and is besides mulcted, if he happens to be rich; but if poor, he is beaten. If the robbery is committed upon a public officer, the offender is punished with death. However, the crimes of burglary and robbery seldom occur in this country. Murder is still less frequent: whoever kills a man, is punished with death; but if the murderer be the king's son, or some other considerable person, he is banished to the extremity of the realm, and conveyed to the destined place under a strong guard. None of them being ever afterwards heard of, it is concluded the guard has carried them to the *Elysian* fields, and the mansions of the dead. If a person dies of an accidental blow, his death is not deemed violent, unless blood appears; and the offence is bought off by burying the dead with decency, and then sacrificing a slave to appease his ghost. This atoning slave the offender touches with his forehead upon his bended knees, in which posture he remains till the slave is dead, and the sacrifice duly performed. Afterwards he pays a sum, proportioned to his circumstances, to the three great lords; which done, he obtains his freedom, and the friends of the deceased rest satisfied that he has fulfilled the law. Every other crime, except adultery, may be atoned for with money; where that is wanting, corporal punishment must supply the deficiency ⁴.

e WHEN a crime is doubtful, and the accusation not clearly proved, the method of purgation is practised in five different ways, four of which are admitted in trivial offences and civil causes, and the fifth in capital cases, such as treason, and crimes of a dark and deep complexion. In the first method of purgation, the accused is carried before a priest, who pierces his tongue with a cock's feather well greased. If it passes easily through, the person accused is innocent, and the wound will soon close up and heal without pain. Should he prove guilty, the quill remains fixed in his tongue, the wound cankers, and the accused becomes the sport and derision of the people. In the second method of tryal, the priest takes an oblong piece of turf, in which he sticks seven or eight small quills. These the accused draws out one by one: if they come out freely, he is acquitted, and his innocence untainted; otherwise he is convicted of the crime, and subject to the penalty. The third method of purgation is no less extraordinary. The juice of certain green herbs is injected into the eye of the suspected person. If the eye becomes red and inflamed, he is pronounced guilty; otherwise his innocence is as clear as the sunshine. For the fourth trial, the priest strokes over the tongue of the prisoner three times with an ignited copper bracelet, and he is deemed innocent or guilty according to its effects. His escaping without a blister is a certain criterion of purity, and the contrary as sure a proof of his guilt; a method of purgation similar to the ordeal in *England*, and other *European* kingdoms. The fifth kind of tryal, which is taken only by persons of rank, happens but seldom. Here the accused is carried by the king's order to a certain river, whose waters have the extraordinary quality of gently wafting the innocent plunged in them to land, whether he has been taught to swim, or not. On the contrary, the

¹ NYEND. p. 460.² BARBOT, p. 139.³ NYEND. ubi supra.⁴ NYENDAEL, ubi supra.

guilty never fail to sink, however well they may be skilled in this art. The river, which before a was calm, immediately becomes turbulent and ruffled when a guilty person is thrown in; but innocence preserves the waters in their former tranquillity. It is really amazing, that among nations endowed with common understanding, trials so ridiculous and absurd should be deemed proofs of innocence or guilt; yet we see how prevalent they have been in all countries, as if folly itself had dictated those laws, the most essential to society, to happiness, and the dignity of human nature.

Fines upon crimes, how disposed.

THE fines charged on these crimes are thus divided: First, the person injured by theft has restitution made him either by returning the goods stolen, or out of the effects of the criminal; the governor, next, has a certain proportion, and the remainder of the fine goes to the three great lords. As for the king, he has no share, the matter being carefully kept from his ear, yet do b the great lords always make use of his name. If they are dissatisfied with the division made, they send a threatening message to the governor, acquainting him with the king's indignation at the small proportion of the fine allowed him. This has its effect, and never fails of doubling the sum ^u.

Religion.

Their ideas of God.

As to the religion of the country, it is so fraught with good sense and absurdity, that we are at a loss how to describe it. The *Fetiche*, of which we shall speak explicitly in another place, is worshipped here, as in all the other countries on the western coast of *Africa*. They take every thing that seems extraordinary for a god, and make offerings to it. These, however, they consider in a subaltern capacity, acting as mediators between men and the great c God, of whom their ideas are less gross and unworthy. To God they ascribe the attributes of omniscience, omnipresence, omnipotence, and invisibility. They believe that he actuates every thing, and governs the world by his providence. As he is invisible, it would be absurd, they think, to represent him under a corporeal form, to image and worship what we never saw, and cannot comprehend. To every evil they give the name of *devil*, imagining, that an evil-disposed, wicked, and malicious spirit, presides over all that is bad. This being they worship out of fear, and to prevent his injuring them. The devil, however, is not represented by any particular figure or image; he exists wholly in the mind, and the same idol is often worshipped for the great God and the devil ^x.

ACCORDING to *Dapper*, they have extremely just notions of God's supremacy, invisibility, power, wisdom, and goodness, by which he created both heaven and earth, and continues to d govern them according to his profound wisdom. This being they call *Oviffa*, and think it unnecessary to honour him, because his nature is good and benevolent; whereas the evil spirit requires constant worship to check the malignity of his disposition. *Nyendael's* account, however, differs from this, he asserting that both spirits are worshipped by sacrifices and offerings.

Their belief in ghosts.

THE natives of *Benin* believe firmly in apparitions, and that the ghosts of their deceased ancestors walk the earth unseen. They chiefly appear to them in their sleep, to warn them of some danger, which they are to obviate by sacrifices. As soon as day arrives, they never fail of complying with the spirit's suggestion. They make offerings, and, if their circumstances are low, they will even borrow to enable them to perform that holy rite. Those offerings e are generally of no very high value, consisting only of yams mixed with oil, which they place before the idol. Sometimes they sacrifice a cock, the blood is spilt for the *Fetiche*, but the fowl is kept for their own use. Annual sacrifices are performed with all imaginable pomp by the great; for these, they slaughter great numbers of sheep, oxen, cows, and all kinds of cattle. All their friends are invited to the festival, which generally continues for several days, and ends in distributing valuable presents to the guests ^y.

Their notions of future bliss and misery.

THE negroes of *Benin* place the seat of their bliss or misery in the sea. The shadow of a man they look upon as a real existence, which will one day give testimony of their good and evil actions. This appearance they call *Passadoor*, and bribe it by offerings and sacrifices, since by its evidence they are raised to the highest dignity and pleasures of paradise, or sunk f into the lowest abyss of wretchedness, where they perish through hunger and poverty.

Their prodigious number of idols, and regard for priests.

ALL their houses are so crammed with idols, that it is difficult to find a vacant spot; but they have also particular huts, or little temples, appropriated to the residence of their gods. Here it is they receive the offerings of their votaries. Their priests pretend to a familiarity with the devil, and the art of penetrating into futurity by means of a pot pierced at the bottom in three different places, from which they extract a dismal noise, the oracle of their feigned correspondent, which they interpret as they please. *Nyendael* alleges, that every man is his own priest; but this not only contradicts what he affirms in another place, but runs counter to the assertions of *Barbot* and the best authorities. Nothing, according to *Barbot*, is undertaken without consulting the sacerdotal oracle; however, the priest is limited to private affairs; g

* BOSMAN, Epist. 21.

* NYENDAEL, p. 413.

y ARTUS, loc. ult. citat.

a if he meddles with politics, and utters oracles that affect the state, he is punished with death. The priests of the provinces are likewise prohibited, under severe penalties, from entering the capital; but no writer explains the reason of a law so whimsical.

THE grand or high priest of *Loebo*, a town situated on the mouth of the river *Formosa*, The great power of the high priest of Loebo. is especially famous for his profound skill in magic. All the natives, the king not excepted, believe that his power extends over sea and air; that he can foresee or prevent the arrival of ships, shipwrecks, and innumerable other events of importance. His majesty of *Benin*, struck with the miracles he had performed, complimented him with the town of *Loebo* and all its dependencies, he is considered as the head of the priesthood, and so respected, that no one approaches him without trembling; nay, the royal ambassadors presume not to touch his hand without leave, and tokens of the greatest veneration and awe ^z.

THIS is not the only superstition to which the natives of *Benin* are addicted, *Artus* relates, that they stand in profound dread of a certain blackbird which they worship, and are prohibited to kill, under pain of death. This bird has priests appointed to attend him; to feed him; and to worship him in the mountains, which are consecrated to his use.

THE *Benians* divide time into years, months, weeks, and days, each division distinguished by its proper term or appellation. The year is composed of four months, and the sabbath, or day of repose, returns every fifth day, which is celebrated as a festival, with sacrifices, offerings, and entertainments. They have besides a great number of other days, consecrated to the purposes of religion; and particularly one annual feast in memory of their ancestors. *Dapper* The division of time at Benin. affirms, that, in this nation, they sacrifice not only a great variety of brutes, but offer likewise a number of human victims. These consist usually of condemned criminals, reserved for this purpose; and custom renders it necessary that twenty-five should be sacrificed to complete the ceremony. If the criminals should fall short of this number, the king's officers are ordered to run about the streets of *Benin* in the night, and to seize indiscriminately all those who are met in the dark. A ray of light will save their lives. The rich have the liberty of redeeming themselves and their slaves, on condition that they provide other sacrifices; but the poor die without pity or remorse in the spectators. This method of seizing by accident turns out to the great emolument of the priests, who receive the price of redemption ^a. They frequently deceive the people, pretending that they have secretly sacrificed people who they have ransomed; a fraud that may justly be termed pious, or at least very pardonable, if they did it from motives of virtue and humanity, and not of gain.

BUT the greatest festival held at *Benin* is that annual one called the *Coral Feast*. This, says *Nyendaël*, An account of the Coral Feast, the greatest feast at Benin. is the only day in the whole year in which the king appears to his people. *Artus*, however, affirms that he makes two other processions through the city. Here it is that he appears in all his grandeur, marching at the head of his women, who often exceed six hundred, of the most beautiful that can be found. At the *Coral Feast* he comes magnificently dressed to the second area of the palace, where his throne is placed under a rich canopy. All about him are ranged, his women and officers in their richest attire; after which the procession begins. This part of the ceremony ended, the king removes from his throne to sacrifice in the open air to the gods; an act of piety that is followed by the loud shouts and acclamations of the people. Having paid his devotions, he returns to his throne, and remains there till all his people have likewise discharged that duty. After which he retires to his particular chamber, and the remainder of the day is spent in feasting and mirth. The king and nobility distribute wine and provisions among the people, and the day ends in gluttony, drunkenness, and riot ^b.

DAPPER describes the succession of the kings of *Benin* after the following manner. When the reigning monarch perceives his end approaching, he calls one of the *Onegwas*, or three great lords, and imparts to him which of his sons he nominates to fill the throne, with an injunction, under pain of death, not to reveal the secret till after his decease. As soon as the breath has departed his body, the *Onegwa* takes into his own custody all the royal jewels, treasure, and effects. The young princes, who are in the utmost uncertainty concerning their destiny, come and do homage to the minister, as the arbiter of their fate. When the time limited by law for declaring a successor draws near, the minister sends for the high marshal, and declares to him the last will of the king, which the other, to prevent mistake, repeats six times; after which he returns to his own house with a solemnity adequate to the importance of the secret in his possession. Next day the minister orders that prince, for whom the crown is intended, to be called, and desires him to intreat the marshal to nominate a successor. The prince obeys, and solicits this request with the most supplicating air and manner possible. Six days elapse, during which the *Onegwa* and high marshal are concerting the necessary measures for proclaiming the king. When the day arrives, the people are assembled, and the

^z NYEND. p. 423.^a ARTUS, tom. ii. p. 117.^b Ibid. p. 117.

high marshal, taking the prince by the hand, names him six times, pausing after every repetition, and asking the minister if he has made any mistake. In the end the other princes are called, and in a kneeling posture, are acquainted with the last will of their father. The young king then returns thanks to the minister and marshal for the integrity with which they discharged their office; and then he is immediately invested with the badges of royalty, and receives the homage and allegiance of the great officers and nobles of the kingdom. This ceremony ended, retires to the town of *Ofcebo*, distant some miles from *Benin*, to reside there till he is perfectly instructed in the art of government, and the duties of a king. During this interval, the queen-mother, the *Onegwa* intrusted with the king's last will, and the grand marshal, hold the reins of government, and possess the whole power and authority of majesty, their decrees being irrevocable by the successor, without their own consent. The young monarch, having finished his studies, quits *Ofcebo* under the conduct of the high marshal, and takes possession of the palace and ensigns of royalty at *Benin*. Here his first care is to murder his brothers, and secure his tranquillity, by removing every rival to the crown. Formerly this cruel usage was more limited, one of the family being generally saved; but these, in two or three instances, having raised disturbances in the kingdom, were the occasion of introducing a general massacre of all those who could form the least pretensions to the throne. The bodies of the princes are, however, interred with all imaginable pomp; this bloody act being looked upon as a necessary sacrifice to the public good^d.

Nyendael introduced to the king.

WHEN *Nyendael* was at *Benin*, in the year 1702 (B), he had an opportunity of seeing and conversing with the then reigning prince. He was about forty years of age, of an open countenance, engaging address, and affable manner. *Nyendael* stood at the distance of thirty paces from him; but, that he might observe him the better, desired leave to approach nearer to him. The king smiled at the request, and, though unusual, ordered the *Dutchman* to be gratified. His majesty beckoned to him, and he came within eight or ten paces of the throne, in presence only of the three *Onegwas*, or great lords, and a fierce-looking soldier with a drawn sword in his hand. He then presented the monarch with a fine silk night-gown; with which, he was afterwards informed, he was highly pleased, although, at that time, he expressed no marks of his satisfaction, as it was brought to him covered; the usual method of making presents. Before and behind the presents several negroes march, with white staves in their hands; every one gets out of the way in the utmost hurry, to avoid being soundly beaten, under the pretence of their wanting an opportunity of poisoning the king's goods, or of assassinating him.

Revenues of the crown.

THE revenues annexed to the crown of *Benin* are very considerable; every governor is accountable to the king for a certain number of bags of *bujis*, amounting to a large sum. The inferior officers pay their taxes in cattle, fowls, cloth, and other commodities. Thus the court is continually supplied with all kinds of necessaries; the overplus is sold, and the money put into the royal coffers. Certain duties are also laid upon foreign trade, besides the annual taxes paid to the governor for the privilege of commerce, which amounts to a great sum. The king has only a sixth of this annual provincial tax. Notwithstanding those incumbrances on trade, the *Europeans* are treated with the highest distinction and most profound respect.

Power of the king of Benin.

Dapper represents the king of *Benin* as a prince so puissant, that, in one day, he can assemble an army of 20,000 men, and in a few days more than 100,000. Hence he is greatly feared and respected by his neighbours. While his general, called *Occassarry*, is in the field, his pay and dignity are very considerable; but he has no share in the booty; all goes to the king. So strict a discipline is maintained among the troops, that quitting one's post for a minute, without leave, is punished with death. Yet *Nyendael* alleges, that the art of war is unknown in this country; and that the want of courage and conduct in his armies perpetually exposes the king to the incursions of pirates and robbers, who spoil and destroy every thing, sometimes to the very gates of the capital. When they engage in battle, they observe, says he, neither order nor discipline; they have neither generals nor officers; all are a cowardly tumultuous rabble. This expressly contradicts the assertions of *Artus*, *Dapper*, and *Barbot*; it is therefore possible that *Nyendael* speaks of the civil war we have mentioned, in which troops of all kinds, and raw undisciplined militia, were used^e.

Their ignorance of the art of war.

Arms used by the Benians.

THE arms used by the *Benians* are swords, poniards, javelins, bows, and poisoned arrows. Every soldier has his buckler, composed of reeds, and of consequence so weak and slight as to afford but a slender defence. The nobles carry into the field a fine scarlet robe, to

^d DAPPER, p. 122.

^e P. 162.

(B) We are unable to reconcile this with what he relates in another place; viz. that all *Europeans* are prevented, nay even excluded from approaching the king, or coming into his presence. Perhaps this monarch

might have expressed his desire to see a white man; a supposition not incompatible with the despotism of this king.

^a mark their quality. Others make use of a more convenient ornament, a suit of armour made from the elephant's hide, adorned with the teeth and claws of leopards, and the head covered with a helmet of the same materials, decorated with scarlet fringe and binding, to which is suspended a tail reaching down to the waist. The military standards and colours are made of a fine silk, generally red, carried in the front and center of each corps and division of the army. The soldiers likewise wear sashes of the same, to which they hang their shields, their only defence against the poisoned arrows of their enemies^f.

THESE are all the particulars of this extensive kingdom, which we have upon the con-
curring testimony of authors. As for other particulars related by *English, French, and Portu- Conclusion of the history of Benin.*
guese mariners, they have been generally refuted by *Nyendael*, and indeed by each other.
^b This gentleman frequently visited *Benin*, resided six months at a time there, is modest in his account, and speaks not upon hearsay, but from his own knowledge. All the others in general have indulged a wanton and luxuriant imagination. We have therefore rejected their accounts, excepting where they unanimously agree in their assertions; in which case we thought they might reasonably supply the deficiencies of *Nyendael*, and sometimes be opposed to his relations, in cases where he would seem to be misinformed.

^f Ibid. etiam DAPPER, loc. ult. citat.

S E C T. II.

Containing the history of the Slave Coast; viz. the geography of the country; its division into different kingdoms and states; a description of the kingdoms of Koto, and of Great and Little Popo; an account of the wars of their kings, and of the brave king Afforri; with the manners, customs, commerce, religion, and superstition of the natives, &c.

^c THE *Slave Coast* is generally included by *European* navigators under the limits of the kingdom of *Benin*. It is bounded by the *Rio de Lagos* in the kingdom of *Benin*, and extends to the *Rio da Volta*, the boundary on this side of the *Gold Coast*. The coast goes by the general appellation of *Great Benin*. From *Port Douarre* it extends itself towards the south to *Cape Formosa*; then turning eastward to *Rio del Rey*, and again inclining to the south to *Cape Gonsalvo*, towards the equator, it forms the gulph of *Guiney*. Thus, in its whole length, it measures about 350 leagues, in a curve line, or arc of a circle^a.
THE *Slave Coast* comprehends the coasts and kingdoms of *Koto, Popo, Whidah, and Ardrab*. Its division
Authors are not agreed about the several limits of those kingdoms; nor is it material to the reader, since, under the general view of the *Slave Coast*, they will all be comprehended. According to *Bosman*, the *Koto Coast* is often called the land of *Lampi* by the natives. The country is flat, sandy, dry, barren, and without wood or trees of any kind, except the palm, or wild coco, of which it produces a great number. It is tolerably provided with cattle, at least as many as abundantly supply the inhabitants. Neither river nor sea fish are wanting; but the latter they are unable to catch, on account of the great agitation of the sea, and the prodigious surf on the coast. The whole commerce of this kingdom is confined to the sale of slaves. Sometimes they afford more, sometimes less; in general, the number sold at a time is scarce sufficient to complete the cargo of a single ship. What renders this trade precarious, is a custom that the negroes have of flying into the interior parts of the country, on the arrival of the *Europeans*. Thus it frequently happens that a ship shall have staid six months on the coast without purchasing one slave. The *Portuguese* carry on the greatest trade here, and the natives prefer dealing with them to any other *Europeans*^b (D).
^d Bosman describes the natives as good-natured, civil, and obliging; and *Des Marchais* observes, that we may safely like their manners, if we do not repose a confidence in them^d. This remark is confirmed by what the former writer relates. When he acquainted the king that he intended, after finishing his business at *Whidah*, to return by land, he offered to

^a PREVOST, tom. vi. l. ii. c. 3.

^b BOSMAN, Epist. 18.

^d DES MARCHAIS, vol. ii. p. 4.

(D) If *Koto* is the same country with *Quito*, as we are led to imagine, by the descriptions of *Bosman, Des Marchais*, and other writers, as well as from the extent of the country, and the affinity of names, the *English* have a settlement in it, belonging to the royal African company.

meet him with his whole forces on the borders of his dominions, and to escorte him beyond the *Rio Volta*, to secure him against injuries from the strolling robbers. This obliging offer *Bosman* would have accepted, had not the negroes of *Popo*, who had also offered to conduct him through their territories, dissuaded him from it by their ambassadors, telling him they were apprehensive he might be set upon by the robbers before they could arrive. This advice they recommended, but faintly, while they artfully insinuated under-hand the satisfaction he would receive by this land tour. *Bosman*, from this double-dealing, suspected some treachery; and he soon after received certain intelligence that their intention was to murder and rob him; their public disputation taking off, as they imagined, all possibility of suspecting them. *Bosman* had the precaution to avoid this snare, by dropping his design; by which means he lost the opportunity of gratifying his curiosity concerning many important and entertaining particulars.

Religion,
oeconomy, and
manners of the
natives.

In politics, religion, and oeconomy, they greatly resemble the inhabitants of the *Gold Coast*; whose manners we shall have occasion soon to describe. In one particular they differ, which is in the number of idols kept at *Koto*. In the multiplicity of these consists their wealth.

A negro, that is not possessed of a dozen of idols at least, is reputed poor, and his riches increase proportionably with his gods. Their houses, roads, and by-paths, are filled with images; whence we may infer how far their *Fetiches* contribute to their fortunes and happiness. Their language is directly similar to that spoken by the negroes of *Acra*; and their commerce being limited to such commodities, it will easily be believed that few rich persons are to be found in this country; rich at least in the *European* sense of the word. The profits which they sometimes draw from the sale of slaves diminish in no respect their natural poverty; the whole being laid out in the purchase of idols, or materials for making their gods.

Their con-
ardice shewn
in their wars
with *Popo*.

As to their courage, it seems proportioned to their wealth. Having nothing to lose but what they are able soon to repair, they are indifferent about the defence of their property. Indeed the very quality of their effects is their best security. This appeared evidently in all their frequent wars with the kingdom of *Popo*, which continued, with short intervals, for a series of years. At present the king of *Aquamboe*, whose interest it is to hold an even balance between the contending powers, prevents the consequences of a decisive victory, by throwing his weight in the lighter scale. However, as long as *Aquamboe* was governed by two monarchs, their quarrels were the occasion of much bloodshed; the old king taking part with his ally of *Popo*, and the young joining his forces to those of *Koto*. Upon this occasion it was, that, in the year 1700, the army of *Little Popo* having surpris'd that of *Koto*, obliged them to abandon their native country. In this state of exile they were, on *Bosman's* arrival on that coast; but he doubted not that the *Aquamboans* would use their utmost efforts to restore the balance of power.

DES MARCHAIS relates, that, before this event, the kingdom of *Koto* must have been wholly subdued, if the policy of the king of *Aquamboe* had not prevented it. He adds, that this last nation, being rich in gold mines, equally dreads the superiority of the one or other of those powers, or their intire reconciliation. For this reason he fomented their quarrels, heightens their jealousies, but constantly keeps victory in suspense.

Description of
the kingdom
of *Popo*.

THE kingdom of *Popo*, or *Papa*, stretches from *Cape Monte* to the borders of the kingdom of *Whidab*; about ten leagues in length. It is divided into two provinces, *Great* and *Little Popo*; the latter lying eastward. *Barbot* affirms, that from *Cape Monte*, in the territories of *Koto*, to *Little Popo*, contains a coast, stretching north-east, of five leagues in extent, the ground flat, sandy, and barren. He subjoins, that *Little Popo* is a very small province, bearing the title of a kingdom, situated between *Koto* and *Great Popo* on the sea-coast. However, he acknowledges that its limits on the inland side are not distinctly known. *Bosman* reckons the distance betwixt *Koto* and *Great Popo* about ten miles, the country flat, without hills or trees, and so sandy, that even the king's provisions dressed here are scarce eatable. This abundance of sand renders the land quite barren, and obliges the better sort of inhabitants to bring their provisions from *Whidab*. They are likewise pestered with an incredible number of rats, that burrow like rabbits in the sand.

Character of
the nation.

THE town of *Little Popo* stands on a beach in full view of the sea, four leagues west of the town of *Great Popo*. It is peopled with the remains of the kingdom of *Acra*, behind the *Dutch* fort there. Here they sought an asylum, after having been driven out of their own country by the king of *Aquamboe*, and, from appearances, it is probable they will never again be permitted to return to their native soil. Without being numerous, they have the reputation of being extremely warlike. *Afforri*, the brother and immediate predecessor of the present king, was a prince of great courage, martial ability, and much feared and respected. The most signal occasion for distinguishing his valour, was against the *Phidalgo* of *Offra*, who

An account of
their brave
king *Afforri*.

^c BOSMAN, Epist. 18.
^d BARBOT, p. 329.

^e DES MARCHAIS, BARBOT, & BOSM. ibid.

^f Vol. ii. p. 6.

a had rebelled against the king of *Great Ardrab*, his natural prince, and carried his insolence to such a height, as to massacre the *Dutch* factor *Hollwarf*, and his attendants. *Afforri*, solicited by the king of *Ardrab* to revenge those accumulated crimes, marched with all his forces against the *Phidalgo*, engaged and defeated his troops, ravaged his country, and obliged him to so humble a submission as to surrender himself to his sovereign the king of *Ardrab*. Not satisfied with this victory, and spurred on by the entreaties of his friend the monarch of *Ardrab*, he marched against the people of *Whidab*, and encamped in their country, within sight of the capital, where he waited for a supply of powder, which he expected from *Ardrab*. The powder had been put under the escorte of a strong party, of which the *Whidasian* general having notice, took his measures to intercept it. He secretly detached a numerous corps of his best troops, attacked and defeated the convoy, thereby obliging the brave *Afforri* to a speedy retreat. This, however, he executed with so much address, that it gained him no less reputation than a complete victory would have done. He was pursued by the *Whidasians*; but so judicious was his disposition, that they found it impossible to attack him; and he got clear of the country without the loss of a man. On his return to his own dominions, he learned that the *Kotons*, his neighbours, were preparing to take up arms for the defence of *Whidab*, had he remained longer in their country. This raised his resentment, and determined him to march against them; which he did with the utmost ardour and expedition. Although the enemy were greatly superior in number, he resolved to attack them. He fell upon them with an intrepidity worthy of his former reputation; but was so warmly received, that, a great part of his army being cut off, he was in danger of losing the battle. Desperate, enraged, and unmindful of his safety, he flung himself, with a few attendants, into the midst of their ranks, where he supported his rashness with an astonishing valour, till all his men were killed, himself wounded, and at length left dead upon the field, disdaining to save his life at the expence of his liberty. His brother and successor, though less martial, was, however, more politic. To revenge the death of the former king, he always attacked the people of *Koto* when they were engaged in other wars. Continuing this policy, he at length drove them out of their country, by embracing every advantage, which gained him the reputation of the most artful and prudent prince of his time ^a.

The death of Afforri, and the expulsion of his people from their native country.

THE natives of *Popo* depend intirely on plunder and the slave trade. In the former they are more successful than the *Kotons*, being more active, brave and resolute. Their slave trade is not considerable, it frequently requiring a residence of some months to complete a cargo here. In 1697, *Bosman* could purchase but three slaves in the space of as many days, notwithstanding the assurances of the natives, on his arrival, that, in a few days, they would procure him two hundred, without seeming to discredit their report, he went on board, and sailed for *Whidab*; soon after which he was informed that the *Popons* had returned from their incursions into the neighbouring counties, with above the number they had promised him, whom they afterwards sold to the *Portuguese*. They are uncommonly fraudulent and thievish, it being their usual practice to draw the merchant or factor on shore, under pretence of viewing a cargo of slaves they have ready for sale. Having obtained this end, they detain him till they actually procure the number wanted, which they oblige him to take at the price they think proper to affix. No nation is so much despised by them as the *Portuguese*, yet no people deal so largely with them, owing to the paltry goods with which they trade. These are refused by the natives of other provinces, and the *Popons*, who come easily by their slaves, part with them at a cheap rate, accepting in exchange any kind of merchandize. *Bosman* relates, that, in 1698, a *Danish* ship staid longer at *Popo* for a cargo of 500 slaves than he had done at *Whidab* for 2000. All this while the *Dane* met with so many disappointments, frauds, and knavish practices, as will deter that nation from ever trading there again. The year before they had treated an *English* captain in much the same manner, and cheated him of goods to a considerable amount; but returning two years afterwards, he recovered his damages, by seizing the king's son and several of the nobility, whom he detained till ample satisfaction was made ^b.

The natives maintain themselves by plunder.

The fraudulent disposition of the natives.

DURING the reign of *Afforri*'s politic brother, commerce with the *Popons* was rendered secure, and put upon a footing with that of other nations. He severely punished all frauds and impositions upon foreigners; trade was conducted in an even, equal, and regular course; the merchant delivered his goods, and he was sure of having his returns at the time appointed, except where unforeseen accidents occurred. In his time a *Dutch* ship procured 500 slaves, at a reasonable price, in eleven days; but, after his death, the reins of government were relaxed, and the people returned to their old and villainous practices. At present to such a height of wickedness are they arrived, that it is impossible to deal with them, and avoid being cheated, in such a manner as destroys the profit of the voyage ^c.

The prudent policy of the late king of Popo.

^a BOSMAN, Epist. 18. DES MARCHAIS & BARBOT, loc. cit. MARCH. vol. ii. part v.

^b BOSM. Epist. 19.

^c DES

Account of the
kingdoms of
Great Popo.

Four miles to the eastward of *Little Popo* are the boundaries of *Great Popo*. In the inland country are found plenty of fruits, roots, birds, and beasts; but the sea-coast is marshy, and of course low and flat; at the same time that it is almost inaccessible. The sea beats with so much violence against the shore, that boats and canoes dare not venture to approach it for the greater part of the year. The harbour of *Little Popo* is distant five leagues from that of *Great Popo*. In going eastward, the latter of these ports is visible at a considerable distance, particularly two flags, which continually fly upon two points formed by the banks of the river *Tarri*, or *Torri*. Behind the east flag stands the *Dutch* factory, and at the mouth of the river the town of *Great Popo*, built in an island, formed by a creek and marshes, that give the country the appearance of a large lake. Hence the *Portuguese* call it the *Terra Annegada* or the *Drowned Land*. Others give it the appellation of *Terra Gozeda*.

Description of
the town and
royal palace.

THE town is divided into three parts, distinctly marked out. The mouth of the river is blocked up by a bar, which, however, the canoes can easily pass. The houses, or rather huts, are small, and much of the same model as those of the *Cape de Verd* islands, and indeed of most uncivilized countries. *Des Marchais* makes the whole strength of the town to consist in its situation, surrounded every where by the sea, or inaccessible marshes. It is the only place in the dominions of *Great Popo* that merits the name of a town; all the rest are but little hamlets of two or three houses each; to which, on the least danger, the inhabitants of *Popo* retire. The royal palace is a large court, composed of an infinite number of little huts or cabins, the principal apartment being seated in the middle, each having a guard of a company of soldiers. The king's particular house is adorned with a large saloon, reserved for public audiences, and the entertainment of strangers. As the king always eats alone, foreigners are entertained by the lords and principal officers of the court. His majesty keeps a great number of women; two of which always attend his person, to cool and refresh him with fans, neatly made of reeds and feathers. His constant amusement, and indeed sole occupation, consists in smoking tobacco, toying with his women, and conversing with his officers upon the most trifling subjects. All the women, honoured with the royal affection, are entertained in the palace with equal profusion and variety of diet. All the country, except this island, is thinly inhabited, owing chiefly to the perpetual incursions of the negroes of *Whidah*; hence the grounds are uncultivated, provisions often scarce, and the people in danger of being starved, but for the supplies they get from their most bitter enemies, who run the hazard of an illicit trade, for the sake of the great profits resulting from it.

The manner in
which the
king lives.

THIS account of *Bosman's* differs very widely from what *Barbot* relates, and affirms, with a minuteness of circumstances that adds to the credit of his report. If the reader will invert every particular of the foregoing account from *Bosman*, and conceive the country populous, well cultivated, and happy, he will have *Barbot's* idea of it. To reconcile relations so very different, we must suppose that the writers viewed this country at two very distant periods; the former after some dreadful calamity, and the latter in a flourishing, industrious, and peaceable reign.

The kingdoms
of Koto,
Popo, and
Whidah, formerly
dependent
on Ardrah.

ALL the voyagers agree, that the kingdom of *Popo* had once been so powerful as to compel the *Whidans* to pay a yearly tribute. Yet this appears to be a mistake, without any real foundation. It is certain, that the kingdoms of *Popo*, *Koto*, and *Whidah*, were formerly provinces of the great kingdom of *Ardrah*, often in rebellion against their sovereign, but more frequently involved in war with each other. These only terminated in weakening all, without any advantage resulting to either. Its situation protected *Popo*; the number of its inhabitants was a sufficient security to *Whidah*; and its poverty was the barrier of *Koto*. Thus those wars, supposed to have ended to the disadvantage of *Whidah*, were in part terminated by the acquisition of liberty to each, and their total dismemberment from the sovereign kingdom of *Ardrah* (E). *Des Marchais*, who here indeed appears to be a mere copyist, is of the same sentiments; but then he adds, that *Great Popo* was in subjection to *Whidah* till the time of the late king, who was placed on the throne by the *Whidashian* monarch; in reward for which he withdrew his allegiance, and established an independency.

Wars carried
on between
Popo and
Fida, or
Whidah.

THE *Whidan*, enraged at this ingratitude, raised a powerful army, and was assisted with ammunition by some *French* ships lying before *Whidah*. With this army he marched against *Popo*, intending nothing less than the entire extirpation of that people; in which hope he was encouraged by the *French*, who promised to fall upon them by sea. However, the shallows round *Popo* prevented the approach of the ships by sea, and the marshes secured the city by land. Both the *French* and *Whidans* were obliged to make their attack upon floats.

^c DES MARCHAIS, ubi sup.

^d BARBOT, p. 341.

(E) This is the account of the learned Jesuit *Ca-
vazzi*, who seems to have drawn his intelligence from
the best materials, and the concurring tradition of each

of the three countries. He is, however, extremely
concise in this relation, which he touches upon only by
way of digression from his subject.

- a The enemy had thoroughly provided themselves before these could be got in readiness; and their liberty and property being at stake, they gave the allies so warm a reception, that, after great slaughter, they were defeated, and repulsed from the city. All this was done without the loss of a man on the side of the *Popons*; for they charged the enemy from under the cover of their houses, and gained a complete victory, without being once seen by the enemy. The king, however, knew to what particular circumstances he owed his good fortune, and was too wise to pursue it beyond the town, as he knew he should then be upon an equal footing with his more numerous enemies. Since this unsuccessful attempt, the king of *Wbidah* has never ventured upon any enterprises against *Popo*. He has indeed omitted no opportunities of fomenting divisions between them and other neighbouring nations; intrigues which have already cost him immense sums, without drawing a single advantage from them; nay, with the mortifying circumstance of being cheated, duped, and outwitted, upon all hands^c.
- b The natives of *Great Popo* trade in slaves, but not deeply. If no foreign ships arrive on their coast, they dispose of their stock to the king of *Little Popo*, who exchanges for them some of his *European* commodities. But the greatest trade of the kingdom arises from the fish caught on their coast, which they prepare and sell to other neighbouring kingdoms and foreigners. While it was dependent upon *Ardrab*, their commerce with the *Europeans* was inconsiderable, the king obliging them to preserve their slaves and fish, to secure the payment of his taxes; probable it is, that this tyranny was the cause of their revolt. Their natural propensity to theft and pilfering has prevented the *English* and *French* from executing their intentions of forming settlements among them. The *Dutch*, and now and then a *Portuguese* ship, are the only foreigners who run the hazard of trading with them; and they too under certain restrictions and precautions; such as that the king will charge himself with equitable arbitration of all disputes arising between them and his subjects, and give security for all debts they may contract. Since the last quarrel with *Wbidah*, the trade has been so much on the decline, that the *Dutch* likewise had thoughts of abandoning it; and probably by this time *Popo* has no foreign commerce of any kind^f.

The chief commerce of *Popo* consists in slaves and fish.

- c The natives of *Popo*, like all other negroes on the coast, have a blind confidence in their priests. They call them *Domine's*, a *Latin* term, which they have undoubtedly borrowed from some *European* nation. Those *African* prelates are usually clothed in long white robes, and always carry in their hands a kind of episcopal crozier. All the ships that trade here pay them a sort of duty, under the appellation of a present, to encourage the negroes, by those marks of respect to their priests, to diligence in completing their cargoes. In effect, those weak and superstitious creatures, persuaded that the intercession of their priests can alone procure them the favour of the Divinity, obey whatever they desire; and the priests, finding their interest in obliging the *Europeans*, leave no means untried to induce them to honesty and industry, although their natural depravity generally overcomes all other motives. While they are assisting the *Europeans* in loading or unloading the ships, a priest stands on the shore, employed in pouring on their heads a handful of consecrated gravel, which they esteem an infallible security for their canoes in passing the dangerous bar at the mouth of the river. If any of them should have the misfortune to be lost, it is attributed to the mixture of some profane particles of sand with the consecrated. To conclude; *Popo* is, properly speaking, the first country which can be called a province of *Ardrab*. They speak the same language with little or no variation, and the form of government is directly similar^g.
- d Their great respect for priests.

^c DES MARCHAIS, vol. ii. part v. Bosm. Epist. 19. MARCH. loc. cit.

^f Bosm. ibid.

^g Bosm. DES

S E C T. III.

Containing the geography of the kingdom of Whidah, with a particular relation of its rivers, harbours, soil, climate, produce, towns, and cities. Also an account of the prodigious number of its inhabitants, the great fertility of their women: and of the government, policy, trade, laws, arts, manners, religion, and customs of the Whidans, &c.

Different names given to the kingdom of Whidah.

THIS kingdom is called *Whidah* by the *English*, the *Portuguese*, and the natives; *Juda* by the *French*, and *Fida* by the *Dutch*. *Phillips* and *Snelgrave* write *Whidaw*; *Smith* and *Atkins* *Whidah*; and *Barbot*, and some other *French* writers, alter the orthography to *Ouida*. Yet *Barbot* allows, that the *French*, for the most part, call it *Juda*, or *Juida*; but we shall not dwell upon such trifles^a.

Geography of the country.

Bosman, who spent three entire months in the country, took all imaginable pains to inform himself of its exact limits; but could never learn more, than that it stretches along the shore about ten miles, its centre seven miles into the inland, after which it branches out into two arms, each of which, in some places, are ten or twelve miles broad, in others much narrower. According to *Des Marchais*, it begins at the distance of five or six miles from *Popo*, extending as many miles along the coast, situated under six degrees twenty-nine minutes north latitude. Its boundaries are on the north-west the kingdom of *Popo*, and on the south-east stands *Ardrab*. Other historians give this kingdom but six miles in circumference; others again extend it eleven or twelve miles along the coast. Upon the whole, its dimensions being so uncertain, we shall proceed to other particulars better known, and more universally assented to (A).

Rivers.

THIS country is watered by two rivers, which likewise run through the kingdom of *Ardrab*. The most southern is called the *Jakin*, and is only navigable by canoes. Its waters are of a yellowish cast, in general about three feet in depth, though in many places much shallower. The other is called the *Euphrates*, washing with its stream the city *Ardrab*, and passing at the distance of a mile from *Xavier* or *Sabi*, the capital of *Whidah*. It is wider and deeper than the *Jakin*, and, but for some banks of sand that block up the passage, would be navigable for large ships. The kings of *Whidah* have from time immemorial exacted a sort of custom to be paid of two *Kowris* or *Bugis* to officers stationed at these fords, without which no man is permitted to cross the river. At the mouth of this river is the port where all freight ships load and unload. It is incommodious and dangerous on account of high surfs and a swelling sea, particularly in the months of *April*, *May*, *June*, and *July*. In this season dismal accidents frequently happen; boats are overturned, goods sunk, men lost, and the ships themselves in great danger of being driven from their moorings upon the shore. The natives, indeed, are so expert in swimming, that fewer of them than of the *Europeans* are lost^b (B).

Harbour dangerous for shipping.

Strong currents and high surfs.

BESIDES this high sea, there is a strong tide running east and west, which proves extremely inconvenient, as no boat or shallop can stem it by rowing. The method they take is to punt or push them forward by long poles; a method so slow and tedious, that ships are twice as long detained in port as otherwise the trade would require. However, having once got on shore, the scene is soon changed from a dreadful swelling surf to a most beautifully enamelled meadow, covered all the year round with a fine verdure, that nothing can exceed. Round the coast the country is flat, rising by an easy and equal ascent towards the interior parts, that

^a PREVOST, tom. v. l. x. c. 2.

^b BOSMAN, Epist. 19.

(A) We cannot leave this subject without observing, that some voyagers represent *Whidah* or *Whidaw* as at present a part of the kingdom of *Ardrab*. But their error is manifest; for the kingdoms of *Whida* and *Torri* are situated between those of *Popo* and *Ardrab*; and *Whidah* borders upon the west of *Great Popo*, extending along the coast to *Torri* on the east. From *Great Popo* to the port of *Fida* the coast runs about five miles east-north-east. In this space stands the town of *Oy*, a quarter of a mile east of a small river that discharges itself into the sea, where an extraordinary tide and high surf render all that shore inaccessible (1).

(B) When *Bosman* was in this country, in 1698, a *Portuguese* captain, a clerk, three *English* sailors, and some slaves, were lost by this surf, and soon after two captains of ships were overturned in their boat, got out of the sea with great difficulty, but died in a few days. "This port, (says he) has cost the company many hundreds of pounds by the loss of goods; and doubtless it must have been more expensive to the *English*, who have not so good rowers (2).

(1) *Barbot*, p. 323, 327.

(2) *Bosman*, Letter 18. p. 314.

a sets the landscape in full view, and presents a most pleasing and rich prospect to the shipping. The height of the ascent is bounded by a chain of mountains that defends the country from its north-east neighbours. All the *Europeans* who have been in *Whidah* speak of the country with raptures, and extol it as the most beautiful in the world. The trees are strait, tall, and dispersed in the most regular order, which present to the eye fine long groves and avenues, clear of all brush-wood and weeds. The verdure of the meadows, the richness of the fields, cloathed with three different kinds of corn, beans, roots, and fruits, and the multitude of houses, with a dimpling stream, murmuring down the declivity to the sea, form the most delightful prospect that fancy can picture to itself. Every inch of ground is converted into use, except those places designed by nature for pleasure, where the woods spring up spontaneously in the most exquisite rural simplicity. A perpetual spring and autumn succeed each other; for no sooner has the husbandman cut his corn, than he again plows and sows the ground; yet is it not worn out; the next crop puts forth with the same vigour as the former, as if nature here were inexhaustible. Unquestionably certain it is, that the kingdom of *Whidah* is so populous, that one single village contains as many inhabitants as several intire kingdoms on the coast of *Guiney*; and yet they stand so close, that one is amazed how the most fertile land on earth can supply the number of people contained in so small a compass. One may compare the whole kingdom to a great city, divided by gardens, lawns, and groves, instead of streets; not a village in *Whidah* being a musket-shot distant from another. Some are the king's, some the viceroy's villages, and others are built and peopled by particular private families. The former are the largest and best built; but the latter the best cultivated; if there be any difference in a country so uniformly rich and beautiful. In a word, it is the true image of what the poets sing of the *Elysian* fields; and, to speak all its perfections, though the authority is undeniable, would appear to the reader as if we indulged a warm imagination at the expence of strict historical truth (C).

The extreme beauty and fertility of the country.

The prodigious number of the inhabitants.

NOTWITHSTANDING the small extent of this kingdom, it is divided into twenty-six provinces, which take their names from their capital towns. Those small states are distributed among the chief lords of the kingdom, and become hereditary in their families. The king of *Whidah*, who is only their chief, presides particularly in the province of *Sabi*, or *Xavier*, that is, the principal province of the kingdom, as the city of the same name is the capital of the whole (D).

Its division into 26 provinces.

In the capital *Xavier*, or *Sabi*, a great market is held every fourth day, in the different streets of the city. In the other towns of the provinces they keep an *Aploga*, as they term it, or a fair, where one seldom sees fewer than six thousand merchants. At *Sabi* the greatest market held in each of the provinces.

* BOSMAN, DES MARCH. BARBOT, ubi supra.

d DES MARCHAIS, tom. ii. part v. p. 18.

(C) *Bosman*, who resided on the spot, speaks of it in the terms we have related. The whole country, he says, from the sea to its extreme limits towards the inland, strikes the eye like an amphitheatre adorned with nature's gayest colours. *Phillips*, who made a voyage thither, declares with admiration, that the kingdom of *Whidah* is the most delightful spot in the universe, composed of the most beautiful sloping meadows, watered with the finest rivulets, adorned with groves of exquisite fruits, lemons, oranges, pine apples, &c. and supplied with the greatest abundance of fish, fowls, and cattle, of any country in the world. *Des Marchais* is no less profuse in his encomiums. He enumerates several particulars omitted by other writers, each of them culling different beauties; insomuch that one would imagine they were either describing different places, or that *Whidah* was an epitome of every thing excellent in nature.

(D) As *Des Marchais* has favoured us with the names of these provinces, cities, and the quality of their governors, the recital may be deserving of a note.

1. *Xavier*, or *Sabi*, the king.
 2. *Xavier Goga*, the prince viceroy.
 3. *Beti*, the grand priest.
 4. *Apologe*,
 5. *Napou*,
 6. *Xavier Zante*,
 7. *Gregouc Zante*,
 8. *Albinga*,
 9. *Gourga*,
- } each a prince.
- } each a lord.

10. *Deboe*,
 11. *Albingadoc*,
 12. *Karie*,
 13. *Agou*, the royal interpreter.
 14. *Ajou*, a prince.
 15. *Oussaga*, a lord.
 16. *Pagne*, the king's first lord of the bedchamber.
 17. *Walonga*, a lord.
 18. *Danio*,
 19. *Zingha*,
 20. *Koulafoute*,
 21. *Zogu*,
 22. *Hamer*, the general of the troops.
 23. *Kouagouza*, the captain of the king's guards.
 24. *Agrakoquon*, the first and head trumpeter of the king's band.
 25. *Ghiaga*, the lord chief justice, or the supreme administrator of justice in criminal cases.
 26. *Babo*, the king's uncle, who is also of the privy-council, and one of the leading men in the nation.
- } each a lord.
- } lords.

These provinces we have specified, because their names are no where to be met with besides in *Des Marchais*, now a work scarce and almost out of print; and also because they afford a specimen of the *Whidan* language, which appears to be by no means harsh and unmusical. One would be amazed to see how so pretty a kingdom should be divided into such a variety of little sovereignties, each of them not so large as a considerable city, and yet containing within their jurisdiction each an infinite number of villages (3).

(3) *Des Marchais*, tom. ii. p. 18.

kets are on *Wednesday* and *Saturday*. To prevent confusion, and the disturbance that might arise in the city from such a multitude of people, the market is removed at a mile's distance from the walls, to a fine large plain, several parts of which are adorned with groves of tufted trees, which afford a refreshing shade to the people, half stifled in the croud, and scorched under the burning heat of the sun. Here the king's women attend to sell their cloths, and their other manufactures. These fairs and markets are regulated with so much care and prudence, that nothing contrary to law is ever committed. All sorts of merchandize are here collected; and those who have brought goods are permitted to take what time they please to dispose of them, but without fraud or noise. A judge, attended by four officers armed, is appointed by the king for the inspection of all goods, to hear and determine all grievances, complaints, and disputes. To oppress liberty, and sell for a slave the man born free, is a crime of a black complexion, and always punished with death.^c

Account of the great market at Xavier, the capital.

THE market-place is surrounded with sutlers booths, and places of refreshment, for the convenience of the people. They are only permitted to sell certain sorts of meat, as beef, pork, goats and dogs flesh. Other booths are kept by women, who sell maize, millet, rice, and corn bread. Other shops sell *Pito*, or a kind of pleasant, wholesome, and very refreshing beer. Palm wine, aqua vitæ, and spirits which they have from the *Europeans*, are kept in other shops, with restrictions on the sale, to prevent drunkenness and riot. Here slaves of both sexes are bought and sold; also oxen, sheep, dogs, hogs, fish, and birds of all kinds. Woollen cloths, linen, silks, calicoes of *European* and *Indian* manufacture, they have in great abundance; likewise hard-ware, china and glass of all sorts, gold in dust and ingots, iron in bars, lead in sheets, and every thing of *European*, *Asiatic*, or *African* production, is here found at a reasonable price. The chief commodities of *Whidan* manufacture are cloths, umbrellas, baskets, pitchers for *pito* or beer, plates and dishes of wood, gourds finely ornamented, white and blue paper, pepper, palm oil, salt, *Kan-kis*, and other commodities.^f

The slave trade carried on by the men, all the other branches by the women.

THE slave trade is conducted by the men, all other things are sold by the women. Our greatest merchants might here receive useful lessons from those diligent and alert negroes, both in the art of selling and of reckoning. Here they rely solely upon their own address and vigilance, making no account of good or ill fortune, which they think the necessary result of a man's own conduct. The money used in all bargains is gold-dust, which they reckon up with great dexterity, as every thing is sold by prompt payment. *Bujis*, which the *French* by corruption call *Bauges*, pass frequently for money, at their fairs in the country. This is a small white shell, of the size and shape of an olive. In the kingdoms of *Whidab* and *Ardrab* these *Bujis* serve equally for dress and money, for ornament and use. They pierce each shell with an iron made for the purpose; forty of them they string upon a cord which they call *Scuze*, and the *Portuguese* *Toquos*. Five of these strings compose what the *Portuguese* call a *Gallinba*, and the negroes a *Fore*. By these the exchange of gold-dust is rated, and the price of slaves determined.

THE *Europeans*, the nobility of *Whidab*, and all the rich negroes, are carried, when they go abroad, in hammocks or litters on the shoulders of slaves. The contrivance of these is ingenious, and an excellent defence against the heat of the climate, which, says *Phillips*, is so great, that an *European* could not walk a mile in the middle of the day without fatiguing, and exposing himself to great danger.

Qualities of the natives.

BOSMAN says, that the inhabitants of *Whidab* exceed all the negroes he had seen, both in good and bad qualities. All ranks and degrees of them treat the *Europeans* with extreme civility, courtesy, and respect. Other negroes are eternally soliciting presents; the *Whidans* had rather give than receive. When the *Europeans* trade with them, they expect they should return thanks for the obligation; but their making a present to a white man they value as nothing, and are displeased at any acknowledgement for a thing so trifling. They have an obliging engaging manner of addressing each other, and a degree of subordinate respect proportioned to the quality of the person, that greatly astonished *Bosman*, among a rude people, as he first imagined them to be.^e When any one visits or accidentally meets his superior, he immediately drops upon his knees, kisses the earth three times, claps his hands, and wishes him a good day or good night, which the other returns in the posture in which he then happens to be, by gently clapping his hand, and wishing him the same. The other all this while remains sitting, or prostrate on the earth, till the superior departs, unless some urgent business calls him, in which case he makes his apology in the most submissive terms. The same respect is shewn to the elder brother by the younger, to fathers by their children, and by women to their husbands. Every thing is delivered to, or received from, a superior on the knee. Women do the same to their husbands, adding, what is esteemed a mark of still more pro-

Their ceremonious civility.

^c DES MARCH. tom. v. part v. p. 23. BARBOT, ubi supra.

^f BOSMAN, epist. 19.

^e BOSMAN,

- a found respect, the clapping together of both hands. When persons of equal condition meet, they each fall down, clap their hands, and mutually salute; the same ceremonies being nicely observed and imitated by their several attendants, a whole retinue of 100 persons being down at once on their knees, which might easily be mistaken for some public act of devotion. If a superior sneezes, every one round him falls upon their knees, clap their hands, and wish him happiness. In a word, no part of the world is more polite in the external ceremonies than the kingdom of *Whidab*. How a nation, confined to so small a spot of ground, should differ so far in manners from the surrounding kingdoms with which they have a constant intercourse, is not so easily accounted for ^b. One would be led to think that this happy little people have a soil, a climate, and a nature peculiar to themselves, and differing from those distant but a few miles from them (E). The natives of *Whidab* are in general tall; well-made, strait, and robust. Their complexion is black, but not so jet and glossy as those of the *Gold Coast*, and still less than those of *Senegal* and the river *Gambia*. They excel all other negroes in industry ^{Their industry and commerce.} and vigilance. Idleness is the favourite vice of the *Africans* in general; here, on the contrary, both sexes are so laborious and diligent, that they never desist till they have finished their undertaking; carrying the same spirit of perseverance into every action of their lives ¹.
- BESIDES agriculture, from which only the king and a few persons of the first distinction are exempted, they employ themselves in several kinds of manufactures. They spin cotton yarn, weave fine cotton cloths, make calabasses, wooden vessels, plates, and dishes; likewise *assaygaves*, smiths work, &c. in greater perfection than any other people on the coast. Whilst the men are thus employed, the women brew *pito*, and dress provisions, which, with their husbands merchandize, they carry for sale to market. Both men and women are employed in search of gain, and their emulation is equal to their industry. Hence it is that they live well, nay splendidly, when compared with the other negroes of the coast. Labour is cheap here, the profits solely arising from the unwearied industry of the labourer; a common porter will run all day long with a burthen of an hundred weight upon his head ^k.
- SEVERAL travellers have not unjustly compared the manners of this people to the *Chinese*. ^{Resemble the Chinese in certain peculiarities.} The same laborious industry, ceremonious civility, jealous affection to their women, and thievish inclinations in trade, prevail (F). Their external respect likewise to strangers has a resemblance. If the *Whidabians* meet an *European* twenty times in a day, the same train of ceremonies is repeated, the neglect of which is punished with a fine. The late king of *Whidab* carried this consideration of foreigners to such a height, that one of his principal officers was beheaded for presuming to lift his cane in a menacing manner over the head of a *Frenchman*. The chief director of that nation used all his influence to mitigate the punishment; but the king was inexorable, nor could any thing less than his life atone for so heinous a crime as a breach of hospitality ¹.
- THE women till the land for their husbands, unless they happen to be very beautiful; in this case they are maintained at home with all the pomp of eastern nations, but with the loss of liberty also. They are never permitted to go abroad, but in company with their husbands, and close shut up in their *Hamars*, nor can they receive any male visitors at home. ^{The servile condition of the women.} Upon the least jealousy or suspicion, they are sold by their husbands to the *Europeans*. If in this country one person debauches the wife of another, he must himself not only suffer death, but his whole family are involved in the consequences of his guilt. Touching the body, even accidentally, of any of the king's women, is often punished with death, always with the loss of liberty; it is usual, therefore, with all employed about the palace, to keep continually calling out, as a warning to the women that a man is in the way. ^{The delicacy observed with respect to the king's women.} For this reason it is, that the king is wholly attended by women, no man being permitted to enter the walls of the palace, unless to repair it, in which case the women are removed to some distant part. When

^b BARROT, p. 830. BOSMAN, let. 18. MARCH, vol. ii. p. 184.

¹ PREVOST, l. ix. c. 3.

^k ATKINS, p. 116.

¹ DES

(E) *Atkins* takes notice of a singular piece of decency and politeness that prevails among them in the more uncleanly offices of life. Both sexes accompany each other upon those natural calls; but if the modesty of the woman is offended at any indiscretion on the man's side, in exposing parts which ought to be concealed, she has the privilege of mulcting him in what sum she thinks proper, p. 112.

(F) Perhaps, in the ceremonials of public visits among persons of distinction, they even exceed the *Chinese*. When a person of some quality at *Whidab* proposes visiting his superior, he first sends to know

when he may be waited upon. Having obtained permission, he sets out at the time appointed with a retinue of all his friends and domestics, accompanied with music of all kinds. All his attendants precede him while he is carried in a *hamoc*, or sedan, on the shoulders of his slaves in the rear. When he arrives at the house, he alights, and is received by the servants of the great man; the music ceases, and the whole retinue prostrate themselves on the ground. The servants of the house put themselves in the same posture, and all the contest is, who shall carry their politeness to the highest pitch of ceremony (4).

(4) *Des Marchais*, vol. ii. p. 182.

the women go into the fields for pleasure, which they frequently do some hundreds at a time; upon seeing a man, they call out, “Stand clear;” upon which he falls upon his face, continuing in that posture till they are passed by; for the slightest look would be criminal. On the smallest disgust his majesty sells 18 or 20 women, which by no means diminishes the number of his seraglio, their places being immediately filled up by fresh virgins provided by the proper officers. When a lady is presented to the king, he does her the honour of passing two or three evenings with her; after which, she lives the remainder of her life with the chastity of a nun. Hence the women are so little desirous of being brought to the seraglio, that many of them prefer death. An instance of this kind happened about the time that *Bosman* resided in the country. The officers endeavoured to bring to the *Harem* a lady of great beauty, whose shyness they at first attributed to a virgin modesty. When she found they persisted in urging her, she fled from them; and they pursuing, to avoid servitude, she flung herself into a deep well, where she was drowned ^m.

The women exceedingly prolific.

THE women here are exceedingly prolific, and the men vigorous and warm in their constitution. In proof of the fertility of the one, and the powers of the other, *Bosman* relates, that the king assured him, before his whole court, that one of his viceroys, who had lately triumphed over the enemies of *Whidah*, had in his army two thousand of his lineal offspring, sons, grandsons, and their children. He has frequently seen fathers who had upwards of 200 children. Upon interrogating a certain captain of the guards concerning the number of his family, he replied with a sigh, that he was unhappy in that particular, not having above seventy living. *Bosman* then asked him, how many had died, and he answered seventy. Thus a family of 140 children is by no means looked upon as extraordinary ^c.

Dress of the natives.

THE natives of *Whidah* dress better and more sumptuously than any other nation on the coast; but they are unacquainted with the use of gold and silver ornaments, their country producing none of the precious metals. They wear five or six different suits at a time, the uppermost being seven or eight yards long, which they wrap round them in a decent and becoming manner. None are permitted to wear red besides the royal family, but all other colours are free. Nor are the women short of the men in the multitude of clothes which they heap over each other. Their dress is becoming, but less decent than that of the other sex. Behind, their gowns are long and genteel, but before, loose and open, insomuch that many accidents occasion the discovery of parts which modesty and nature require should be concealed. It is alleged by the men, that this fashion was the invention of the women, for which doubtless they had their reasons. Men, women, and children, have their heads close shaved, in which manner they go abroad under rain, wind, or the burning heat of the sun, without the smallest inconvenience: custom renders it familiar, and the practice hardens their constitutions. *Phillips* affirms, that the women all go naked till marriage, and that this is a mark of their virginity; but this assertion is confirmed by no other author. “Habit,” says he, “renders them so insensible of this indecency, that I have seen two hundred of them all together in that situation. Of this circumstance the young fellows take all manner of advantage, treating them with the freedom that may be expected among young people let loose together. This custom, we imagine, has been instituted for serious purposes, to secure the peace and happiness of the connubial state, by making the parties acquainted with each others excellencies before they were joined in marriage.” This, however, is not only unsupported by other authorities, but contradicts what the author before advanced, that nakedness is a mark of real virginity; since a woman boasts of losing that appellation before marriage, and, by his account, actually perfects her pretensions.

DES MARCHAIS differs widely from *Bosman*’s account of the *Whidan* dress. He treats this particular very explicitly; but how truly, must be submitted to those who have resided there. The royal dress, and that of the nobility, differ in nothing; but their form and value is unlike that of the lower class. Besides, he affirms, that the great wear bracelets and collars of pearls, gold, and coral; also chains of gold and silver. Their heads are sometimes bare; but, in general, covered with an *European* hat and feather. The same distinctions hold among the ladies.

No equation or division of time observed here. The *Whidans* expert arithmeticians.

BEFORE we close this section, we shall remark, that the *Whidans* are to a degree rude and ignorant in some particulars. They have no equation of time; no distinction of hours, days, weeks, or stated periods. They know the sowing time by the moon, or rather they sow as soon as they have reaped; and their markets they keep every third day: no other stated festivals of any kind being known. However, without pen, ink, or the assistance of an artificial arithmetic, they calculate the largest sums with great accuracy, state shares with great exactness, and perform the operations not only of the first elements, but of the more complex rules of arithmetic, with a quickness that exceeds the most expert *European* arithmetician. *Des Marchais* alleges, that the wisest among them cannot tell you his age. If you ask, when

^m BOSMAN, Epist. 19.

ⁿ Ibid. Epist. 20.

^c PHILLIPS apud PREVOST, tom. v. l. ix. c. 4.

a such a man was born, he tells you, it was about the time that such a ship, or such an *European* factor, came to *Whidah*. From hence we may infer, that their history goes no higher among them than the living generation ².

But one of the surest characteristics of a *Whidassian* is his propensity to steal; in which they are infinitely more adroit than any other negroes. On many occasions their address and refinement in this art are so great, that one would willingly sustain a moderate loss for the sake of the experiment. When *Bosman* was honoured with an audience of the king, his majesty told him, "that his subjects were not like those of *Ardrab*, and other neighbouring kingdoms, where, on the least umbrage they would poison an *European*. This," continues he, "you have no reason to apprehend; but I would have you take particular care of your goods; for my people are born expert thieves, and will steal from you while you are looking at them." This intelligence of the king was soon proved in numberless instances, in which *Bosman* was a sufferer by their art. It is a vice ingrafted in their nature, that, excepting two or three great persons, has seized all ranks of men throughout the nation. There is no security against their pilfering; locks and stone walls are nothing. *Bosman* says, that an *English* captain had put a sum of *bujis*, the money of the country, into barrels; but while the sailors were carrying them on their heads to the sea-side, the natives made shift to penetrate the barrels; and ease the sailors of their load, by carrying off a great number of *bujis*, and all this unobserved. If complaint is made to the king, he orders the offender to be punished; but then no retribution is made, nor dare any one inform against the guilty, who is protected by the king's eldest son, a sharer in the general plunder; upon which he has a certain tax ³.

² DES MARCHAIS, l. x. c. 3. tom. v.

³ BOSM. Epist. 20.

S E C T. IV.

Of their polygamy, nuptial ceremonies, circumcision, husband's prerogative, respect to parents, rules of inheritance, music, air, diseases, burials, religion, Fetiches, and especially of their snake-worship, of which the reader will find an explicit account, with several other particulars.

d **I**N general the customs of the *Whidassians* have a strong resemblance to those of the *Gold Coast* negroes, except in the articles of religion, and the grounds of their manners. As excess permits to women, while the latter content themselves with one, two, or three, and the persons of the highest quality are prohibited from exceeding twenty wives, the *Whidassians*, even the poorest, have forty or fifty women. The great men keep three or four hundred, frequently twice that number, and the king four or five thousand, but seldom fewer than three thousand. No people on earth perform the connubial rites with less ceremony. All bargains, contracts, jointures, and portions, are intirely unknown to them. The negroes of the other coasts purchase their women with cattle, fish, and other commodities; they are permitted to dismiss her, if she proves not a virgin: here the practice is directly contrary, and their ideas totally different. As a fertile womb is highly prized in *Whidah*, she who has given proofs before marriage of her fruitfulness is always preferred; but it costs nothing to obtain her. When a man likes a girl, he demands her of the parents, who never refuse their consent, provided she be of a marriageable age. Custom requires that the parents conduct her to the house of the bridegroom. On her arrival he presents her with a new dress, which is probably all she possesses; for every thing else she leaves behind in her father's house. The husband then kills a sheep, which he eats in company with his wife and her parents; which is the only time in her life that she is admitted to this honour. Some tankards of pito are drank, the parents return home, and the marriage is concluded without any other ceremony. A custom truly primitive and prudent in many particulars ⁴.

e **A** HUSBAND is permitted to repudiate his wife with as little ceremony as he marries her. He only thrusts her out of the door, and the separation is legal; but then it must be upon certain proofs of her incontinence. He also must pay the parents a sum double of the expence of the wedding; a custom, says *Labat*, that, if introduced into *Europe*, would prevent so many wretched marriages. Another law, no less severe upon the women, is a strict prohibition, under pain of death or slavery, to enter the palace or the house of a great man, during their *catamenia*. *Des Marchais* is persuaded that the *Whidassians* borrow this custom from the

⁴ BOSM. Epist. 20.

Jews. No sooner do they perceive themselves in those circumstances than they quit the house, and avoid all communication, and even the sight of men. Every family has a house where the women retire during that period, under the care of an antient matron. Here they remain till they have washed and purified themselves; after which they return to their husbands; and yet, what is very extraordinary, in spite of all these severe restrictions, the women of *Whidab* had rather not live than avoid intrigues. No women are more addicted to this sort of gaiety, for which they will run all hazards. This is a country, says *Des Marchais*, that furnishes the richest materials for the annals of gallantry ^b.

Circumcision
used.

ALL their children, male and female, are circumcised in the manner we have mentioned in our account of *Benin*. Whence they derived this custom, none of them can tell; their usual answer being, that they had it from their ancestors. This operation is performed at no certain age. Some undergo it at four, some at five, six, to ten years of age. *Smith* observes, that it is common to see in one family 200 little children at play. He has known a man become the father of a dozen children in one day ^c. Hence arises the wealth of the parent, who has the power of disposing of them as slaves; which he commonly does, reserving only the eldest child. Thus this little kingdom can furnish a thousand slaves in the space of a month. In this particular *Des Marchais* contradicts all the other writers on this subject. He affirms, that no people on earth shew greater indulgence, tenderness, and affection, for their children. They sell their women he allows; but they make a wide difference between their wives and their children. The former are properly and by right their slaves; but as for their children, although they are born of a mother that is a slave, yet are they free. No difference is made between their legitimate and natural children. Here the *Whidan* law, says the same author, corresponds with the *Jewish*, and is equally binding to the prince, and to the meanest of his subjects; on the other hand, the veneration in which children hold their parents is extreme. They never address them but on their knees; and the women are subjected to the same humiliation, all except the *Betas* or priestesses. In this case, the law is reversed, and those sacred dames exact the same submission from their husbands, as they do from their wives.

The husbands
have a power
to sell their
wives.
Great respect
shewn to pa-
rents by their
children.

Ceremonies of
address the
same among
the women as
the men.

THE younger children pay great respect to the elder brother, and any deficiency here is punishable by a fine at the pleasure of the brother; but little regard is paid to the mother. Among the women, the ceremonies of address are the same we have mentioned of the men, making an allowance for the natural taste and refinement of the sex, which carries their politeness to a great length ^d.

The eldest son
succeeds to the
effects and
wives of his
father.

AT the death of a father, the eldest son inherits not only his effects, but also his women; with whom, from that day, he lives in quality of husband. His own mother is excepted, who now is her own mistress, has a house appointed her, and a certain fortune for her subsistence. This custom prevails as well in the palace royal, as among the people. But subjects were never permitted to burn the house and sacrifice the women, as had once been customary in the king's family.

The great ex-
cess to which
their natives
carry games
hazard.

THE extraordinary industry with which the *Whidanese* apply to commerce and agriculture, does not destroy their taste for pleasure. They will frequently hazard all they are worth at play; and after having lost their money and effects, will stake their wives, and even their children; nay sometimes themselves. So many disorders resulted from this passion, that the late king prohibited all games at hazard upon pain of death. This law, however, died with him, and now gaming is as fashionable and as pernicious as ever. Some of those games are extremely ingenious, that in particular called *Atropoe*, or *the six bujis*, has in the contrivance something peculiarly pretty and artful. They have besides games for exercise and trials of strength, activity, and courage. Their musick is much the best of any to be met with in those countries. One instrument, that resembles a harp, is really musical. It is strung with reeds of different sizes, which they touch with great dexterity, accompany with a sweet voice, and dance to their own musick in exact time, and with an agreeable air and manner. They have likewise a kind of kettle-drums and trumpets, which they use in war; besides flutes and several wind instruments ^e.

The musick of
the Whidans.

Malignity of
the air.

THIS country has its peculiar diseases, as well as its games and pleasures. According to *Smith*, the air is infected with qualities of a contagious and malignant nature. Tradition affirms, that it received this noxious disposition since the ravages of the *Dahomay* monarch had almost depopulated the kingdom, and left those lands uncultivated. Then sprung up a quantity of poisonous herbs, the exhalations from which tainted the air. This malignity of the air, says *Des Marchais*, is discoverable from the dew that falls before sun-rise, which instantly breeds a number of insects, in shape resembling lizards, serpents, and toads; but the heat of the sun dries and annihilates them, almost as soon as they have existence. This bad quality of the air produces violent effects, chiefly among the *Europeans*, and the only preventives are, keeping out of the night air; or, if necessity requires exposing one's self, wrap-

^b Tom. v. l. x. c. 3.

^c Part 72.

^d DES MARCHAIS, ubi supra.

^e BARBOT, p. 378.

- a ping the head and body warm, keeping the mouth as much shut as possible, and if possible, avoiding every kind of hard labour during the heat of the day. The negroes are accustomed to bear the strongest heat of the sun upon their bare heads; but the experiment always proves dangerous to an *European*, producing ardent fevers, accompanied with a delirium, that usually carries the patient off in three days. These fevers, which may be termed endemial, prove most dangerous, and indeed always mortal, in the months of *June, July, and August*. They begin with cold shiverings and sweats, excruciating pains in the head and loins, hæmorrhages at the nose, a violent throbbing of the heart, a thirst that is insupportable, a dry parched tongue, which in a few hours becomes quite black; with other violent symptoms. *Des Marchais* is particular in the method of cure, and as particular in forbidding phlebotomy in the first stage of the disorder; though one would imagine that all the symptoms, and especially the hæmorrhage, indicated this operation. Dysenteries are likewise frequent and fatal in *Whidah*.

Ardent fevers frequent.

- THE natives are diligent in the use of medicines, and offerings to their gods, for the recovery of the sick. So fearful are they of death, that they cannot support the sound of the word, without visible emotion; and it is death to pronounce it upon any occasion before the king. *Bosman* relates, that in his first voyage to this country, he waited before his departure on the king, who owed him an hundred pounds. At taking leave, he asked the monarch who should pay him on his return, in case he died? All the by-standers were shocked at the question (and indeed it carried with it true *Dutch* bluntness); but the king, who spoke a little *Portuguese*, told him, "not to give himself any concern about that, for he should always *live*." The *Dutchman* perceived his error, took his leave abruptly and departed. On his return, he so frequently raillied them upon their weak fears, that in time the word grew familiar to the better sort; and the king, who was a jovial fellow, used to repeat it as frequently as any of them. But the people of meaner rank retained their old apprehensions, which nothing could remove. In general, the most violent prejudices accompany the blindest ignorance.

The Whidahese cannot bear the mentioning of death.

- THE burying-place of the kings and nobles is in a gallery, which the sons erect for their fathers. Here the body is laid in the very middle of the vault, and with it the buckler, sword, bow and arrows of the deceased. But though guns and pistols are used in the country, they are never laid in the tomb. A custom inviolably preserved by the heir, is, to mourn for an entire year, during which period he roams about, secludes himself from society, quits his usual attire, his bracelets, chains, and rings; and though at full liberty to enter upon his estate from the day of his father's death, yet so strong is affection, grief, or prejudice, that he firmly and steadily pursues a custom, which at least has a great appearance of decency.

Customs regarding burials and mourning.

- As to religion, *Bosman* is of opinion, that the piety of this country is founded upon no other principles than those of interest and superstition. In the latter they exceed all other nations; "for allowing," says he, "the ancient heathens to value themselves upon thirty thousand deities, I dare venture to affirm, that the natives of *Whidah* may lay just claim to four times that number." However, he believes that they have a faint idea of the One True God, to whom they attribute omnipotence and ubiquity. They believe that a being exists, the Creator of the universe, to whom of consequence their *Fetiches* are inferior; the thing made, to the maker: but they neither pray nor sacrifice to this being. He is, say they, too highly exalted to take any concern about them; and the government of the world he leaves to the *Fetiches*. To these, as the mediators between God and them, they apply themselves. It appears, therefore, that they look upon their *Fetiches* as mere corporeal substances, but endowed by the Supreme Being with certain powers useful to mankind: an apology of a similar nature with what superstitious Roman catholics make for their images.

Religion of Whidah.

- ACCORDING to *Des Marchais*, the more sensible *Whidans* believe in one spiritual God, who punishes vice, and rewards virtue; who causes the heavens to thunder, the clouds to rain, the sky to lighten, and the sun to shine. His residence is in the heavens, whence with infinite justice and goodness he governs the world. With such sentiments as these, one would think the zeal of the missionaries were unnecessary. They have confused notions of hell, the devil, and of departed spirits. The former they call a subterraneous abode, where the wicked are punished by fire; and this opinion has been confirmed among them by the arrival of a certain sorcerer (probably a missionary), who pretended to have come from thence. There, he affirmed, he saw several persons of the court, whom he had formerly known, and particularly the late prime minister.

The just notions they have of the Supreme Being.

- BOSMAN relates the following story, which shews the opinion the more sensible natives entertain of their idolatry. He once asked a negroe, with whom he was intimate, how they performed their divine worship, and what number of gods they might have? The negroe smiling,

A story related by Bosman.

^f Tom. v. l. x. c. 3.

^g FARBOT, p. 379.

^b Epist. 21.

assured him that the question greatly perplexed him ; for that no man in the country could a give the exact estimate. *Bosman* replied, that only three gods were acknowledged by them, he therefore requested that he might have some account of the private deities. To this, the negroe favoured him with the following answer. “ The number of our gods,” says he, “ is infinite. When we undertake any thing arduous and important, we first look out for a “ fit deity to prosper the enterprize. Going out of doors with this view, we take the first “ creature that presents itself, whether dog, cat, or the most contemptible reptile, for a god ; “ nay, often inanimate things, as a stone or tree. To this we present an offering, accom- “ panied with a solemn vow, that if the god will favour our designs, we will henceforward “ worship him. If accordingly we succeed, we attribute it to the influence of this new chosen “ deity, and pay our vow religiously ; if on the contrary we are disappointed, the god is b “ rejected, and his worship neglected. Thus we make and unmake our gods ; we are their “ masters and servants ; their number depends on our fortune, and perhaps their worship to “ our folly.” *Bosman*, however, attributes this just manner of thinking to his having con- versed much with the *French*, whose language he spoke perfectly ¹.

Their Fetiches
divided into
four classes,
viz. snakes,
trees, toads,
and the sea.

Worship of the
snake, and
cunning of the
priests.

Description of
the snake.

THE *Fetiches* of *Whidah* may be divided into three classes, the *serpent*, tall *trees*, and the *sea* ; they sometimes add a fourth, namely, the chief river of the kingdom, the *Euphrates*. The serpent is the most celebrated and honoured, the other two being subordinate to the power of this deity. The snake they invoke in extreme wet, dry, or barren seasons ; on all occasions relating to their government, civil policy, and cattle ; in a word, on all the great diffi- culties and occurrences of life. For this reason rich offerings are made to it, especially by the king, at the instigation of the priests, and persuasions of the courtiers, who reap the benefit of his devotion. Those offerings usually consist of money, pieces of rich silks and stuffs, all sorts of *European* and *African* commodities, live cattle, and elegant entertainments of all kinds of the best food. This snake has a large round head, beautifully piercing eyes, a short pointed tongue, resembling a dart ; its pace slow and solemn, except when it seizes on its prey, then quick and rapid ; its tail sharp and short ; its skin of an elegant smoothness, adorned with beautiful colours, upon a light-grey ground. It is amazingly tame and familiar, permit- ting itself to be approached and even handled. The largest that *Des Marchais* had seen was about a yard long, and as thick as a man's arm. He adds, that they are extremely fond of rats flesh, and seem no less delighted with the chase than with the food. When they have d tired their prey and themselves, they then kill and eat it ; an employment that holds them long, as their gullet is remarkably narrow. When the snake chances to be on the top of a house, he is unable to disengage himself with the agility necessary for seizing on the rat. Of this, as our author assures us, the latter appears to be sensible ; for he has frequently seen a rat pass and repass in a sportive manner before the snake, as if it played with his embarrassment ^k.

The snake an
inoffensive
animal.

THESE snakes have a mortal antipathy to all venomous serpents. They attack them where- ever they find them, as if they had a pleasure in delivering mankind from their poison. The *Europeans* themselves find no difficulty in familiarizing themselves to those inoffensive animals, with which they play without any dread or apprehension of danger. There is no fear of mistaking them for the poisonous serpent, the colour and size sufficiently distinguishing them. e The negroes entertain a notion that the first progenitor of this race of snakes is still living, and grown to an enormous bulk ^l.

Their notions
concerning the
origin of this
worship.

THE worship of this snake the negroes allege to be of a very ancient date. According to them, they quitted another country where the people pretended to worship them, but were in truth unworthy of their sacred protection, on account of their vices and crimes. The *Whidanese*, charmed with the preference given to them, received them with incredible marks of respect, and an hearty welcome. They carried them on a filken carpet to a temple, and paid them a worship due to their divinity. Certain it is, that the snake was worshipped first at *Ardrab*, though the date of this worship in either kingdom is uncertain. As the first temple in which it was placed was thought too mean for the residence of so respectable a deity, a reso- lution was formed to erect one more worthy of its dignity. A revenue was appointed for its support, with pontiffs and priests to attend it. Every year a certain number of beautiful virgins are consecrated to it. What is very remarkable is, that the natives believe this to be the very snake which their ancestors carried with them, when they gained a great victory over their enemies ^m.

THE posterity of this noble animal is grown numerous, but nothing degenerated from the virtues of their ancestor. Although this chieftain snake be the most honoured, yet all the rest are likewise worshipped, fed, and fondled by the negroes. No insult or injury dare be com- mitted to it, under pain of death, by a native ; and even an *European*, who would be so hardy as to pass an affront on the deity, would run hazards from his votaries. Of this the *English* g

¹ Ibidem.

^k DES MARCH. ubi supra.

^l BOSMAN, Ep. 20.

^m DES MAR. l. x. c. 4.

a had a tragical instance, as is affirmed by the concurring testimonies of *Barbot* and *Bosman*. *Tragical accident which befel the English, for having killed a snake.* When the *English* first settled in *Whidab*, the captain having unshipped his goods on the shore, the sailors found at night one of those snakes in their magazine, which they ignorantly killed and threw upon the bank, without dreaming of any bad consequences. The negroes, who soon discovered the sacrilege, and had it confirmed by the acknowledgement of the *English*, were not long in avenging the horrid impiety, by a method no less horrible. All the inhabitants of the province assembled. They attacked the *English*, massacred them all to a man, and consumed their bodies and goods in the fire they had set to the warehouse.

b THE kings of *Whidab* used formerly to make annual processions to the *Snake Temple*. These *Rich offerings* were celebrated with great magnificence, and terminated with rich offerings. Presents of great value were not only made to the deity and his priests, but to the nobility that assisted at the solemnity. The present king has broke through the custom of making this procession; and indeed seems tired of offerings attended with so great an expence, and so little advantage. This, *Bosman* says, he had once an opportunity of observing. Finding him one day in a violent rage, he took the liberty of enquiring into the occasion of his majesty's passion. To this he frankly replied, "that he had this year sent much richer offerings than usual to the snake, in hopes of obtaining a good harvest: that his viceroys urged him to make farther offerings, and the priests threatened him with a barren year if he refused to comply. However," says he, "I have no intention of doing it: for if the snake will not grant a good year, he may let it alone: he will suffer with me. He cannot hurt me more than he has done, by emptying my coffers, and yet letting my corn rot."

c THE king's expences in supporting the snake's household, and making him offerings, are, however, in some measure reimbursed by the revenue he draws upon his account. The manner of raising this revenue is this: annually, from the time the maize or corn is laid in the ground till it grows to a great height, the natives imagine, that, during this interval, the snakes make it their business every night to seize all the beautiful young virgins they can meet with, and to make them delirious. Their parents then send them to a house appointed for their cure, where they are kept at a great expence for months, under the direction of the knavish priests; who fail not of making all possible advantage of the parents simplicity. The time thought necessary for their confinement being expired, and the pretended cure completed, they are dismissed; the parents first paying the charges of board and fees of the house. These are proportioned to the circumstances of the patient, and seldom amount to less than five pounds. As the number of girls throughout the kingdom who have passed this operation amounts to several thousands, we may believe the revenue drawn from a practice, foolish only on the side of the people, is very considerable. The rich pay liberally. Most villages have an hospital, and the towns three or four each. *Bosman* says, that the whole booty is divided between the king and the priests. He tells us, that the people strenuously endeavour to persuade him a snake was able to carry a girl away against her will, and in spite of all the bolts and bars with which they were able to secure her. The truth, however, is, that the priests diligently watch those young women who have never been in the hospital. These they first attempt by liberal promises, and if these fail, by menaces; denouncing terrible execrations against them, if they persist in refusing to comply. After they have persuaded the girl into their opinion, they order her to embrace the opportunity at night, when the way is clear, and immediately fall a screaming and howling, as if the snake had laid hold of her, and was carrying her off. Before relief can arrive, the snake is vanished, and the girl delirious, which obliges the parents to send her to the lazaretto.

The influence which those sacerdotal knaves gain over the understanding, is really amazing. By the time the girls obtain their liberty, they seem almost persuaded of the reality of the cheat contrived by the priests, and convinced, that their brain had been actually disordered, and their person seized by the snake. However, to secure them against revealing the fraud, the priest never fails to threaten with the most signal vengeance, if they ever betray the smallest circumstance. Their menaces they have been known to execute; and women, who have blabbed the secret, have next day been found buried alive.

f THE daughter of the present king had been seized by the snake, *Bosman* thinks, by his own orders. She was conducted to the snake-house, where she committed all manner of extravagancies, while the music of certain instruments appointed to attend her was performing. She was visited by the most considerable persons of the kingdom, each bringing her presents worthy of her quality: a booty shared between the barbarous father and the priests. Her confinement was not so long as the usual time; but her madness, say the negroes, must work out its destined period. Some, however of the more intelligent, seem to look upon the whole as a pious and political cheat; but they find their security in professing their ignorance.

ⁿ BOSMAN, *ibid.*

^{*} *Iidem ibid. ubi supra.*

Those who have been hardy enough to shew their sagacity, have forfeited their lives. An instance of this kind happened while *Bosman* was in the country. A negroe, born on the *Gold Coast*, lived at *Whidah*, and by his address, obliging carriage and conduct, arrived at the dignity of captain, and interpreter to the *English*. This man had married a woman of *Whidah*, who being seized by the snake, pretended to be delirious; upon which her husband, ignorant of the custom of the country, clapt her in chains, instead of sending her to the hospital. The woman, enraged, complained to the priests, who had him poisoned in a few days; not caring either to let him escape unpunished, or to execute public vengeance upon him, as his fault proceeded from his ignorance. Hence, says *Bosman*, you see how dangerous a thing it is to fall under the censure of ecclesiastics, even in the remotest parts of the world ^a.

All the hogs in
Whidah
slaughtered
for having
killed a snake.

The great
number, and
familiarity,
of the snakes.

Story related
by Bosman.

ANIMALS of all kinds are punished with death for injuring a snake. In 1697, a hog, that had been teased by one of them, gnashed and devoured it with his teeth. The priests carrying their complaint to the king, and no one presuming to appear as counsel for the hogs, a warrant was obtained for a general slaughter of them all over the kingdom. A thousand negroes, armed with cutlasses, began the bloody execution; and the whole race of hogs would have been extirpated, without remorse or feeling, had not the king, who was not of a cruel disposition, put a stop to the bloody scene, by representing to the priests, that they ought to rest satisfied with the vengeance they had taken. With this care and attendance these ridiculous deities multiply so fast, that the kingdom swarms with them. They are become a perfect nuisance, from their number and familiarity. In hot weather they come into the houses of the *Europeans*, five or six at a time, and creep up the chairs, benches, tables, and the beds; in which last they sometimes continue several days, and till they have brought forth young. Yet such is the veneration in which the natives hold them, that it would be running the utmost hazard to attempt to dislodge them. *Bosman* relates, that a snake had taken up its habitation on a beam directly over the table where he used to eat. Here it continued for a fortnight, to his great uneasiness. But though it was within reach, no one durst presume to touch, much less to remove it. Some days after, *Bosman* had the chief persons of the court at dinner with him. Speaking of snakes, he turned his eyes to that above their heads, and remarked to the company, that the poor *Fetiche* over them, not having eat for several days, must be ready to perish with hunger, and was imprudent in not changing his quarters. They replied, that though he might not have observed it, yet the snake knew well enough how to come at his share of the provision. ^b

THIS raillery was carried no farther at this time; but *Bosman*, going to court soon after, told the king, that one of his *Fetiches* was bold enough to eat at his table for fourteen days, without apology or consideration; and that it was but reasonable he should be paid board for the maintenance of the deity. If this was not done, he should be under the necessity, he said, of dismissing this hard intruder. The king, delighted with this pleasantry, agreed to the proposal, and accordingly ordered a fat ox immediately to be sent to the *Dutchman's* house. ^c

The Whidane
cannot
bear to hear
the snake
ridiculed.

If the snake is trod on, it stings or bites, but either is quite innocent; nay, the negroes have a notion, that the sting is a sovereign specific against venomous serpents. When the *Europeans* want to get rid of the company of the natives, they begin blaspheming against the groveling god; which effectually answers their purpose: the negroes stop their ears, and hurry with the utmost trepidation out of the house. But though they pass over this freedom in an *European*, if a negroe was to take the same liberties, the consequence would be fatal. If a fire should happen, and a snake be burnt, the accident is heard with horror by the natives. They stop their ears, and give money, by way of atoning for the crime of omission they have been guilty of in not taking more care of the god. They farther believe, that the burnt snake will again return to life, and signally punish the carelessness of those who occasioned the calamity ^d.

The excessive
regard in
which priests
are held.

The power and
artifice of the
priests.

THE service of religion is divided between both sexes. The priests and priestesses are so much respected, that their very office is a protection for all crimes. However, the present king once broke through this custom, with the consent of all his nobles. A priest having engaged in a conspiracy against the state and the king's person, he was seized, condemned, and put to death, together with a number of his associates. These *Feticheres*, or priests, have, according to *Atkins*, a chief, little less respected than the king. This power frequently balances that of the monarch; because the notion that he converses familiarly with the chief *Fetiche*, gives him, in the opinion of the natives, the power of doing them good or evil, either in extremes. Of this superstitious veneration the crafty priest knows how to make his advantage; equally obliging the prince and the subject to a subservience on his wants. This high dignity is here- ^e ^f ^g

^a Ibid. Etiam BARROT, p. 391. DES MARCH. *ibid*.

^b DES MARCH. tom. v. lib. 10. c. 4.

ditary

- a dietary in the same family ; to which is annexed that of one of the lords of the court, and government of a province. All the other priests are subject to his jurisdiction. The sacerdotal tribe is exceeding numerous ; and the males enjoy it by birthright. Their bodies are filled with marks, and the cicatrices of certain incisions, made on them in their infancy. Their habit differs in nothing from that of the common people ; though, when their circumstances can afford it, they have the privilege of wearing the dress peculiar to the nobility. They have no determinate revenues or salaries ; yet their income is very great, arising from fraud, ignorance, and superstition. They trade, like other negroes ; and, by reason of the number of their women, children, and slaves, they are able to cultivate large plantations, feed a multitude of cattle, breed slaves, and sell them to vast advantage ; methods which
- b equally augment their power and raise their fortunes ; however, their most certain resources consist in the credulity of the people, whom they pillage, by their artifices, at discretion. One shall see whole families, nay villages, ruined by their cruel extortion. Most of the nobility, who have understanding, spirit, and no religion, regard them as vile and impudent impostors : but their sentiments they are forced to utter with great caution ; for in this country poison is the priestly weapon, no less terrifying than the anathema of the conclave has been in the blind and ignorant ages of Christianity. They pretend a great regard for the *Europeans*, in order to gain their confidence ; but their sentiments are very wide of their professions. The timid superstition of the people, and the influence they have acquired by the *Fetiche*, the grand instrument of their hypocrisy, afford them an opportunity of committing the blackest
- c crimes, under the pretext of religion and the public good. One would almost think, that the priests of more civilized nations were here delineated.

THE women promoted to the dignity of *Betas*, or priestesses, immediately assume dignity, even though born of slaves and the dregs of mankind. They are equally, often more respected than the priests, and claim to themselves the appellation of *the children of God*. While other females pay the most slavish obedience to the will of their husbands, these arrogate to themselves an absolute and despotic sway over them, their children, and effects. She who yesterday breathed at the pleasure of her lord and master, to-day (such is the force of weak zeal) governs with the pride of an *Eastern* princess, and the arrogance of one unused to power. This makes the men decline those holy matches, and prevent, if possible, their wives being

d raised to that honour they so much covet.

- DES MARCHAIS thus relates the ceremonies observed in the election of priestesses. Every year they chuse a certain number of young virgins ; who are separated from the rest of the sex, and consecrated to the snake. The old priestesses are charged with this business. They begin at the time when the corn first buds forth, retiring first to their habitations, situated at a short distance from the town. Armed with clubs, they fall out from thence like furies ; enter the town, and run about the streets, crying out, *Nigo badiname*, " Stop them ; seize them ! " All the girls from eight to twelve years of age, whom they are able to catch, are their property by law : and, provided they enter not into courts or houses, no one is permitted to resist or oppose them. Their attack is supported by the priests, who, without pity,
- e kill all those who presume to defend themselves from the blows of those remorseless gorgons. The young captives are conducted by those old beldamites to their abodes : their apartments are assigned them, where they are instructed in the mysteries of religion, or rather of fraud, vice, and hypocrisy, and marked with the image of the serpent : the parents are made acquainted with the place of their retirement ; and, far from lamenting their fate, they are overjoyed with the honour done their family, and the good fortune of their daughter ; nay they frequently voluntarily offer to dedicate them to the snake. If the old priestesses should happen to fail of seizing in the city the number of virgins required, they then make excursions into all parts of the kingdom ; which generally continue four or five days. These, in the same manner as those in town, are limited to certain hours of the night.
- f At first the young ladies are treated with abundance of tenderness : they are taught to sing and dance at the sacrifices, and, after a complete education, they are permitted to reside with their fathers, under the restriction of returning at appointed periods to their duty. As for the old priestesses, they are composed of such as have either lost their husbands, or were never married, possessing all the virulence, rancour, and malignity, inseparable from the breast of an old virgin, envying the happiness of others, unworthy of felicity themselves, and, equally hated and despised by all mankind. To conclude this account of religion, to the other accomplishments of the young lady are superadded the arts of love and gallantry. They are taught by the old bawds to wheedle, to toy, and to counterfeit the fits and transports of the most violent passion. Thus they raise the price of their favours, share in the booty,
- g and encourage the girls to compliance, by promising them they shall be amply rewarded in

^a Ibid. Etiam BOSMAN, epist. 26. BARBOT, p. 394.

^b DES MARCHAIS, ubi supra.

Conjectures of
Atkins con-
cerning the ori-
gin of the snake
worship.

the great *Fetiche*'s country; yet, where their interest is not concerned, they are the most vigilant guardians of virgin honour, more out of spite than principle; less from virtue, than envy of those joys of which they can never participate. We shall sum up the whole of this section, with some reflections from *Atkins* concerning the origin of this snake-worship; adding likewise a few lines on the worship of *trees*, the *sea*, and *toads*. This writer, who appears to be an intire stranger to the tradition of the negroes, regards the whole as fabulous, and deduces the superstition from the age of *Solomon*. He thinks it probable, that this monarch's fleet of *Tharshish* coasted from *Ezion-Geber*, at the bottom of the *Red Sea*, round the *Cape of Good Hope*, to *Sophalu*, by some thought *Ophir*, and thence to the *Slave*, the *Gold*, and the *Grain Coasts*. The length of the voyage, and the returns of ivory, gold, and apes, support the probability of the conjecture. From them, he thinks, some traditional story of the *grand serpent*, the deluder of mankind, might be derived, which is farther corroborated, in his opinion, by the analogy between many of their customs and the *Jewish* law¹. But we shall not waste the reader's time in idle conjectures and whimsical fancy-built hypotheses.

As to the worship of trees, toads, and the sea, it is less in esteem than the former. These deities are only used upon less occasions, subordinate to the supreme culture of the snake, but superior to their accidental and transient gods of wood, stone, &c. The sea, however, has solemn offerings made to it, sacrifices, and annual processions; probably arising from the terror of the scene in tempestuous weather; or from the benefits they derive from it, either by fishing or by commerce. Trees are worshipped in a still inferior manner. The respect paid to them would appear to arise chiefly from their excessive veneration for the snake, who usually takes up his abode in groves. Here likewise are built his temples; which seem to give weight to the supposition. In the last class of their great and fixed gods is the *toad*: an animal deified, probably, for the same reason as an ape in *Ægypt*. But farther reflexions we shall leave to the suggestion of the reader.

¹ ATKINS, p. 72.

S E C T. V.

Containing the civil government of the Whidans; their method of punishing crimes, especially adultery; the means by which the king humbles the nobility; crimes attended by fines; laws relative to insolvent debtors; punishments inflicted on murderers; laws concerning succession; revenues of the crown; the military force of Whidah; the extreme veneration of the Whidans for their king; with an account of the climate, soil, produce, &c. of the kingdom; of the revolution brought about in it by the effeminate manners of the natives, the introduction of luxury, and the martial disposition of the king of Dahomay; and, lastly, a geographical description of Ardrah, with the manners and customs of its inhabitants.

The govern-
ment of Whi-
dah.

THE supreme authority here is lodged in the hands of the king and nobles. By their joint concurrence every thing civil and military of consequence to the state is transacted. In criminal cases, the king assembles his council, lays open the case, receives their sentiments, and recapitulates them before he proceeds to judgment. If a majority falls in with his own opinion, he follows it; if otherwise, and the majority should dissent from him, their sentiments determine his verdict; yet has he an absolute power even in this case, as his nobles are generally too polite to differ with their prince^a.

The punishment
of crimes.

Few crimes are made capital in the kingdom of *Whidah*. Murder only and adultery with the king's women are made so by law: although other trespasses against religion and the state are frequently punished with death. Murders are so rare, that in the space of six years only two instances happened in the whole kingdom; and one of these proved merely accidental. The law is extremely rigorous in cases of adultery. This makes the women circumspect in their intrigues; but does not prevent them: their ardour seeming to be increased by the difficulty and hazard. The king's women are above all others cautious; yet of all others the most addicted to gallantry, when an opportunity offers. A few years since a young fellow, in a female habit, was taken in the palace, after having debauched several of the most beautiful princesses. Fearing a discovery, he passed into another quarter of the palace, where

^a DES MARCHAIS, liv. x. c. 6.

a he was found the next day, and taken in bed with a young lady. He was instantly seized and carried to punishment; but the most cruel torments could not oblige him to reveal the names of those who had granted him favours. In the midst of the flames he was observed to smile when he saw those persons, who had fondly embraced him a little before, now the busiest in bringing fuel to the fire that was consuming him. Being asked the reason of a conduct so unreasonable, he declared it; but without betraying those inconstants ^b. The manner of this punishment is described by *Des Marchais* and *Barbot*: but it has something so terrible in the circumstances, that a humane reader will not be displeased if we omit it.

WHEN any of the king's women is proved unfaithful, he leaves it to the rest to pronounce upon her fate. The punishment is seldom the less cruel; for they think they cannot more strongly prove their own fidelity than by the severity of their sentence; besides the corporal torture and death inflicted on the criminal, the women go in bodies of two or three hundred to pillage, spoil, and raze to the ground, the house of the unfortunate person. *Punishment inflicted on adulterers.*

THE king has a very extraordinary manner of humbling the pride of his nobles, when they fall under his displeasure, or when their arrogance is overweening. It is seldom however practised: for though he is despotic, yet does he stand in awe of a body who have so strong an influence over the people. To give a colour of justice to his pretences, he detaches two or three thousand women to ravage the lands of those who are wanting in respect and duty, or who reject reasonable proposals. Such is the veneration for these women, that no one dare presume to touch or oppose them, without adding to the former offence, by a new crime of a more heinous nature, and such as would be condemned by the kingdom in general. Thus the haughty peer finds it necessary either to submit, or be devoured by these legions of female furies, who burn and destroy with a bitterness proportioned to their natural weakness. Almost all other crimes are punished by pecuniary fines; which make no contemptible part of the king's revenue ^c. *The method the king takes to humble nobles.*

WHEN an accusation is unsupported by proofs, the suspected party justifies himself by his *Fetiches*, or by another method of purgation extremely common, and similar to the method used at *Benin*. Notwithstanding the accused is acquitted, after trial, by purgation, yet is he obliged to pay a certain sum into the king's coffers; and *Bosman* takes this to be the origin and cause of continuing the custom. The viceroys have the same power in their governments, and make a perquisite of all fines imposed on criminals. *Barbot* takes notice of a remarkable kind of obligatory custom among them. This method of compact they call *boire dios*, from a mixture of *French* and *Portuguese*. Each of the parties digs a little pit in the ground, which he sprinkles with his blood, and mixing up a little cake of the earth and blood, he exchanges it for that made by the other party: they each swallow the cakes, and hence enter into the most solemn obligation that can be taken. *Fines imposed on accused persons.*

ALTHOUGH credit in trade is seldom given, yet they are sometimes forced to deal in that manner. If the debtor proves insolvent, the king invests a right in the creditor to dispose of him, his children, wives, and effects, to any purchaser who will pay the debt; or a certain part of it. Thus the creditors enjoy a very extraordinary privilege, with which neither the king or the nobles can dispense. If the creditor demands before witnesses the sum due to him three times, and that he is not paid, he may seize upon the first slave he meets, without enquiring whose property it is. This law arises from their great regard for liberty, thinking it more just property should answer the payments of debts, than that freedom should be made the price of folly or youthful extravagance. When the creditor lays hands on his prey, he ought to pronounce audibly in the presence of credible witnesses, "I arrest this slave for a certain sum due to me:" the master of the slave is forced to pay the sum in twenty-four hours, else the creditor may sell him, to pay himself. Thus the master of the slave becomes the debtor, and the creditor generally takes care to seize on the slave of some rich and responsible man. As is the case with all laws, this has its advantages and disadvantages; it preserves liberty to those born free, and his right to the creditor; but then it subjects the rich to the debts of the poor, and obliges the industrious to pay for the indolence of the extravagant ^d. *Their great regard for liberty; in cases of insolvent debtors.*

DES MARCHAIS observes, the *Lex Talionis* is here in use; murder is punished by the death of the murderer; and if a person is maimed or deprived of the use of a limb, if he be hurt, or mutilated in any of his members, the punishment is made to correspond as near as possible to the offence. By strong intercession, the king sometimes alters the sentence of mutilation for banishment. The criminal is sold to the *Europeans*; his family and effects are confiscated to the king; and thus the innocent are involved in the chastisement of the guilty. Incendiaries are punished by fire. The crime is not common in the country; but if theft were punished *Punishment of murderers.*

^b BOSMAN, Epist. 20.^c DES MARCH. ibid.^d BOSMAN, Ep. 19.

with the same feverishness, the kingdom of *Whidab* must have long since been a desert: however, if a thief be convicted of the crime, and unable to make reparation, he is sold for a slave^a.

THE king and nobility have prisons for the confinement of criminals, and slaves to guard and defend them. They agree with the prosecutor for a certain sum for jail-fees, and charge themselves with his security, under the penalty of a certain fine if he escapes.

BEFORE we proceed to treat of the strength, forces, arms, and wars of this kingdom, it may not be disagreeable to the reader, that we give from *Des Marchais* a more particular detail of the manner of the royal succession, education, and other particulars, than we have yet done^f.

A detail from
Des Mar-
chais, of the
right of suc-
cession to the
crown.

THIS historian is extremely circumstantial in all the ceremonies observed; however, we shall extract only such, as in a particular manner merit attention. The crown we are assured is hereditary, passing inviolably to the eldest son; yet the nobles arrogate to themselves the power of choosing one of the younger brethren, upon extraordinary occasions; an instance of which occurred in the year 1725. In all the countries inhabited by negroes, from *Senegal* to the *Rio Volta*, the succession may descend to the children of the sister, notwithstanding the kings are always of the blood royal, and as near a lineal descent as possible. In *Whidab* there is no reserve, but that the crown descend to the first-born of the king, after his accession, those being entirely excluded of an earlier birth. Another law, no less sacred and inviolable, is, that the moment the heir apparent sees the light, the nobles convey him to the province of *Zingbe*, on the frontiers, where he is educated as a private person, without regard to or even knowledge of his rank, quality, and pretensions, or the smallest instruction in the art of government. No one has the liberty of visiting, or being visited by him. Those charged with his maintenance, education it cannot be called, are not ignorant of his birth: but they are prohibited, under pain of death, from giving him the slightest hint of his birth, or from treating him otherwise than as their own child. The king, who at present fills the throne, was found at his father's death attending the hogs of his governor. His surprise was inconceivable, when the nobles made him acquainted with his fortune; nor could they for a long while prevent his imagining it a mere delusion. It is no difficult matter to penetrate into the reasons for so singular a custom. When the young king is called to the government of a kingdom, to whose maxims, policy and laws he is an entire stranger, he is constrained to rely on the advice of his nobles upon all occasions, and in fact to put the reins of state into their hands. Thus their power is perpetual, like their rights to their private estates. The eldest son is always called to the throne; and his ignorance of the world gives the nobles the authority, to him only the name, of a monarch; yet is the king despotic and arbitrary.

THE young king is not crowned upon his accession to the throne; that is, on his arrival from *Zingbe*; for he generally passes several months, and frequently years, before the performance of that ceremony. The nobles, who have the power of fixing the time of coronation, prolong their own; but without being able to exceed seven years, during which interval, the government of the kingdom is wholly in their hands, nor is the king's name so much as mentioned in public acts and instruments; yet is he attended with all the external badges of majesty, without daring to stir out of the palace. At length, when the long expected day for his coronation arrives, he assembles a council of the nobles, and approves their conduct during their administration, rectifying all the laws and acts of the interregnum. A discharge of eighteen pieces of cannon gives notice, at eight at night, that the council is broken up; immediately a shout of joy is spread over the capital, and in a short space communicated to the most remote parts of the kingdom.

NEXT morning the high-priest waits on the king, to remind him of the homage due to the great *Fetiche*, or serpent; telling his majesty, that as it is well known this deity is dumb, he cannot be surprised that he makes known his intentions by the tongue of his minister. If on this occasion he should demand the women most beautiful in the seraglio, and dear to the king, they must be surrendered to him; however, he seldom pushes his authority to so great a length. On the coronation of the present king *Amer*, the high-priest modestly contented himself with an offering of a horse, a cow, a sheep, and a fowl. These animals were sacrificed before the palace, and carried with much ceremony to the most public parts of the city. One each side of the sacrifice were placed two millet-cakes, baked in palm-oil; the high-priest erected with his own hands a staff nine foot long, upon which he hoisted a large silken ensign or flag; the whole ceremony being accompanied by the musick of tabors, flutes, trumpets, and acclamations of the people. After this the carcases were abandoned, a prey to the birds, the negroes being prohibited, under severe penalties and death, to meddle with any part of them. While the victims were thus exposed to

^a DES MARCHAIS, tom. ii. p. 177.

^f Ibid. p. 182.

a public view, the king's women of the third class, or those who from age, or other reasons, were incapable of administering to his pleasure, marched out of the palace under the the escort of a file of musqueteers, and preceded by music. The chief of the women leads up the rear, carrying in her arms the statue of a child, in a sitting posture, which on her arrival at the place of sacrifice, she lays down upon the victims, each of them sing a hymn, which perfectly accords with the instrumental musick, and forms a concert not disagreeable. While they pass, all the people prostrate themselves on the ground, with great devotion and loud shouts, and their return is notified to the king by a general discharge of artillery, which concludes the procession.

Next day, all the nobility croud to the palace, with all the state and magnificence of dress and equipage they can afford; a fine band of musick in great order marches before them, and a great body of men slaves armed behind. They come before the throne, prostrate themselves in a humiliating manner, and retire in the same order they advanced. In the mean while the women abandon themselves to the most riotous mirth; the cannons roar like continued peals of thunder; the whole kingdom is filled with tumultuous joy; and this confused state of things continues for the space of five or six days.

As soon as the nobles have done homage, they dispatch one of their number to the king of *Ardrab*, attended by a splendid retinue, to request of his majesty, to send a certain nobleman of his kingdom, in whose family the honour is hereditary, to crown the king of *Whidab*. This officer of state, with all his retinue, is supported at the expence of the young monarch, and he is treated on his journey with the most profound respect. Two miles from *Xavier*, he meets with horses and carriages to conduct him to the palace, after he has first staid four days in the village nearest the capital. All this time none of his attendants are permitted to enter the city, and it would be death to infringe this custom. Here he receives the compliments of the *Whidan* nobility, who load him with respect and caresses. The king sends him twice every day great quantities of wine and provisions, which are carried by his discarded women, in platters and vessels upon their heads, under a strong convoy, and preceded by musick. This quarantine being performed, the king invites him to the capital, assuring him that he will be received with joy, and have apartments suited to his dignity appointed him in the palace. The *Ardran* nobleman receives the king's message with solemnity, telling the ambassador, that he is all obedience to the commands of the king of *Whidab*, but that he must wait for instructions from his court, relative to the late treaty concerning the reparation of the great gate of *Assen*, the capital of *Ardrab*. On receiving this notice, the king sends commissioners to *Ardrab*, charged with the reparation of the gate; when, upon their return, with a proper officer to certify their having executed the treaty, the *Ardran* nobleman at length enters *Xavier*, and proceeds to the coronation. All the nobility, attended by their usual trains, and prodigious crouds of the populace, go to meet and conduct him to the city, where he is received by several rounds of cannon, the cries of the king's women, and the shouts of the mob. The king congratulates him on his safe arrival, and orders him to be attended by his own officers and servants. Every morning the same compliments are repeated, and on the third day he is admitted to an audience, a ceremony that is conducted with great pomp and solemnity, the *Ardran* preserving his dignity, and talking upon an equality with the king. For the five first days he receives or makes no visits to the nobility, who with the people are busied in processions to the temple of the grand snake, imploring that divinity, that their young master may reign with the goodness, the mildness, and equity, of his predecessors, cultivate trade, observe the laws, and maintain the people in the full exertion of their rights and privileges. This is the labour of the day; the nights are employed at their windows, in singing, dancing, shouting, accompanied by the acclamations of the populace, and continual peals of loud musick and artillery. Strangers, not accustomed to this strange medley and uproar, are in danger of being stunned and confounded with the horrid noise and tumult. On the fifth day in the evening, the people are advertised, by the firing of nine great guns, that the coronation will begin the following day, that the king will appear on his throne in the great court of the palace, and that the gates will be thrown open to all strangers as well as subjects. At the same time, the prince sends a special message to the *European* factors, requesting the favour of their company to assist at the solemnity. The preceding night is spent by the nobility in the company of the *Ardran* ambassador, where the conversation is grave, polite, and easy, interrupted by frequent prayers to the *Fetiché*, by way of interlude; each of them forming an essential part of the ceremony: On the sixth day, at five in the evening (A), the king, attended by some of his favourite women, comes out of the palace.

(A) The reader is here to observe, that *Des Marchais* divides the time probably in the *European* manner; the *Whidanese* being extremely deficient in all divisions and equations of hours, days, weeks, &c. Their

chief, and indeed only rule, is their festivals or markets, held every third day. In this manner they calculate all their periods of time.

They

They are dressed in rich silk robes, taken out of his majesty's wardrobe, or presented to them a by the *European* factors, together with gold necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets, and other valuable trinkets. The king is also decked out in the most magnificent manner, having on his head a gilt helmet, stuck with red and white feathers. In this manner he traverses the great court before the palace, afterwards seats himself on his throne, which is no more than a large two-elbow-chair, on which are painted the arms of *France*, a circumstance that shews it to have been a present from the *West-India* company. *Des Marchais* particularly mentions the order in which the women and nobility stand round him, which, he says, has something more nobly striking than the most august *European* courts. Here the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* factors, have honourable places, and chairs seated for them, while the *Portuguese* director is forced to stand with his head uncovered; and so low has the credit b of this nation sunk at *Whidah*, that if a negro strike a *Portuguese*, the latter has not the liberty of returning the blow; whereas any other *European* may put him instantly to death.

WHAT merits particular notice in this ceremony, is the custom of having two dwarfs standing before the king, who alternately represent to him the qualities of his predecessors, admonish him to follow their example, to make his people happy, and to build his own security and power upon their affections; these little animals concluded their harangue, by wishes for his prosperity, long life, and the happy continuance of his reign. As soon as the introductory ceremonies are finished, the *Ardran* ambassador enters the court, attended by musick, a grand retinue, and repeated discharges of all the artillery in the city. He approaches the throne without any other reverence but a slight bow, or inclination of his head forward. c After a laboured discourse upon the ceremony which he has the honour of performing, he takes in his hand the king's helmet, and turns it towards the people: upon a signal given, the musick ceases, the acclamations and noise are succeeded for a few minutes by a profound silence. Then the *Ardran* pronounces with a loud and clear voice, "People! behold your " king: Be faithful to him; pray for him, and your prayers will be heard by the king of " *Ardrab*, my royal master." After repeating this short speech three times, he puts the helmet on the king's head, and then steps back to prostrate himself, and pay the homage now due to him as a king. The great guns, the musqueteers, the musick, and the acclamations again resume their noise, and the sky is rent with the dreadful demonstrations of joy; the ambassador retires, and the king with his women return peaceably to the palace; d the *Europeans* attend him to the gate, and there take leave with profound respect. All the ornaments used in the ceremony become the property of the *Ardran* nobleman; but as the political superstition of the priesthood drew unhappy presages from that custom, the *Ardran* contents himself with a rich present the king makes, and five slaves, or their value in merchandize: the rest remains with the priests, under the notion of its being consecrated to the *Fetiche*.

A DAY or two after his coronation, the king distributes presents among the nobility of the realm, which are returned by others of much greater value. Five days are spent in rejoicings; and the ceremony terminates with a solemn procession to the *Snake temple*. Upon the whole, the priests never omit an opportunity of profiting by the superstition of the people. All e festivals and public occasions end in offerings to the snake, or rather in perquisites to the artful and cunning ministers of this reptile deity.

Revenues of the crown.

As to the revenues of the crown, *Des Marchais*, without determining the precise sum, assures us, that they amount to a very considerable fund, by the taxes on the people, and the duties on merchandize. Besides this, large sums are got by fines imposed on criminals, and the confiscation of their goods, chattels, and women, whom the officers of the crown sell for slaves. The crown has lands unalienable from it, not only in the vicinity of the capital, but in the remote provinces of the kingdom, and from these the palace is supplied with all necessaries. When the quantities sent in exceed the demand, the surplus is sold to great advantage, and hence arises no inconsiderable part of the revenue. These lands are f cultivated at no expence; so absolute is his power, that the subjects cannot perform their own most necessary affairs, till they have first done the king's business. Their corn lies rotting on the ground, while they are cutting his; and their families would starve while they are supplying the court with superfluities, if the fertility of the soil, and the bountifulness of nature, did not ease the weight of their yoke. These servitudes are performed at stated periods. Nine cannons are discharged as a signal, the day preceding their labour. Next morning at break of day, the nobility conduct the people to the king's palace, where they begin with dancing and musick, which last for a quarter of an hour. One part of this troop is armed for war, and the other with instruments of labour, the scythe, the hook, and the spade. While the people are dancing before the gates of the palace, the nobles receive their g instructions from the king, by his gentleman of the bed-chamber, upon which this body disperses itself to the different employments assigned. All the while they are at work the musick plays, and they keep time by the strokes of the spade, the sweeps of the scythe or hook; their

Servitudes due to the king.

- a their industry is increased by the musick, their spirits sustained, and they would seem indefatigable in their toil. Their labour has all the air of an amusement; and while they are groaning under the chains of servitude, they seem the happiest people on earth. One might apply *Des Marchais's* description of *Whidah* to his own country, which he appears to have in his eye, while he is painting the manners of negroes. In a word, the king would be a powerful monarch, from the greatness of his revenues, the number of his subjects, and the despotism of his government, if he were not a bubble to the politics of his neighbours, and the intrigues of his priests. Besides the immense sums expended in continual wars with *Popos*, in the conquest of *Offra*, in the expences of his court, and in superstition, he maintains a standing force of 4000 men. Altho' he regards his subjects as his slaves, yet when they work for him, *Military force* he is forced to pay them liberally ⁵. This is *Bosman's* account, which differs considerably from what *Des Marchais* relates above.

WHILE *Bosman* presided over the *Dutch* commerce in *Whidah*, the king treated the *Hollanders* with more respect than any other nation; he made them larger presents, conferred extraordinary privileges on them, and supplied them with greater store of the best provisions than he had ever before done foreigners. But this favourable disposition was altered, as soon as the conduct of their trade was committed to the captains of ships, who paid little regard to the manners of a people so refined and polished, putting them on a footing with the other negroes of the coast.

- DES MARCHAIS says, that notwithstanding the person and education of the king were so totally neglected before he ascended the throne, yet no sooner was he crowned, than the people, forgetting that he was a man, worshipped him as a god, and never approached him but with a respect mingled with fear and awe. Such as pay him their compliments in the morning, throw themselves on the ground, kiss the earth thrice, and clapping their hands, pronounce with profound devotion certain words of adoration. After entering the gate, and arriving at the place where the king receives their homage, they repeat the same form of compliment. The nobles of the first rank are sometimes permitted to eat in his presence, but never with him. This honour is reserved for his women. Our author imagines, that the origin of the king's never eating in public was from policy, as if he would persuade his subjects that he lived without nourishment; a notion which must certainly confirm their belief of his divinity; however, he makes no scruple of drinking before all the world ^b.

It is never known in what part of the palace the king sleeps, and if that question is asked of the captain of his guards, or any of those nearest his person, their constant answer is, "do you imagine that the deity sleeps?" The ignorance and low way in which he is always bred, gives him a high relish for pleasure, as soon as he is raised by one step to the dignity of a crown. He lives in the most slothful, luxurious, and debauched effeminacy among his women, without ever seeking or enjoying the conversation of men, or those exercises that could strengthen his mind, and give vigour to his body.

- To conclude this article, *Bosman* observes, that the reigning prince in his time was about fifty years of age, of a middle stature, ordinary countenance, but with eyes full of fire and spirit. This is probably the same prince which latter authors speak of as an elderly person, brisk and lively for his years. He was, says *Bosman*, the most civil and obliging negro ever beheld; but the selfish counsels of some of his flatterers altered his disposition, and made him severe, difficult and harsh in his commerce with the *Dutch*. At first he took whatever they gave him; in the end he became more nice in his choice; and out of ship-loads of merchandize, it was difficult to please him. Thus the merchants, says our author, lost by their traffick with the king; for after he had the best of their goods, it was no easy matter to dispose of the rest separately ⁱ.

- It would be hard to discover the exact number of the king's children by such a number of women; *Bosman* saw but four; three sons and one daughter; all of them handsome, but in particular the eldest. He was the most beautiful negro he had ever seen; but the qualities of his mind did by no means correspond with those of his person; for he was proud, obstinate, and mischievous, insomuch that all men wished he might not succeed to the crown (B). He kept in every quarter of the town certain agents, employed to plunder and steal from the natives and *Europeans*, out of which he received a proportion agreed on; even the king's goods did not escape his rapacious hands. He never stirred abroad but at night; and *Bosman* was honoured with several visits from him at the most unseasonable hours. It was his pride that kept him shut up in the day, because he would not expose himself to the people, nor appear before his father. The second son greatly resembled the king, in the sweetness and openness

⁵ BOSMAN, Epist. 20. DES MARCH. tom. ii. ibid.

^b Auct. sup. citat.

ⁱ Epist. 20.

(B) We are at a loss in what manner to reconcile this with *Des Marchais's* account, of the education of the presumptive heir. *Bosman* saw him at court; but it might possibly be a younger son, mistaken by the people for the eldest.

Civil war in
Whidah.

of his disposition, all the nobility were assiduous in paying him their respects, charmed with the freedom of his manners. From the difference of their tempers, *Bosman* thought it probable that the king's death would be followed by a civil war. A majority of voices could not fail of being on the side of the younger; but the eldest was supported by right, and by the forces of the kingdom, as well as those bands of miscreants he employed for the meanest purposes. All the *Europeans* he doubted not would join the younger brother's party; and this conjecture was verified by facts. The *French*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*, all united to support the cause of the present king against his brother, and were the chief instruments of seating him in his father's throne. If we may credit *Atkins*, he soon lost that sweetness of manners which *Bosman* describes. Soon after he came to the crown, he grew morose, retired, and lascivious in his temper, gross and unweildy in his person; he never went out of the palace, but passed his time in luxury and lust, with no other company than that of his women. *Atkins* alleges, that not having made the people the usual present on receiving the crown, this avarice induced him to conceal himself, in order to save that expence. Others again say, that having never been invested with the sword of state, he could not depend on the allegiance of his subjects, and hence arose the motives for his retired life ^k.

DES MARCHAIS acquaints us, that in 1715, the throne, then vacant, was filled by a new prince, called *Amer*, in prejudice of the birthright of his elder brother; but this assertion he seems to contradict in the following page, where he represents him as drawn from his obscurity, and, from tending the hogs of his guardian, raised to a throne. He ought therefore to be the elder, because, according to the same author, the eldest son alone is bred in that obscure manner. It may therefore be doubted whether it was a new king that was made in 1725, when *Des Marchais* saw the coronation, considering the long interregnum which the laws admit of. *Snelgrave* and *Smith* seem to speak as if the king, who reigned in 1725, had filled the throne for a number of years. They admit that he was one of the grossest and most unweildy men they had ever beheld; but we shall defer the relation of the extraordinary revolution brought about in *Whidah* by the brave king of *Dahomay*, till we have given the natural history of the country ^l.

Climate of
Whidah.

In *Whidah*, the rainy season commences about the middle of the month of *May*, and ends in the beginning of *August*. This is a dangerous and unhealthy time of the year, fruitful in abundance of diseases, both among the natives and foreigners. The rain falls not in showers, but in torrents and deluges; and so warm, that one would imagine it had been heated on a fire. In narrow passages, you are struck with a stream of hot air, enough to cause suffocation; and nothing but perpetual fanning with certain instruments they contrive for that purpose, can render life supportable ^m.

Soil and pro-
duce.

As to the soil of *Whidah*, it consists in general of a rich red mould, fertile, as may be imagined, from the number of crops it produces in a year; however, trees are extremely scarce on the sea-coast, till you pass the *Euphrates*, and those such as bear little or no fruit. Their barrenness prevents not the natives from deifying them; and perhaps this method of consecrating trees, might arise from policy, being desirous by this superstitious regard to multiply them, and thus to prevent their being cut down by natives and foreigners. At a small distance however from the sea, all kind of fruit-trees are found in abundance. Here are citrons, lemons, oranges, tamarinds, guava's, bananas, &c. The palm and pardon trees are the most plentiful; the former is valued for the oil drawn from its fruit; the latter is but in little esteem on any other account than its wood, which is hard, lasting, and capable of receiving a fine polish. They make wine from it; but this liquor is in less esteem than their beer. *European* figs grow well here; and *Bosman* affirms, that the soil and climate are capable of producing every species of fruit, root, and pulse. He made the experiment on cabbages, carrots, turnips, radishes, parslly, and pease, and succeeded to his wish. Indigo is plentiful in this country; and our author believes the sugar-cane might be cultivated to the greatest advantage. They have also a species of the cotton tree which they call *Polon*, peculiar to *Whidah*. It produces a sort of fine down, short, but beautiful, and, if rightly prepared, capable of making fine stuffs and cloths. An *English* factor had a piece died scarlet in the grain, that was greatly admired by all the *Europeans* for its strength, fineness, and incomparable colour, which exceeded any thing they had ever seen in *Europe*. This kind of cotton might be usefully manufactured into hats, which would be at the same time handsome, light, and warm. *Des Marchais* extolls a small kind of fruit, which, according to him, has neither a name, nor peculiar or certain figure. He says it resembles the pip or seed of a pear; and if chewed without swallowing, communicates a pleasant and sweet taste to the sharpest acids and bitters. Hence it would seem to be the *Kola*, of which *Bosman* speaks in his account of the *Gold Coast*. Potatoes the natives commonly use for bread, of which they have prodigious quantities. They have *yams* likewise, but neither in such plenty, or of so good a kind, as on

A beautiful
kind of cotton
that grows
here.

^k ATKINS.

^l DES MARCH. tom. ii.

^m PHILLIPS'S VOY. p. 219.

- a other parts of the western coast. Several sorts of small beans are produced in great abundance; of these, one kind is called *acraes*, of which they make oil cakes, a pleasant and wholesome food, to those who are accustomed to it. *Whidab* also bears onions and ginger; but the first especially is scarce. *Des Marchais* gives us a particular, but indistinct account of a species of pea, that grows upon a shrub about twenty inches in height, greatly resembling the red pepper shrub. The form of the little twigs, the rind and the leaves, have so strong a resemblance, that it is difficult to distinguish them. This shrub bears no flower, and the pease are inclosed in a pod as tough as parchment. The pod grows at the bottom of twigs, which sprout out from the roots, whence the plant draws its nourishment. This pod or sack commonly contains from 120 to 150 pease, tender, easily digested, and of a flavour and taste equal to
- b *European* pease.

WHIDAH produces three sorts of grain. The first in rank and esteem is the *milbio*, or small *Grain sown twice every year at Whidah.* maize, the cultivation of which forms the chief object of the husbandman. It is sown twice every year; but the increase is much greater at one season than at another. The earth in the plentiful season is so thick with it, that scarce a foot-path is left untilld in the whole country. Notwithstanding the immense quantities produced, yet it scarce holds out from one season to another; so populous is the country. Another reason is, that a great part of it is run to *Popo*, notwithstanding the severe laws prohibiting its exportation. Hence it is, that one barren year occasions an almost incredible famine in *Whidab*; freemen have often sold themselves for food; others have discharged their slaves, and given them freedom and hunger, because they were

c unable to maintain them. An *English* ship, in *Bosman's* time, purchased his cargo of slaves for provisions, with which he happened to be well stocked.

THEIR next sort of grain is the great *milbio*, good in its kind, but not used by the natives for bread. This great maize is intirely applied to brewing; of it they make beer; and no more is sown than they think necessary for that purpose. The third sort of *milbio* grows not upon stalks, but in ears, like barley. Its grain is of a reddish colour; and what is remarkable, it takes eight or nine months to ripen. This grain is not used for bread, but mixed with great *milbio* in brewing; by which they imagine the beer is improved and strengthened. All the women are well skilled in the art of brewing; and one particular sort of *Whidan* beer is equal to any we meet with in *Europe*. The common beer is sold for three pence a bottle; but

d for the same quantity of the best you must pay a rixdollar. Even the slaves here drink nothing but beer. Their water, which they draw from wells, is esteemed unhealthy on account of its extreme coldness. It has often indeed been found to produce fevers, especially the free use of it in hot weather.

As to the animals of *Whidab*, it is too populous, and well cultivated, to afford a retreat for wild beasts. Elephants, buffaloes, and tygers, are found in the mountains, which divide this from the interior country. Some deer and hares are seen in *Whidab*, but in no great numbers; and they probably descend from the high countries, without making this their constant residence. *Des Marchais* says that their venison is greatly inferior to what he has eat in *Europe*; but, says he, they are fully recompensed by the goodness and abundance of their apes, which

e are the fattest and most beautiful in the world. No flesh is more esteemed at *Whidab* than apes flesh; it sells at a higher price than mutton, and is always preferred to it. Even the *European* sailors soon overcome their prejudices, and eat it with a peculiar goût. The oxen, cows, sheep, goats, hogs, and all tame quadrupeds, differ in nothing from those of the other coasts. They are in general fatter, on account of the fine meadows and rich pasture in which they live the whole year. Their horses are but indifferent, slight in the make, easily fatigued, and of a bad carriage, probably owing to their little skill in breaking them.

THE whole country is covered with game of various sorts. Their tame fowl, as geese, ducks, hens and turkeys, are reasonable and good. Turtle-doves are so numerous, that a good marksman may shoot above a hundred in a day. Besides these, they have an infinite number

f of birds, valuable only for their beauty. Among these is the *Crown Bird*, which is here less elegant than on the *Gold Coast*. The kingdom of *Whidab* is every-where stocked with such variety of those charming feathered animals, that many of them have yet obtained no proper names; and are distinguished only by their colour, size, or some such characteristic. Birds of prey however are scarce.

WE shall conclude this account of the kingdom of *Whidab*, with a short relation of their wars with the powerful and politic king of *Dabomay*, that terminated in their ruin, and the subversion of their liberty. This relation we shall chiefly extract from *Snelgrave*, who was an *Cause of the revolution in Whidah.* eye-witness of most of the transactions, and upon the spot at the time the revolution was brought aboutⁿ. The wealth of this nation, arising from the fertility of the soil, and the flourishing

g state of its commerce, was attended with the usual effects of great riches. Effeminacy and luxury had crept among the once industrious and active inhabitants; the mind was debauched

ⁿ SNELGRAVE, p. 21, & seq. Etiam PREVOST, hist. generale des voy. tom. iv. l. 8.

with prosperity, and emasculated with pleasure, ease, and indolence. Hence it was, that the king of *Dabomay* was invited to the conquest of a nation, no less easy than valuable in the acquisition. The king of *Whidab*, who had mounted the throne at the age of fourteen years, left the government intirely in the hands of the nobility of the court, and abandoned himself to his women, to pleasure and indolence. The nobility, in order to possess a more unlimited and secure authority, encouraged him in his natural disposition, and flattered all the passions of the young prince, with a truly *European* refinement and policy. He was thirty years of age at the time when this revolution happened, *an.* 1727: but so far was he from meddling in public affairs, that he indulged every appetite with the same freedom he had done in his more boyish years. At his court he kept some thousands of women, and never permitted himself hardly to be approached by his own sex.

In this situation were things at *Whidab*, when the king of *Dabomay*, an inland prince, sent ambassadors to the king of *Whidab*, desiring permission that his subjects might trade to the sea-coasts, with an offer of paying a yearly tribute of a certain number of slaves, or at least a certain duty upon every slave, to be disposed of either to the *European* shipping, or to the natives of the coast. His request was denied, with a haughtiness that enraged him, and occasioned that bold and resolute prince to vow revenge. These menaces were however disregarded by the king of *Whidab*. *Snelgrave* relates, that, having occasion to wait on his majesty, he acquainted him with the great preparations for war making by the king of *Dabomay*: but the reply of that infatuated monarch was, “that he would not cut off his head, according to the custom of the country, but reduce him to the quality of a slave, and employ him in the meanest and most servile offices.” How different was the event! but how agreeable to his weak and foolish conduct!

Their wars
with the king
of Dahomay.

TRURO AUDATI, prince of *Dabomay*, was a brave and politic monarch, who, in the space of a few years, had extended his conquests towards the sea as far as *Ardrab*, an interior country, but the next in position to *Whidab*. He now proposed to sit down in peace, to enjoy and secure his conquests, had not the above accident rekindled his ambition, and forced him to take arms. To this was superadded another circumstance that hastened the catastrophe of *Whidab*. The king of *Ardrab* had a brother, a prince of great hopes, whom he treated with great rigour and severity. This the young *Hassar* could not longer endure with patience; and, finding himself unable to make a sufficient party in the kingdom to shake off the yoke and procure his liberty, he had recourse to *Truro Audati*; promising him a large sum of money, if he would revenge the insults, indignities, and gross injustice, under which he laboured. Nothing more was necessary to encourage that ambitious and wise prince, who entered so heartily into the young *Hassar*'s cause, as if he had been actuated by motives of sympathy and compassion. His designs were not long a secret to the king of *Ardrab*; who, in order to ward against the impending stroke, had recourse for assistance to the king of *Whidab*: it being the common interest of both kingdoms to oppose the growing power of *Truro Audati*. The *Whidanese*, however, were too much addicted to their ease to attend to the danger that threatened their neighbour, and of consequence themselves. *Audati* was suffered to enter *Ardrab* with an army of 50,000 men, to cut in pieces the army that attempted to resist, and make prisoner the king; who, according to the savage custom of those nations, was instantly beheaded. There was at the court of *Ardrab*, at that time, one Mr. *Bullfinch Lamb*, an *English* factor, sent by the governor to expedite some accounts between the king and him. A large balance was due to the king; and he detained *Lamb*, as a pledge for the payment, treating him for the two years of his residence with great kindness and civility. He was now presented to the conqueror *Audati*, who expressed the utmost surprize and satisfaction at the sight of a white man; ordered him to be conducted to his court; and an house, domestics, and women, to be appointed him. After having kept him for three years in this situation, he returned him to the factory, loaded with gold and rich presents. During his residence here he constantly dissuaded the king from his design of invading *Whidab*, which he represented as a numerous and potent kingdom, accustomed to fire-arms, and strongly connected with the *Europeans*, who would not fail to exert themselves in their quarrel. After *Lamb*'s departure, the politic *Audati* employed his spies in *Whidab*; and from them learnt a true account of the divisions, the sloth and indolence that reigned; a piece of intelligence which determined him no longer to defer the intended invasion. He began his attack upon the most northern province of the kingdom. Here an *Appragbab*, or Negro chief, ruled, in whom the government was hereditary. The *Appragbab* immediately demanded succours from the king; but he had enemies at court, who wished his ruin, and rendered the king deaf to his remonstrances. Seeing himself abandoned, he took the resolution of submitting to *Audati*: and his voluntary homage procured him favourable and mild terms from the conqueror. After this, a free passage was open to the kingdom of *Whidab*, and even to *Sabi*, the capital; there being no other obstruction than a river, which ran on the north side of the city. The king of *Dabomay* encamped on the opposite banks, not doubting but the passage would be disputed: in this, however, he was mistaken;

King of Da-
homay con-
quers Ardrab.

The king of
Dahomay
invades and
conquers Whi-
dah.

^a mistaken; the effeminate *Whidanese* placing their security in their numbers and gods, without thinking any farther precautions necessary. In the morning they met their priests on the banks of the river, and there sacrificed to the grand serpent; after which they returned to the city, fully assured of the efficacy of what they had done to stop the progress of the enemy.

THE first step taken by *Audati* was to send to the *Europeans* an assurance, that if they remained neutrals, they should not only be treated with kindness, but their trade likewise freed from those duties and restrictions at present laid upon it by the king of *Whidab*: if, on the contrary, they joined his enemy, and took up arms against him, they must expect all the horrors of war, and the most cruel effects of his resentment. This declaration threw the *Europeans* into the utmost perplexity and consternation. Some proposed retiring to their forts on the sea-coast, some miles distant from *Sabi*, and there wait the event. Others again apprehended that this retreat would irritate the king of *Whidab*, as setting a bad precedent to his subjects: these were therefore inclined to stay in the capital, and this proposal was determined on.

TRURO AUDATI, perceiving that the defence of the river was committed to the *Fetiches*, or ^{The weak and superstitious conduct of the} snakes, detached 200 men, to sound the fords. This body, gaining the opposite shore, without any resistance, marched immediately towards the capital, attended with a great number of warlike instruments. The king of *Whidab*, hearing of their approach, fled precipitately out of the palace, and retired, with all his women and court, to a maritime island, disjoined by the river from the continent (C). The rest of the inhabitants, having no canoes to transport them, ^c were drowned in thousands, attempting to swim across. Others, amounting to one half of the people, took shelter in the woods and thickets; where, endeavouring to avoid the sword, they perished by famine. The detachment of *Dabomans*, that had entered the city, meeting with no resistance, set fire to the palace, and sent word to their king, that nothing stood in his way from approaching the capital. Upon this, the whole army began their march, and, crossing the river, were fully persuaded of what nothing less than ocular proof could convince them; viz. that a whole nation had deserted their liberty and property, their wives, children, and gods, without one attempt to resist the enemy. To the latter the *Dabomans* by no means paid the regard and veneration with which they were worshipped by the *Whidanese*: for, finding them tame and numerous, every house being filled with snakes, they took them up ^d by the middle, and jeeringly desired them, if they were gods, to speak, and defend themselves. As the snakes made no reply, they cut off their heads, gutted, and broiled them upon charcoal; saying, "they had never before dined upon divinities; but as *they* had often "feasted upon human sacrifices, it was but reasonable they should treat in their turn."

IN the beginning of the year 1729, *Snelgrave* found the unhappy king of *Whidab* in that miserable island, where, on the approach of the enemy, he had taken shelter. Here he led a ^{The king of Whidab retires to a desert island.} deplorable and destitute life, in a poor village, barren, sandy, and void of every necessary of life. *Snelgrave*, taking pity on his sad reverse of fortune, waited upon him, with such presents as he thought would be most acceptable, which the fugitive king received with great satisfaction, expressing his gratitude by a present of a goat, the only effects of value of which ^e he was possessed. He was attended only by one of his *Cabocoers*, the most faithful of all his subjects, who had never deserted him in his misfortunes, and preferred his honour, gratitude, and loyalty, to all the advantages he could receive from subjecting himself to the conqueror, and forsaking his native prince: a rare example of fidelity and attachment in a courtier! All besides had paid their submission to the victorious king of *Dabomay*, and received the yoke without murmur.

AFTER having possessed himself of the capital, and received the obedience of the chief men of *Whidab*, *Audati* returned to the more complete conquest of *Ardrab*, and to prosecute a war ^{An attempt to restore the king.} he had been engaged in with the king of *Yos*, the ally of *Ardrab*. Some losses he had here sustained, and the busy disposition of an *European* factor at *Jachen* had nearly occasioned a ^f revolution in *Whidab*, and restored the lawful prince to the throne. When governor *Wilson*, in July 1729, had quitted *Whidab*, he left the management of the *English* affairs in the hands of one *Testesole*, a foreigner, but of what nation is uncertain. This man had resided a great number of years in *Guiney*, supplying by experience what he fell short of in judgment, moderation, and prudence. Although he had made frequent visits to the king of *Dabomay*, and was always received with affability and particular distinction, yet the notion he entertained of his weakness after his late losses, and from too extended conquests, made him project the scheme which had nearly terminated in his ruin and that of the *English* establishment in *Whidab*. He communicated to the king of *Popo* his design of restoring the king, and was confirmed by him in his intention.

(C) This island, which the king pitched upon for his asylum, is upon the borders of the kingdom of *Popo*, the north, north-east, and north west it is surrounded by a river (1). which joins the kingdom of *Whidab* on the west. On

(1) Vide Smith, p. 92.

The politic
conduct of the
king of Dahomay.

Since the late revolution, the chanel of commerce between the kingdoms of *Whidab* and *Popo* had been wholly blocked up : nothing therefore could be more agreeable to the king of *Popo*, than a project that promised the restoration of the king of *Whidab*, and the usual commerce between the nations. He not only encouraged *Testefole* to prosecute his plan, but promised him powerful assistance in executing it. Accordingly they raised an army of 5000 men, under the command of the deposed king, and his faithful *Cabocoer Offu*. The king of *Dahomay* was at this time busied in repairing his cities, and settling the conquered country of *Ardrab* : it was a long time before he was apprised of the revolt, the news of which he received with the utmost astonishment ; wondering that a prince so negligent in defending his rights, should attempt by force of arms to regain them. He was now in no condition to undertake a fresh war : he had buried a great number of his men while he was encamped in the marshes of *Los* : he had lost a great number of his troops in a battle fought with that prince ; and now he had detached the greater part of the remaining forces to the different sea-coasts, to dispose of the prisoners he had made in the war. However, he fell upon a stratagem to deliver himself out of this extremity, no less happy in the contrivance than successful in the event. Assembling a great number of women, he had them cloathed and armed as men. He formed them into companies, giving to each their proper officers, colours, and music. This female army he put in motion against the enemy, the first line of every company being composed of men, the better to deceive, and likewise, if necessary, to sustain the first shock of the *Whidanese*. The news of this march was soon carried to the *Whidan* camp, where it raised a consternation proportioned to the suddenness of the event, the deceit put upon the troops by *Testefole*, and the natural timidity and effeminacy of the soldiers. All of them abandoned their colours, their king, and their fidelity : nor could all the endeavours of that unfortunate prince bring them back to their duty. In this extremity he was forced a second time to retire to his barren and desolate island, and *Testefole* took sanctuary in the *English* fort, whither he was pursued to the trenches by the *Dahoman* women, and a considerable number of his men cut off. He was soon after made prisoner in the *French* fort, carried, bound hand and foot, to the king, punished with the most cruel tortures, and, lastly, put to death : a punishment which his rash and impetuous, as well as disrespectful, conduct to the king of *Dahomay* richly merited (D). In this manner does the once famous kingdom of *Whidab* remain to this day : a province dependent on the king of *Dahomay*, governed by a viceroy ; but in the full and free use of their antient religion, laws, and government. The fate of this kingdom furnishes a striking lesson to all commercial states, how they suffer luxury, the natural concomitant of wealth, to creep among the people. It may, as a judicious modern essayist observes, help to civilize and refine the manners ; but it at the same time weakens and debauches the mind. Luxury may introduce the arts, and improve science ; but it will surely enervate the genius by excess, ruin the morals, excite at once a spirit of avarice and profusion, destroy public spirit and patriotism, confining our whole views to the gratifications of our unruly passions, and the means of supporting our pleasures, at the expence of honour, honesty, liberty, religion, and every thing that can or ought to be dear to a man.

BEFORE we enter upon our account of the kingdom of *Ardrab*, we shall conclude this section with a few particulars relating to the king of *Dahomay* (E). When his army entered *Sabi*, they were shocked at the sight of some *Europeans*, who remained there, not daring to approach them, their complexion and dress being so different from any thing they had ever beheld ^m.

A short sketch
of the politics,
strength, and
manners of
the Dahomans,
with
a description
of the king.

NOTWITHSTANDING the resemblance of symmetry, they could not be persuaded they were men, till they heard them speak, and were assured by the *Whidanese*, that these were the merchants who purchased all the slaves that were sold in *Guiney*. As soon as their understandings were informed, and their prejudices removed, their respect ceased. They seized upon *Duport*, the *French* factor, robbed him of his watch and money, conveying him and some other white men, *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*, all prisoners to the camp. Of this number was *Jeremy Tinker*, who a few days before had resigned the government of affairs to *Duport*, with an intention of sailing for *England*. The *Sieur Pereira*, of all the *Europeans*, made his escape out of *Sabi*, and arrived at the *French* factory at *Jachen*.

^m The whole of this account, extracted from the journal of SNELGRAVE, is printed in PREVOST's collection, tom. iv.

(D) While the *Dahoman* army surrounded the fort at *Jachen*, several overtures for a peace were made by the king, all of which *Testefole* rejected, with an insolence little becoming a conqueror, much less a petty factor, blocked up in his fort by a potent monarch. One day, the *Dahoman* ambassador being with him, in order to bring to reason that imprudent man, some words arose, upon which *Testefole* struck the ambassador ; saying at the same time, that were his king in his power, he would use him after a different manner. This affair being told to the king of *Dahomay*, he replied, with

more than usual composure, " this man must certainly have some very extraordinary reason for his enmity to me. Is it that he is unable to repay the many favours and civilities I have conferred on him ? " An answer that ought to be written in golden characters.

(E) *Snelgrave*, we believe, is the only writer who gives any account of this prince : we shall therefore relate from him all that is known concerning a monarch so powerful. The situation of his kingdom is intirely unknown, it lying far up the country, north of *Ardrab*.

a ON the following day they arrived in the camp four miles distant from *Sabi*, where they were separated according to their different nations, and ill treated for some days. At length they were brought into the king's presence, who graciously removed their fears concerning the consequences of the war; promising, they should have no reason to be sorry for the revolution brought about in the kingdom of *Whidab*. After this he set them at liberty, without ransom, permitting them to return to their several forts. He presented the *English* and *French* governors with some slaves; assuring them, that his intention was, the moment he had established his conquests, to cultivate trade, to render commerce flourishing, and to give the *Europeans* peculiar testimonies of his friendship and regard.

b SNELGRAVE, after passing a few days with the *French* and *English* on the banks of the river, proceeded to *Jachen*, a town situated about seven leagues eastward of *Sabi*, where the *English* and *French* have factories. It has a district stretching about three miles along the coast, a good road for shipping, and the only harbour by which *Europeans* have a communication with *Ardrab*. It is governed by an hereditary prince, paying a yearly tribute to the monarch of *Ardrab*. When the king of *Dabomay* became master of that country, the prince of *Jachen* paid him his submission, with an offer of the same tribute he had yearly paid to *Ardrab*: a conduct that was greatly approved by *Truro Audati*: in consequence of which he remitted part of the tribute. After ravaging, plundering, and destroying all the other countries he had conquered, the politic *Audati* imagined he might render the natives of *Jachen* useful to his subjects, by instructing them in the mysteries of trade. He had now opened a path to the sea: but still, without knowledge in commerce, all the blood he had spilt would be of little use to the wealth and happiness of his people. *Jachen* had always been the rival of *Whidab* in trade: the latter being overturned, all the commerce, which before had been in the hands of both, could now be engrossed by *Jachen* alone, or rather by the *Dabomans*, who would always preserve the right of conquest over the ports, and of course the greater share of the traffick. Such were the views of this wise prince, in depriving the one of their trade, while he encouraged and supported the other in all their privileges, and whatever could promote a spirit of industry and commerce.

THE following extract from the journal of *Snelgrave* may not be unacceptable to the reader. We were carried, says he, to the camp in litters, placed on the shoulders of six Negroes. d Nothing could exceed in beauty the prospect the country afforded, if you did not on every side perceive the devastation and ravages of war. Not only the ruins of towns and villages were continually present to the eye, but heaps of bones, the remains of those unhappy victims of ambition and avarice. When we arrived within a quarter of a mile of the camp, a messenger came to us, with compliments from the king; advising us to be of good courage, and to pay his majesty the respect due to so great a prince. On our arrival in the camp, we were delivered into the custody of a superior officer, bearing the title of captain, and surrounded with guards, armed with guns, naked swords, targets, and accompanied by a standard. They made such a number of ridiculous grimaces and contortions of the muscles of the face, that it was scarce possible to avoid laughing, and utterly so to penetrate into their designs. Their actions growing e still more absurd and obscure, when the captain, attended by two other officers, came up to us, with their swords drawn; the points of which they applied to their naked breasts, skipping, leaping, and shaking their heads, for some time. This ceremony ended, they resumed a more composed air, congratulating us on our arrival, and poured out a cup of palm wine, to the king's health: after which we were conducted to our tents, under an escort of 500 men, preceded by a band of music.

THE camp was pitched near *Assen*, which had been the capital of *Ardrab*, but now a large pile of rubbish and ruins. The victorious army was lodged in tents, composed of the branches of trees, covered with straw, of the form of a bee-hive, but large enough to contain ten or a dozen soldiers. After the captain had left the *Europeans* in their tent, with a guard placed at f a small distance, he went directly to the king, to give an account of his commission. Next day a large tent, surrounded by pallisadoes, was erected in the middle of the camp: hither the *Europeans* were ordered to be brought; and to prevent the croud from incommoding them, a proclamation was published, prohibiting them, under pain of death, from assembling round the pallisadoes. This regard for their safety and ease gave the *Europeans* great joy. They dined in the large tent, exposed to the view of the whole camp; but now, being secure of their lives, they sustained no other inconvenience than what arose from the myriads of flies that swarmed round them, it being impossible to convey a bit of meat into one's mouth that was not loaded with those vermin. Soon after dinner the captain returned, to conduct the *Europeans* to the king. In their way they saw a scaffolding, covered with human heads; and, upon enquiry, g they were informed by their interpreter, that those heads were all that remained of 4000 prisoners the *Dabomans* had sacrificed in the space of three weeks. A piece of information that struck the *Europeans* with horror and astonishment! Those unhappy persons were chiefly *Whidane*; among whom were several of the nobility, who had basely deserted their king, and reaped

reaped this reward of their treachery and pusillanimity. The *Europeans* were conducted thro' a large porch into a wide square, filled with houses, the walls of which were of mud. Here they were made to sit down upon turf-seats, and presented by the captain with a cow, a goat, and a sheep ; to which he added a compliment, that his majesty was sorry it should be out of his power, amidst the din and tumult of arms, to treat them in a manner consistent with his affection and esteem : a compliment and usage that seems to contradict what our author before asserted. Upon this occasion they had not the honour of being presented to his majesty : they were permitted, however, to gratify their curiosity in regard to every particular about the court. As they went out at the porch, in order to return to their tents, they were met by four handsome, lusty Negroes, armed with a fusée upon their shoulders, a naked sword in their hands, and their necks adorned with collars of human teeth, which hung over their breasts and shoulders. They were told by their interpreter, that these were heroes of the *Daboman* nation, who were permitted to deck themselves with the teeth of the enemies they had slain in battle ; in the number of which consisted the difference of their rank and quality. *Snelgrave* desired the interpreter to compliment them in the name of the *Europeans*, and to assure them that they looked upon them as the bravest of men : to which they replied, with great politeness, that they only claimed the next rank to the white men, whom they greatly esteemed.

Two days after they received orders to prepare themselves for an audience of the king ; when they were conducted to the same square they had seen before. Here they found his majesty seated on a throne, raised high for the occasion, and set off with the spoils of the royal palace at *Sabi*. A fine silk canopy, supported by four beautiful women, was held over his head, to defend him from the scorching heat of the sun, while other females fanned him, and drove away the flies. The women were richly clothed from the girdle to the heels, the upper part of the body being intirely naked, after the fashion of the country. On their arms they wore gold bracelets of great value, set with jewels, necklaces of the same metal, studded with precious stones, and pretty little ornaments, peculiar to the country, interwoven with their hair. These consisted chiefly of pebbles and crystals, of various colours, ranged with great taste, and in a manner that set off their lustre to great advantage. A number of other fossils and gems they used, which were brought from the interior parts of *Africa*. Our author observes, that most of the diamonds he saw were small, but of a fine and delicate water, exceeding any imported from the kingdoms of *Golconda* and *Visapore*.

As to the king, he was dressed in a robe of silk, flowered with gold, and sweeping the ground behind with a long train. On his head he wore an *European* hat, embroidered, and sandals on his feet. When the *Europeans* approached within twenty paces of him, he made a motion for them to halt, and bid them, by his interpreter, a hearty welcome to his dominions. After giving *Snelgrave* assurances of his protection, he ordered them to be seated ; and calling for some wine, drank their healths, desiring that the cup might go round. While they were thus employed, eight hundred prisoners were brought into the camp, from a country called *Tusso*, distant six days journey from *Ardrab*. This people, while the king of *Dabomay* was employed in the conquest of *Whidab*, had attacked 500 of his troops, sent to escorte twelve of his women and some treasure to *Dabomay*. The *Tussos*, after routing the convoy, put the women to death, and seized on the treasure : an insult which *Truro Audati* hastened to revenge, as soon as he was disengaged from the *Whidan* war. A strong detachment from his army was sent against them, which meeting with the enemy, intirely defeated them, and made prisoners the unfortunate persons now led into the court. The sight of those wretches going to be sacrificed could not fail to excite emotions of pity, though their crime was of such a nature as little merited compassion. A certain number of them was chosen by the king to be offered up as victims to the *Fetiches*, and the manes of those women they had basely murdered ; the rest were kept as slaves, for the use of the king and court, or sold to the *Europeans*. All the soldiers who were on this expedition were rewarded for their services, receiving from the hands of their officers *cowris* to the amount of twenty shillings for a male slave, and twelve for a female. The same soldiers brought likewise into the middle of the camp some thousand heads of those they had slain in battle ; for each of which they were paid a certain sum of money.

ALL the time the king continued in the great square, the nobility lay prostrate on the ground, without presuming to approach nearer to him than twenty paces, or hardly to lift up their faces, unless they were spoken to. Those who had any thing to communicate to him first kissed the ground with profound reverence, and then whispered in the ear of an elderly lady, who stood on the right hand of his throne, whose business it was to convey the request, information, or whatever it was to the king. This day his majesty made presents to his principal officers and women of above 200 slaves ; which royal bounty was proclaimed over the camp, and echoed by the joyful shouts and acclamations of the soldiery. The last ceremony which our author saw was the most extraordinary of the whole. Two Negroes came before his majesty, carrying a vessel filled with grain, the quantity amounting to at least six gallons. After setting it down on the ground, they fell upon their knees, and then, without any apparent concern, began eating

a eating the grain in handfuls, so fast that the whole was consumed in a few minutes. *Snelgrave* was told by the interpreter, that the intention of this ceremony was purely to amuse the king, and that the poor wretches never long survived this inhuman diversion : however there never were wanting a number of candidates for the honour of succeeding them. Dinner then was served up ; during which the prince of *Jachen*'s brother entered the tent of the *Europeans*, in the utmost fright and disorder. He had just met the unhappy *Tuffos* going to be sacrificed : his ears and heart were penetrated with their piteous cries, and himself melted into the tenderest compassion ; nothing being so horrible and shocking to a native of the sea-coast as that monstrous practice of the interior nations, of sacrificing human victims, and feeding upon the flesh of their own species. This barbarous usage is familiar to the *Dahomans*. When *Snelgrave* reproached the *Whidanese*, for having permitted themselves to be conquered by those savages, they answered, that it was not possible to resist such canibals ; and, when they were once dead, it did not much signify whether their bodies were devoured by vultures or by men.

SOME of the *Europeans* had the cruel curiosity to go and see these sacrifices performed ; and to their account we owe the knowledge of the manner in which this savage ceremony is conducted. The first who made his appearance was a Negro, of a majestic air, robust, and handsome symmetry, about fifty years of age. His hands were bound behind him ; but in his face he bore no marks of fear or grief, and his whole deportment was that of a conqueror, rather than a slave going to be sacrificed. A *Dahoman* priest standing upon the scaffold, pronounced over his head certain mysterious words ; after which the victim was mounted up, and his head at one blow severed from his body ; the whole assembly sending forth a loud shout. The head was thrown to a corner of the scaffold, and the body suffered to lie till all the blood had run out ; after which it was carried to the camp, and the head sent to court. The interpreter told *Snelgrave*, that the head was the property of the king, the blood was given to the *Fetiche*, and the body always left to the soldiers. With the same formality was the sacrifices continued through the several victims ; the men offering themselves with great constancy and courage ; but the women, agreeable to the tenderness of the sex, lifting their voices in doleful lamentations to heaven, and cries that would melt the most callous heart. After the sacrifice was finished, a colonel of the guard came up to *Snelgrave*, and asked him what he thought of it ? To this *Snelgrave* replied, that it was wonderful to him, how so wise a prince as *Truro Audati* should sacrifice such a number of men, whom he might have sold to great advantage. The colonel answered, that it had been the custom of their nation for time immemorial : that after a certain great victory, the king could not dispense with a vow he had made before the battle, of offering up to God a certain number of prisoners : that the *Dahoman* kings ever since believed that the neglect of this ceremony would be attended with some dreadful calamity, either to them or to the nation ; and to the exact performance of it they attribute the run of prosperity they have enjoyed for a series of years : that the reasons for chusing out old men for victims were purely political ; they being of less value at market, and more dangerous, from their experience and cunning, than the young. This the *Dahomans* had frequently observed : for almost all the disturbances which happen among slaves, had their origin in the plots and contrivances of the old ones. Lastly, the colonel added, that as to the young men they sometimes sacrificed, it was with intention they should wait in the next world upon the king's women the *Tuffos* had slain ; from which superstition we may conclude the *Dahomans* have some idea of a future state, and the immortality of the soul.

SNELGRAVE after this interrogated the colonel, What sentiments his nation entertained concerning the Supreme Being ? The answer was confused and embarrassed ; viz. that the *Dahomans* acknowledged one invisible God, who protected them in all dangers and difficulties ; and that this incorporeal being was subordinate to one more powerful. This last God, says the colonel, is the same who communicates all those extraordinary advantages to the white men : but continues he, when this great being does not chuse to impart himself to us, we then content ourselves with the invisible God, whom we actually worship.

f *SNELGRAVE* relates, that he was assured both by the prince of *Jachen* and by his interpreter, both eye-witnesses of what they affirmed, that the *Dahoman* priests broiled and eat the bodies of the victims, distributing the remainder to the soldiers, who had spent the whole night in gluttony and riot. However, he does not advance this horrid barbarity as certain truth, but on the report only of credible witnesses, who could have no view or design in deceiving him. This he thinks is more strongly confirmed by the attestation of an honest and plain writer, *Robert Moor*, surgeon to a frigate in the *English* service. *John Dagge*, the captain, on his arrival at *Whidah*, finding himself indisposed, sent *Moor* upon an embassy to the camp of the king of *Dahomay*, with presents to the monarch. *Moor* had the curiosity to go round the whole camp, when in passing the market he saw human flesh exposed to sale. *Snelgrave*, who had this account from *Moor*'s own mouth, says, that his curiosity did not lead him to the market-place ; but that if it had, he doubts not but he should have met with the same dreadful spectacle. *Atkins*, however, discredits this report ; and affirms, that *Moor* mistook monkey's flesh for human. He

blames *Snelgrave* for relating, upon the authority of others, things in which he might have so easily satisfied himself ^a.

AMONG the *European* prisoners the king of *Dahomay* had taken in the conquest of *Ardrab*, was a *Portuguese* mulattoe, whose affection and attachment he gained by his liberality and kindness. In particular he had presented him with a woman, whose beauty *Snelgrave* greatly admired (E). She had the complexion of an *European*, and was really fair and delicate, but the features and hair of a Negro. The *Portuguese* was besides raised to some high offices about the court, and was the favourite and minion of the king. This man paid great regard to *Snelgrave*, visited him, and every day supplied him with the best provisions the country afforded. By him he was told of the war the *Dahomans* maintained against the king of *Yos*, after the conquest of *Ardrab*. This last country, he said, lay a great way north-east of *Dahomay*, on the opposite side of a vast lake, from which issued a number of rivers, some of which discharged themselves into the gulph of *Guiney*. He said, that a number of fugitive princes, whose fathers had been put to death by the *Dahoman* monarch, had fled to the king of *Yos*, as their protector, and engaged him, by their intreaties, to declare war against *Truro Audati*. He was soon in a condition to take the field; and the king of *Dahomay*, quitting *Ardrab*, was not long in opposing him, with all his forces, which consisted wholly of infantry. As the enemy's army was intirely composed of cavalry, *Audati* apprehended, that in an open country his troops would be surrounded, and every-where broke by the vigour, weight, and impetuosity of the horse. To prevent this, he ranged in different parts of his wings and center platoons of musquetry, whose fire, he knew, would terrify the horse, unaccustomed to those explosions. This had the effect: it prevented the two armies from coming to a general and unequal engagement. As they had continued, however, for four or five days to skirmish incessantly, the *Dahoman* army began to grow tired of standing constantly to arms, and watching the motions of an enemy, equally alert and intrepid; besides, the horse now began to stand fire, and were not, as at first, put into confusion upon every discharge of the musquetry. In this situation *Audati* found it necessary to have recourse to stratagem, and effect by art what he perceived was impossible to courage alone. He had in his camp a great quantity of brandy, *aqua vite*, and spirituous liquors, which he had brought from *Ardrab*. These, with some valuable effects, he ordered to be removed to a neighbouring village, under a strong guard, as if he intended to secure them from danger. After this, by an advance detachment, he vigorously attacked the enemy; who received him with equal bravery. After a sharp action he retreated, on the approach of night, in seeming confusion, and as if he had yielded to their superiority. The enemy, not doubting but they had obtained a complete victory, seized upon the magazine of spirits, which they drank with great avidity, and with just the effect which *Audati* desired and expected. He watched the proper opportunity by his spies; and, returning, with great diligence, before sleep should again refresh them, he attacked them with vigour, while two-thirds of the army were dead-drunk or asleep, and found it no difficult matter to conquer. Some, however, mounted their horses, and stood the charge with the utmost obstinacy: but these being few in number, could not prevent a total defeat and prodigious slaughter. However, added the *Portuguese*, *Truro Audati* is so well assured of the bravery of the enemy, and the superiority they maintain by their cavalry in an open country, that he tries every means to gain their friendship. He has made rich presents to the king of *Yos*, to keep him quiet, and dreads nothing so much as a second war with so intrepid a nation. Another invasion, continued he, may turn the scale of fortune, and reduce the *Dahomans* to the condition to which they have brought many other nations: for there is no depending upon stratagems, where every other advantage is on the side of the enemy. Should another war break out, and *Audati* be deserted by his good fortune, he has taken the resolution of retiring to the conquered provinces on the sea-coast; knowing that the superstition of his enemies will prevent their pursuing him. The great *Fetich* of the people of *Yos* is the sea: but so profound is their veneration, that their priests prohibit them from approaching or seeing it. The breach of this part of their faith, they are fully persuaded, would be attended with the most terrible national calamities. *Snelgrave* remarks here, that all the Negroes have their *Fetiches*, either general or particular; and that, whether the sea, a serpent, sheep, goat, or stone, be the object of their adoration, they continue through the whole course of their lives to worship it, with a literal obedience to the mode prescribed by their priests.

SOME days after *Snelgrave's* arrival in the camp, he was invited to a second audience of the monarch. On entering the court, he was desired to stop till the king had examined the quality

^a ATKINS, p. 39.

(E) This lady was born in *Europe*, of mulattoe parents, who had come over to *Portugal* on some mercantile affairs (2).

(2) *Prevost*, tom. v. p. 251.

- a of the presents which he understood *Snelgrave* proposed making. After this he was introduced into a little court, at the farther end of which the king was seated, cross-legged, upon a fine silk carpet. The appearance of his attendants was brilliant; but few women were in waiting. On seeing *Snelgrave* and the other *Europeans*, he very affably enquired after their health, how they liked their accommodations and manner of living, ordering some fine mats to be placed near him for them to sit on. He then interrogated *Snelgrave* concerning the nature of the commerce he carried on with the maritime kingdoms of *Africa*? To this the captain replied, that slaves were the chief branch of traffick, but that he likewise purchased gold and ivory, in exchange for which he gave *European* commodities: concluding with his humble request, that his majesty would be pleased to countenance a trade equally advantageous to *Europe* and to
- b *Africa*; a request which he was assured would be granted as soon as the rights of each nation could be ascertained, and general commercial laws established. The king then desired *Snelgrave* to address himself to *Zuinglar*, an officer of distinction, whom he had known at *Whidab*. The *Zuinglar*, by order of his master, declared to *Snelgrave*, that, notwithstanding the rights of conquest, it was his majesty's resolution not to raise the duties and imposts upon trade, and to continue them on the footing they had formerly stood at *Whidab*. The *English* captain replied, that his majesty being infinitely a greater prince than the king of *Whidab*, it was hoped that
- c he would lessen the restrictions upon trade, and content himself with a smaller duty. This objection puzzled the *Zuinglar*, and made him hesitate about the answer he ought to return; but the king, who obliged the interpreter to explain every particle that was uttered, replied, that the natural consequence of his being a greater prince, was a more profound respect and higher imposts: "however," says he, resuming a more mild and gracious manner, "as you are the first *English* captain I have seen, I will treat you as one would a young wife, to whom he can deny nothing." *Snelgrave* was struck with the lively politeness of this answer; and imagining the interpreter had given a different turn to the king's expression, he accused him of deceiving him; but his majesty resuming the discourse in the same terms, soon convinced *Snelgrave*, that true complaisance is not confined to *Europe*. The whole of his compliment was perfectly calculated to render the stranger happy; and he concluded it with a promise, that his conduct should by no means discredit his professions. Encouraged by this extreme condescension, *Snelgrave* took the liberty of representing, that the only sure method to
- d render commerce flourishing, was to lay as few clogs and restrictions upon it as possible; and to protect the *English* not only against the petty frauds of the common Negroes, but the exorbitant exactions of the chief officers of the court and customs. He added, that from neglecting those two important points, the king of *Whidab* had greatly injured the trade of his country. His majesty replied, that he was intirely of his sentiments, and desired to know what the *English* believed they should be able to pay. *Snelgrave* answered, that to give vigour to their traffick, and inspire them with zeal and gratitude to his majesty, a moiety of what was exacted by the king of *Whidab* would be sufficient, and as much as they well could bear. Immediately the terms were accepted, and the king, to conclude the audience with the same amiable dignity with which he had begun it, assured *Snelgrave*, that he would thoroughly restrain the exactions and frauds he complained of, punish with the utmost rigour all impositions and injuries
- e done to the *Europeans*, and the *English* in particular, and be himself the support and protector of commerce, which he hoped to see flourish in every corner of his dominions.
- f This treaty of commerce being finished, the affection and regard of the *Dahoman* monarch for the *Europeans* was so conspicuous, that *Snelgrave* did not hesitate to implore his clemency in behalf of the unhappy people of *Whidab*. In acknowledging that the common people were fraudulent, he excused them by the example of their superiors, who always shared in their acquisitions and thefts from strangers and foreigners. He scrupled not to assert, that if it should please his majesty to shew mercy in restoring them to their country, and imposing a tribute on them, they would become useful to his interest, and highly serviceable to the state by their industry, their skill in husbandry, acquaintance with the *Europeans*, and knowlege in commerce. To this he added, that it was a maxim among *European* princes, to estimate the strength of a kingdom by the number of its inhabitants, and that if his majesty would adopt this principle, he might easily add an hundred thousand useful subjects to the number of his people. His majesty's reply was, that he was fully assured of the truth of all the *English* captain had advanced, but that the tranquility of *Whidab* could never be established while the king was living. He had, therefore, he said, offered to restore the people to their former possessions, provided they would put the king into his hands, dead or alive.
- g This conversation was followed by a variety of other discourse, through every part of which the king displayed the qualities of a noble and generous mind, as well as of an able politician, considering the barbarous ignorance in which he had ever been bred. Among other subjects that occurred, he complained to *Snelgrave* of the ingratitude of Mr. *Lamb*, the *English* factor; who, after receiving above three hundred ounces of gold from him, eight slaves, and in particular *Tom*, a favourite slave of *Jachen*, under promise of returning within a certain time limited, he should have

have broke his faith, made light of the friendship of a great monarch, and infringed the rights of hospitality, by a flagrant breach of his word. His villainy, however, did not, he said, prejudice him against the nation; there were bad men in all countries; but it would be his endeavour not to furnish the *English* with an opportunity either of retorting or repeating the crime. The best apology *Snelgrave* could make for his countryman, was by disclaiming all acquaintance with him. After this, he told the king, that the *English* merchants had, besides the ship he commanded, five others that traded to *Whidah* and *Jachen*: he hoped therefore that his majesty would shew the same favour to the others he was pleased to confer on him; to which the king replied, that notwithstanding he meant to restrain some of his favours to him in particular, yet the other captains should have no cause of complaint. Then began a bargain about slaves, at the conclusion of which, his majesty ordered the prince royal of *Jachen* to be called in. To him he declared, with orders to communicate his will to his brother, that whoever was detected of defrauding, robbing, injuring, or exacting exorbitant presents from any *Englishman* within the kingdom of *Whidah* or *Jachen*, should be impaled alive on the shore, *in terrorem*, and by the severity of the example to deter others from violating the sacred rights of hospitality. It being now late, *Snelgrave* and his companions took their leave, after returning his majesty thanks for the high honour he had done them, and the numberless favours conferred upon the *Europeans* in general.

As this audience lasted above five hours, he had full leisure and opportunity of making all the observations he could desire on his majesty's person and understanding. As to the former, it was of a middling stature, robust, and exactly proportioned. His face was filled with the small-pox, but not disfigured. His eyes were piercing and black, full of fire and spirit, of a gentleness and softness, just as the subject of discourse happened to turn. *Snelgrave* affirms, that every feature bespoke the greatness of his mind, and his whole deportment was that of a king. He was affable without being familiar, and possessed the happy art of descending to the level of his company, without laying aside majesty; although you were invited to speak with freedom, yet it was not possible to lay aside respect; and you beheld in the same person, the social companion and the mighty prince, the ease of the friend blended with the dignity of the monarch. In short, take him all in all, *Truro Audati* was a most extraordinary person, who possessed the most amiable virtues and striking qualities, without one vice, but what he owed to the prejudice of education, and the barbarous manners of his country.

BEFORE *Snelgrave* quitted the *Dahoman* court, he had occasion to see a review of the troops before the royal tent. Three thousand of them were armed with musquets, swords, and targets, which they exercised to admiration, having gone through all the evolutions, and fired twenty rounds in the space of two hours. All the rest of the troops were armed in the manner common to Negroes. As they passed the king, they prostrated themselves to the ground, kissed the earth, and rose up with a sprightliness and activity that was astonishing. What most surprized our author, was about 10,000 boys that followed the camp. These he was told were young soldiers, bred up to all the hardships of war, and fatigues of campaigns. They were taught the exercise, put at a certain age upon dangerous exploits, by way of probation, before they were admitted to the honour of serving their king, and supported at the public expence. "After this," says *Snelgrave*, "I could not wonder how *Truro Audati* came to be so powerful a prince, and mighty conqueror*."

Conclusion of
the abstract
from Snel-
grave.

THIS abstract from the voyage of *Snelgrave*, we thought a necessary appendix to the history of *Whidah*. No author has described the manners of the potent kingdom of *Dahomay*; and this occasion of relating all we knew concerning the conqueror of *Whidah*, and a prince of so glorious a character, we imagined would be no ingrateful present to our readers.

* See the Abbè PREVOST's collect. des voyages au long des côtes occident. de l'Afrique, tom. v.

Kingdom of Ardrah.

- a** WE come now to the kingdom of *Ardrah*, or the fourth division of that part of the kingdom of *Benin* called the *Slave Coast*. Europeans have not frequented it enough exactly to ascertain its geography or dimensions. We know, however, from undoubted authority and the concurrence of writers, that it extends a great way to the northern and interior country, that it is filled with populous towns and villages, and the kingdom in general is fertile and well cultivated, and the people warlike, although they were subdued by a nation more powerful than themselves. The truth is, Europeans are only acquainted with a few towns near the coast, and from these form their judgment of the rest. It is bounded, we are told, on the west by the *Rio Volta*, on the east by the kingdom of *Benin Proper* (these, including the kingdom of *Whidab*, taking in a tract of an hundred leagues), on the south by the ocean, and on the north-north-west, by the kingdoms of *Oyeo* and *Alghemi*, or *Ulcami*. Towards the south or sea-coast, *Ardrah* is extremely confined, widening as it extends northward into the form of a triangle. However, this is purely the conjecture of voyagers, and founded upon the lame and imperfect account of the natives, who are amazingly ignorant of the chorography of their own country, and indeed of every thing removed a few miles from their houses. The coast beginning four leagues east of *Great Popo*, and ending at *Acqui*, comprehends the space of twenty-five leagues, if we include the province of *Jachen*, which has a prince of its own, tributary to the king of *Ardrah*. *Bosman* and *Barbot* divide it into *Great* and *Little Ardrah*. Under the latter, they comprehend all the maritime coast, the interior country making the former. *Little Ardrah* ascends up the country as far as *Offra*, and *Great Ardrah* takes in the petty state of *Torri* (F). The coast from *Whidab* to *Little Ardrah* is low and flat, but rises by a gentle ascent as you proceed to *Jachen*^p. This latter town is a league north-north-east distant from *Praya* or *Little Ardrah*, and is governed by a prince or *Phidalgo*, who resides here in a sumptuous manner, lodged in a palace wonderfully splendid for the country, and his confined dominions. *Jachen*, so called from the first Dutch factor, who resided there, is 1500 fathoms in circumference, surrounded by a deep ditch, supplied with water from a rivulet that runs into it. The Dutch and English had factories here; but of late years the latter is withdrawn. After the conquest of *Ardrah*, the palace of *Jachen* was burnt to the ground, notwithstanding the prince paid his submission to the king of *Dahomay*. How the accident arose we are not informed. *Smith*, indeed, affirms, that the *Phidalgo* at first resisted *Truro Audati*, and that the natives made an obstinate defence; but we are told by *Snelgrave*, and other good authors, that no attack upon the town was ever made; *Lamb* and the other Europeans surrendering themselves, and the *Phidalgo* yielding submission to *Audati* upon the first summons^q (G).

Description of Ardrah.

The kingdom divided into Great and Little Ardrah.

- b** NORTH of *Jachen* stands *Offra*, a considerable city, where the English and Dutch have each a handsome house or factory. Here the Dutch in particular carry on a great trade, and live with a splendor proportioned to their profits. Still farther north, between *Offra* and the capital, is situated *Great Foro*, in which is erected an inn for the accommodation of passengers, who are plentifully supplied with eatables, such as the country produces, and *pito* beer remarkably good. This town is populous, but inferior in beauty to the others we have mentioned.
- c** Next stands the metropolis, called *Assem* by the natives, and *Great Ardrah* by the Europeans. It is the residence of the kings of *Ardrah*, and a fine city, five or six leagues in circuit. Here

Description of the chief towns.

^p BOSMAN, p. 243. BARBOT, p. 327, & 346. etiam LA CROIX, tom. iii. p. 150. tom. ii. p. 222.

^q DES MARCHAIS,

(F) *Torri* has *Faulaon* for its capital, a town seated on the river *Jachen*, running east and west to *Great Popo*. The territory of *Torri* is four leagues in circumference, having *Whidab* on the west, *Offra* on the east, and the sea on the south. The state is independent, paying only a small acknowledgement for the protection of the king of *Ardrah*; the people industrious, but, like their neighbours, expert thieves and robbers. Their chief occupation is husbandry. They supply Europeans with the fruits of their labour, live themselves on those of their genius, frequently refuse paying the customary tribute to *Ardrah*, throw off their submission to the king, make incursions into the neighbouring kingdoms, and in particular rob and spoil the towns on the borders of *Ardrah*, by way of retribution (3).

(G) *Barbot*'s account of *Jachen* is something different from the above. It derives its name, according to him, from a Negro, who raised it from a village to its present splendor, rather by his beneficence than his

wealth. It is inclosed by a high and thick wall (4). The *Phidalgo*'s house is rather convenient than magnificent, and built with mud. As to *Little Ardrah*, which all the Europeans call *Offra*, both *Bosman* (5) and *Barbot* agree that it stands upon a lower ground, but more interior country, than *Jachen*; a description we are unable to reconcile with their account of the land rising by an easy ascent, as you proceed from the sea-coast to the inland parts. One indeed perceives, at the first glance, a variety of contradictions in all their topography: *Jachen*, according to the maps inserted in *Prevost*'s collection, stands upon a river of the same name, also called *Torri* or *Tarri*, about seven miles from the sea. The wars of *Ardrah* with the *Dahomans* having ruined the country (6), *Smith* alleges, that the viceroy and his court had retired to an island, which they fortified, in the middle of the river; but this is false, as *Jachen* was never governed by a viceroy, nor was the *Phidalgo* ever obliged to abandon the capital.

(3) *Barbot*, p. 345.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 346.

(5) *Bosman*, p. 398.

(6) *Smith*, p. 92.

the royal family has two palaces, the one only inhabited, the other reserved for a retreat in a case of fire or other accidents. The dimensions which the Negroes give to this city are not improbable, if we consider the breadth of the streets, and the space between every house, as a security against the effects of fire; each house being likewise inclosed by its own rampart, forming a court round it, as a farther precaution against this dangerous element. *D'Elbee*, who visited this city in 1669, says, that you enter it by four gates; whereas other writers affirm, that notwithstanding its great extent, it has but one gate; an improbable circumstance that requires the testimony of the best authority. The walls, which are of mud, are high and thick, firm and compact as stone and lime. The gates front each other, and are defended by deep ditches on the inside. Over these you pass by a draw-bridge, which may either be raised up, or intirely taken away at pleasure. Over each gate is a guard-room for the accommodation of the officers and soldiers entrusted with the keys of the city; and upon each side stands a file of musqueteers, with drawn swords in their hands. The *Euphrates* encompasses one half of the city. The buildings are of clay, covered with straw, and the streets kept in the utmost order, free from filth and every inconvenience^r.

BOTH the royal palaces are surrounded with high walls of earth and clay, that binds like cement, and is firm and smooth as plaister. They consist of large courts, with long wide galleries, supported by beautiful pillars finely ornamented. Under these piazzas the natives have the privilege of walking. The buildings are two stories high, with long narrow slips of windows, perfectly adapted to the climate, as they occasion a great draught of fresh air. The floors of all the apartments are covered with silk carpets, or fine mats, of a pretty taste. In each was a single armed chair, a variety of silk and brocade cushions, tables, folding screens, *Japan* cabinets, and chests of the finest *China* porcelain. The windows were hung with curtains of taffety, and lashed with white cloth, glazed in a manner that admitted the light, but excluded the night air. The gardens were spacious, and laid out in the most delicate taste, in fine long walks, shaded with odoriferous trees, and lined on each side with shrubs and flowers of a sweet smell, and pleasing colours. Nothing could be more beautiful than the elegant parterres, the fanciful grass plats, joined by serpentine walks and groves, and refreshed by the cooling murmur of a dimpling brook, which glided over shining pebbles^s. But we speak of what the palace of *Ardrab* has been, not what it is since the reduction of the kingdom by the king of *Dahomay*.

BESIDES the capital, and above-mentioned towns, *Ardrab* has others surrounded by walls. The natives boast chiefly of *Jajo* and *Ba*, the one three days journey from *Jachen*, the other half a league further. *Jajo*, or *Jago*, has two gates to the south, and is washed by a river on the north, that falls into the *Rio de Formosa*, or river of *Benin*, at *Ba*, where the *Dutch* have a small factory. If in the whole kingdom there are any towns unwalled, it is because their natural situation and strength render the assistance of art unnecessary; and yet we see that all these precautions could not secure them against a warlike nation, led on by a brave and politic prince. Between all the cities are great roads, cut extremely commodious for travellers and traders, who have an easy method of transporting their merchandize. There are also deep canals cut from one river to another; these are constantly filled with canoes, either for pleasure or business, which give the country an air of wealth and industry. The vallies are pleasant, and produce wheat, millet, yams, potatoes, lemons, oranges, coco-nuts and palm-wine. In the low and marshy grounds near the sea, they make salt, by evaporation of the stagnated water; with which commodity they drive a great trade to the interior countries of *Alghemi* and *Oyeo*, by the great canal of *Ba*, the finest in the kingdom. Here may be seen myriads of canoes, going and returning either with salt, gold dust, or the commodities of the countries to which they carry their salt. But however convenient for trade and industry the fine roads and canals of *Ardrab* might be, they were the great means of its conquest, as by them the victorious *Truro Audati* found it an easy matter, not only to march his army into the country, but to supply himself with provisions, amunition, and every necessary^t.

As to the air, it is in general unwholesome, and disagrees with *Europeans*. Out of five that are seized with any disorder, hardly four ever recover; but the small-pox is the disease most common and most fatal. The natives who escape the ravages of this cruel disease are robust, healthy, vigorous, and long-lived. Here the people prefer the language of *Alghemi* to their vernacular tongue, esteeming it more elegant, sweet, and sonorous. No letters or written characters of either of these languages are in use, but the king and nobility speak, read, and write the *Portuguese* fluently. The vulgar, who can neither write nor read, use a small cord tied in knots, to each of which they affix certain ideas, and by that means convey their sentiments to a distance. It is a kind of cypher, where the parties must settle certain preliminaries, before they are able to correspond. There is, however, a great deal of genius in this contrivance, and prodigious memory necessary to the execution of it with a tolerable degree of accuracy; yet

Fine roads
made between
all the chief
cities.

Produce of
Ardrab.

Small-pox epi-
demical and
fatal at *Ar-
drah*.

The *Ardrasian*
method of cor-
responding by a
cypher.

^r Vide *Auct. cit. ubi supra*, & seq.

^s BARBOT, p. 345.

^t BOSMAN, *epist.* 20.

a. it is surprising with what facility they retain and combine the ideas first annexed to each knot^u.

THERE is no great difference in the manners, dress, or religion of the *Ardians* from those of the *Whidans*. The court dress, like the *Persian*, consists of two silk or brocade *paans*, or petticoats, with a broad scarf down across the breast and shoulders, in the manner of a sash. The king wears a kind of laced coif, with a long appendage behind a small crown of fragrant wood, and a whip with a wrought handle, curiously ornamented. The people of inferior distinction wear five or six *paans* one over another, of cotton cloth, the manufacture of the country. Those who can afford it, have them set off with ornaments of gold studs, hanging round in a loose and jingling manner. Although the ordinary custom of the country is to leave the upper part of the body naked, yet many persons of distinction wear a short sattin mantle over their shoulders, by way of morning dress. In visits, and upon ceremonious occasions, this is laid aside, and the natural black skin preferred, as more beautiful and becoming. The *Marbut*, or high priest, has a long piece of white cotton wrapped round him, plaited in a pretty taste. He likewise covers his thighs and legs with long cotton drawers, and his feet with slippers or sandals of red leather. On his head he wears a cap, or *European* hat, a large coteau with a gilt head by his side, and cane in his hand. The *Marbut* alone stands covered in the king's presence: as for the nobility, they pull off their caps and slippers before they enter the presence-chamber. But the women carry their passion for dress and finery to an extravagant height. You shall see them clothed with loads of the finest sattins, chintzes and brocades, adorned with a profusion of gold, and panting under the weight of their ornaments, that they may gratify their vanity. Nor is this altogether the fault of the women, it is owing in a great measure to the false taste of the men, who never think a woman genteelly dressed, without she be oppressed with superfluous bales of silk or sattin. One custom both sexes have in common, and that is the most scrupulous regard to cleanliness, and keeping their bodies neat and sweet. They both wash and perfume themselves with civet and aromatic herbs every morning and evening; nor does a woman ever presume to receive the caresses of her husband, before she has performed this just duty^w.

THE usual food all over the kingdom is pork, beef, mutton, goats and dogs flesh, together with rice, fruits, roots, pulse, and all kinds of vegetables; which they indiscriminately call by the name of *Kade*. Their bread is made into cakes or *Kankis*, and their drink composed of *pito* and water mixed. This species of beer we have already fully described in our account of *Whidab*, where it is made in the utmost perfection. The best that this country affords is at *Foro* and *Offra*, whence the court and nobility are supplied. What is brewed in other parts of the kingdom soon grows sour, and if carried, ferments violently, bursts the casks, and is intirely lost.

THE men have here the same liberty as at *Whidab*, of taking as many women as they are able to maintain. No great ceremony is observed in matters of love; the great liberty enjoyed by single women, whose general carriage is loose and lascivious, affords abundance of opportunities for making and receiving addresses. Birth and fortune are seldom regarded. The men of the lowest class pretend to women of the highest quality, love qualifies alone, sets all degrees upon a level; regulates the conduct of parents in unequal matches, and makes all the parties happy. How different this custom from a certain unnatural *act*, past in a country the most admired for its laws, and the first in rank of any perhaps in the world, for the good sense, the erudition, and the manly freedom of the people! Notwithstanding this toleration, men seldom look for wives out of their own class: as they chiefly associate with those, so their choice is generally confined among them. The king's favourite woman is honoured with the title of queen, and enjoys the strange prerogative of selling the other concubines, when the king is deficient in his disbursements (H). The nobility marry young ladies of quality, of nine or ten years of age: they take them home to their houses, keep them naked in quality of slaves, and defer the consummation of their nuptials till nature indicates their maturity. Upon this occasion they present them with cloaths; and now the feast is kept, which consists in pro-

Their method of living.

Polygamy permitted at Ardrah.

Marriage ceremonies.

^u DES MARCHAIS, tom. ii. p. 234.

^w LA CROIX, tom. iii. p. 151.

(H) To procure the title of queen, she must, as in *Turkey*, be the mother of the king's first-born son. An instance of her power over her rivals occurred when *D'Elbee* was at *Ardrah*. The king refusing to give the queen certain jewels and trinkets she demanded, to enable her to purchase them, she privately conveyed eight

of his women on board an *European* ship, and had a handsome price for them. They were stamp'd immediately with the company's mark, treated with uncommon tenderness while on board, but carried into slavery to *Martinico*, where they spent the remainder of their lives (7).

(7) *Barbot*, p. 348.

fuse eating, and riotous drinking and mirth. Liquors are likewise distributed to all the relations, acquaintance, and neighbours of either party. The mode of courtship is extremely concise, the gallant using no other ceremony, than presenting the object of his love with a callico *paan*, and her relations with some pots of *pito*. After this he declares to the company, that he will marry the lady, whom he names; she grants her consent, and the courtship and marriage are ended all in one *. Yet though polygamy is permitted, adultery is no less frequent than in countries where the men are confined to one woman. This arises from the strong desires of the women; the husband generally confining his favours to one or two, the rest are forced to look out for other means of gratifying their appetites (I).

Remark of
authors.

WRITERS observe, that the climate of *Ardrab* is unfavourable to the propagation of the species, it seldom happening that a woman ever becomes mother of more than two or three children. But this we would rather ascribe to their policy, than to any default in the air and climate. The women are married so young, that their charms vanish, they lose the power of exciting desire, and indeed of enjoying nature, before the age of maturity in other countries. Besides, the men are enervated with the opportunity which variety affords of indulging their passions; and as they marry while they are boys, they are debilitated before they become men. One extraordinary notion, considering the inequality of births, prevails in this country; it is, that a woman delivered of twins is reputed an adulteress, because they cannot conceive how a woman, who has confined her caresses to one man, should bring forth two children. The men, says *Barbot*, after having robbed the flower of its chief beauty, the modest blush, do not confine themselves to their own women, but lie on the watch to decoy the wives and daughters of their neighbours; a vicious principle in human nature, that grasps at whatever is without the reach of possession. This author affirms, contrary to the testimony of all other writers, that the women are kept in the utmost subjection, prohibited the sight of men, much more their conversation, and scarcely admitted into the company of *Europeans*, before the husband is fully satisfied of their morals, and possessed with high notions of their honour and character. Indeed, if the manners of the women be such as we have described, this restriction is almost a natural consequence †.

The method of
tilling the
earth at Ar-
drah.

THE inhabitants of the sea-coast employ themselves in fishing and making salt, which, as we have said, they send to the interior countries. Those of the inland are all husbandmen, farmers, and graziers. They cultivate the earth by the strength of their arms, and as the *scripture* has it, with the *sweat of their brow*; for here are no ploughs or instruments of husbandry to ease the labourer; all is performed with the spade and mattock, whence the ground is more thoroughly broke, the grain better covered, and the fruits proportioned to the superior degree of care and labour. Where-ever husbandry is wholly pursued, the country discovers evident marks of the skill and pains bestowed upon it. The whole is divided into the nicest order. Here stands a plat of maize, there a field of wheat: on the one side grow pease, cabbages, and all sorts of culinary greens; on the other potatoes and roots; every separate article being divided by a double row of fruit-trees, and the whole inclosed by tall strait trees, either for ornament or use, the boughs of which afford a pleasing and cooling shade to the labourer, spent with fatigue and the scorching beams of the sun ‡.

Funeral obse-
quies at Ar-
drah.

THE manner of burying the dead in *Ardrab* differs only in particular circumstances from what we shall relate in our account of the *Gold Coast*. There the relations of the deceased furnish the winding sheet and cloaths in which the body was wrapped; here that expence falls upon the governor of the place, who adds it to the king's account. Besides, instead of a public burying place, the natives of *Ardrab* are interred in their own houses, where there is a vault appropriated for the dead. All funeral obsequies are performed with great pomp and magnificence. Be the person ever so much despised in his life-time, he is respected at his death, agreeable to the maxim of the poet, *extinctus amabitur idem*; nor does the king's interment differ from that of his subjects, only that three months after his death a certain number of slaves are sacrificed to his manes, and buried by his side.

Government.

As to the government, it is monarchical and despotic. The king, stiled of *Ardrab Algbemi*, and sometimes of *Jachen*, is absolute, and approached with prostration, and the most humble marks of submission. His court is numerous and splendid. The chief priest is second

* BARBOT, ubi supra.

† Idem ibid.

‡ DES MARCHAIS, tom. ii. p. 156.

(1) What greatly contributes to the frequency of this crime, are the lascivious manners and wanton air which the women assume before all men except their husbands; for in their presence they are full of respect, awe, and submission. When the husband receives the visit of a

stranger, his wives are all ranged on mats on each side of him. Upon a signal made, they begin beating little brass musical instruments, perfectly calculated to raise loose desires, and the appetite of love (8).

(8) Des Marchais, vol. ii. p. 226.

- a in dignity, and prime minister in spirituals and temporals. *Phidalgo's* are appointed governors of every town, dependent on the king, who, though to little purpose, generally raise by seizures, confiscations, and extortion, immense estates, which often excite the avarice of the king, and occasion their death or banishment. Nothing can be more pompous than the king's public appearance. He is preceded by the master of horse, bearing the sword of state, and supported on foot by two chief officers, the general of horse on the right hand, and the captain of commerce on the left, with down-cast eyes, and bended knees; the whole followed by a numerous train, first of nobility, and next of gentry, dressed in robes proper for the occasion. The prince-royal and high-priest enjoy the exclusive privilege of talking to the king standing face to face; the other subjects of all degrees prostrate themselves, kiss the ground, and are permitted only to raise their heads to receive an answer. Every officer of the household is called captain; the high steward of the household captain of the table; the purveyor, captain of the victuals; and the cup-bearer, captain of the wine^a.

THE crown of *Ardrab* is hereditary, devolving by birth-right to the eldest son, who alone inherits the effects of the deceased king. To prevent contests and rebellion, as well as to maintain an absolute and servile dependance on the crown, no provision is made for the younger children. They serve in the army, and are raised by their merit, but never to the chief command. Others apply to trade and acquire plentiful fortunes; for their affinity to the king, even though they are not countenanced by him, procures them numberless advantages in the course of business. Foreigners pay them extraordinary respect, and in compliment to the monarch, make them presents, and indulge them in the first offer of their goods. The other subjects treat them with great deference, and allow them advantages in bargains, which they deny to each other, either from the motives of compassion, on seeing them reduced to the necessity of trade, or from a natural respect for the blood royal, of which they are unable to divest themselves.

THE crown revenues arise from heavy capitations on the natives and foreigners, slaves from tributary countries, the sale of slaves of all sorts, duties upon foreign trade, taxes upon markets and the necessaries of life, and lastly from the confiscation of the estates of governors, who have either rebelled or incurred the displeasure of the court, and the seizure of all estates got in the government's service, upon the death of the proprietor. In this case the children inherit nothing, and the unhappy wives, who have lived in the utmost pomp and luxury, are sent to work and drudge in the salt-pits; nay, some political cases occur, where the deceased king's children are made the slaves of his successor, perhaps of their own brother.

WHOEVER disobeys the king's command is beheaded, his wives and children becoming the slaves of the crown. Insolvent debtors are sold at the pleasure of the creditor; and yet notwithstanding the rigour of the law, no country abounds more with bankrupts. The case is the same with adultery. A violation of the marriage bed is punished with servitude: a married woman who prostitutes her person to a slave, becomes the slave of her gallant's master, if he be superior in quality to her own master or husband: on the contrary, if the husband be of higher rank, the adulterer becomes his slave, and yet is the crime frequent.

SEEING the king eat or drink, or even the dishes carried to or from table, is punished with death, and the criminal's whole family partake of the punishment, by their being enrolled slaves for life. When the king drinks, an officer makes a signal with two iron rods, for all to prostrate themselves. *Des Marchais* relates a melancholy instance of the consequence of disobeying this signal, though the trespass was merely accidental. A favourite-child having fallen asleep by the king's side, awoke at the noise of the rods, and was unfortunate enough to cast his eyes on his majesty, while he was drinking. The high-priest ordered the infant to be killed on the spot; nor did the king offer to intercede for him. On the contrary, the priest sprinkled his cloaths and body with the blood of the little innocent: an inhuman ceremony, they imagined necessary to expiate a crime of so black a complexion, and prevent direful consequences^b.

IN every town the wives of freemen are sent by turns to certain schools, where female accomplishments are taught. Here they learn the exercises for five or six months, in a house belonging to the high-priest. Old women instruct them in dancing and singing, the voice being accompanied by the jingling of bits of iron and copper, suspended to their legs and arms, with which they beat measure. They are forced to dance and sing with such violence, and for so long a time, that their spirits being fatigued, spent, and exhausted, they drop down with faintness. Parties succeed each other day and night in this frantic and extravagant employment; nor can a woman come better recommended to her husband, than by holding out longer than any other in the company^c.

^a BOSMAN, epist. 26. Etiam BARBOT, p. 328. CROIX, tom. iii. p. 150.

^b DES MARCHAIS, ubi supra.

^c Ibid. etiam LA

Civilities
shewn the
Europeans.

Presents made
to the royal
family by
Europeans.

Customs paid
by the Euro-
peans.

Goods proper
for importa-
tion.

Military
power of Ar-
drah.

EUROPEANS are permitted to travel only by night, and through by-roads, to prevent ^a their making remarks on the country; there have been many instances, however, wherein they have been exempted from this general restriction. They are treated with great civility by the natives, and the king entertains at his own expence all merchants who come to *Assem* upon business. Apartments are appointed them in the palace, and their distinct quarters to each nation. At an audience the king distinguishes them with particular marks of regard and friendship, by taking and pressing their hands in his own, touching their forefingers three times, placing them by his side on mats spread on the floor, and dispatching their affairs with expedition; nor is the respect and amity shewn them by the prince-royal and high-priest inferior; the same motives of policy and hospitality actuate each. The *Dutch* drive a considerable trade with *Ardrab*; that of the *English*, without being so extensive, is extremely profitable. ^b This commerce, consisting of provisions, slaves, cotton, cloths, and a blue stone, called *acori* or *aigris*, is settled with the king or high-priest. Captains of *European* ships, who are conducted and introduced to court by the *Phidalgo* or governor of *Praya*, present the king with coral, *Cyprus* cloths, morees, and damask, for customs and liberty of trading. The queen, the prince, and the high-priest are likewise presented with coral, damask napkins, and armoisin. Beads, or brass rings and *bujis*, are given to the *foello*, or captain of white men, to the court dancers and porters. Licence is proclaimed at a village four miles to the south-south-west of *Praya*, called by the *Dutch* *Stock Vis Dorp*, upon the captain's return from *Assem*; and warehouses are appointed for lodging and selling the goods. Forty brass rings, twenty hens, one goat, and a piece of *kanchin*, or a little armoisin, are paid to the crier. The *bonga*, or cap- ^c tain of the bar, whose duty it is to attend the beach, and direct the landing of all goods, is paid for twelve trips of a canoe to and from the ship to the beach, to the value of a slave in effects. When the sale is ended, the king receives in acknowledgement of his favour a second present, consisting of two musquets, twenty-five pounds of powder, and merchandize to the amount of nine slaves. The *foello*, *bonga*, and inferior officers are also presented a second time with armoisin, &c. The customs and duties paid by each ship, great or small, amount in the whole to 70 or 80 slaves. The king has the first choice of goods, whether in the payment of duties, or in exchange for slaves; the hereditary prince the second, the *merchant* prince the third, the *Mar-* ^d *but* the fourth, and afterwards the great officers of the court. With respect to the people, the general price of goods is regulated by a tariff; when differences arise, they are terminated by the king's decision. The slaves that are annually exported, to the number of 3000, are prisoners made in war, contributions levied upon tributary princes, criminals whose punishments are changed into slavery, slaves born, or the children of slaves, insolvent debtors sold for the benefit of the creditor, or the wives and relations to a certain degree of all who disobey the king, or incur the lash of the royal displeasure ^d.

Goods proper for importation are large white beads, large glass or crystal ear-rings, gilt hangers, iron bars, sailors knives, copper bells, of cylindric and conic forms, guns, copper and brass basons of all kinds, coloured taffeties, striped pinked silks, fine coloured handkerchiefs, long white horse-tails, looking-glasses, large umbrella's, brandy, china, *Indian* silks, gold and silver in dust, with *English* and *Dutch* crowns. By the last great profits are gained; ten ^e crowns being the highest price for a slave: but *bujis* or *cowries*, which are the currency of the country, are the best commodities. *Europeans*, in all bargains for slaves, pay half *bujis*; or, if they run scarce, one-third in *bujis* and the remainder in goods. There are public markets all over the country for salt. One is established at *Ba*, another is held round a lofty tree with spreading boughs, about six leagues distant; others in other places, at each of which three or four thousand *African* merchants attend with goods from all parts. The manner of reckoning the *bujis* is the same here as at *Whidab* ^e.

WITH regard to the martial abilities of the *Ardrasians*, authors differ extremely. Some charge them with the most effeminate cowardice, while others characterise them as a hardy ^f bold people. Perhaps both accounts may be reconciled by comparing the different circumstances at the times when those authors wrote. If we form our judgment upon the event of the war with the king of *Dabomay*, we may be led to attribute their misfortunes to their pusillanimity: if, on the contrary, we judge from the extent of the kingdom and the number of states tributary to *Ardrab*, it may reasonably be inferred, that once the people had been martial, however they might have degenerated. All authors indeed agree, that they fought in a tumultuous manner, without order, or any plan of operations, and with great cruelty: no great proof either of courage or conduct. *Barbot* and *Bosman* affirm, that the king of *Ardrab*, with his dependent countries, has twenty times the strength of *Whidab*; yet did he never gain any advantages over that little nation, or even venture to declare war, though the kings lived in a state of perpetual hostilities. This indeed may be true, and yet no reflection on the courage ^g

^a BARBOT, ubi supra.

^e BOSM. epist. 20.

- a of the *Ardrasians*. It was an easy matter for a populous compact kingdom, like *Whidah*, to defend itself against the attempts of an enemy more powerful, and as brave as itself. The extensive frontiers of *Ardrab* exposed her to the continual incursions of all the neighbouring states: the number of tributary provinces, that watched an opportunity of throwing off the yoke, rendered it dangerous for her to enter a-fresh into war; and perhaps a peaceable reign might have contributed to confirm the political maxims of the government. But not to reason, we shall proceed to facts. An army of 40,000 horse and foot is easily raised by the king; none being exempted from taking the field besides old men and children. On the maritime coasts, musquets and swords are the soldiers weapons; in the interior country they use bows and arrows, hangers, javelins, and wooden clubs. In all expeditions they carry a pole, bent
- b in form of an S, with silk flags and colours at the extremity. Their drums are long, and sharp pointed at the lower end. Bells make a part of their military music; and while they ring, the soldiers throw their bodies into a variety of antic postures and contortions. The horse make use of trumpets, of a small size and shrill animating tone. These instruments are also the music at festivals and public rejoicings for victory, which they keep with great solemnity, and as a thing not very common among them. But, besides musical instruments, the army is attended by bards or story-tellers, to rouse and animate the men, by the relation of valorous actions, and amuse and divert them, by buffoonery and scenes of comic humour^f.
- Voyagers take notice of considerable differences between the religions of *Ardrab* and *Whidah*. Although the natives of *Ardrab* are perhaps the least addicted to superstition of
- c any people upon the coast, yet the number of their priests is infinite; and persons of the highest distinction deem it an honour to treat them in their houses. Most of the nobility keep *Feticheers*, or chaplains, under the direction of the high priest; who appoints an idol for the worship of every family. Some have an allegator, some have a bird like a crow, and mountains, trees, and stones have their votaries. Notwithstanding they are thus plunged into the grossest idolatry, and void of all notions of a future state, yet have they some confused ideas of a Supreme Being, who directs the time and occasions of their births and deaths. They believe likewise in his power over their good or evil fortune. They are alarmed at the smallest accident, and shrink at the thoughts of death. Their *Feticheers* are respected in general; but the *Marbut*, or chief priest, is held in the highest esteem and veneration: he is believed
- d able to foretel future events, by conversing with an image, of the size of a young child, which he keeps in the audience chamber. This image is painted white, according to their notion of the devil, and reveals the arrival of *European* ships six months before. Families assemble every six months, to interrogate this *Fetiche* concerning their future fortune, and to perform sacrifices to him. The *Feticheers* return answers in a low voice, which they are firmly persuaded issue from the image: such is the craft of priesthood in all ages and countries of the world, as if their authority depended upon fraud and imposture. After the oracles are delivered, the idol is covered with an earthen vessel, pierced in several places. The *Feticheers*, whose perquisites are a butt of beer and a sack of flour, and the company sprinkle the vessel with beer and meal mixed into a thin dough; after which a bumper is filled round in
- e honour of the *Fetiche*, and the company withdraws, when the liquor present is ended. No business is transacted upon certain days sacred to the *Fetiche* of the family; and this rule even the king inviolably observes; yet in most points the *Ardrasians* relax from the rigid austerity enjoined by their priests. They disbelieve in the resurrection of the dead; except where the person has fallen in battle, and fighting for his country. In this case they suppose the order of nature may be inverted, in honour of those heroes; and that they shall rise again in two days, with new features and lineaments. This they believe to be the reason why they are not recognized by their old acquaintance. The *Feticheers* here, as at *Whidah*, are the only physicians the country affords. They make decoctions of certain healing herbs, and sacrifice animals, for the recovery of the sick, in their respective dwellings. The *Fetiche* is rubbed with
- f the blood, and the flesh is eaten, or burnt. *Snelgrave* relates an extraordinary instance of their respect for the priesthood, those doctors of soul and body. It is an inviolable law, he observes, that in whatever house near the palace a fire should chance to break out, the master of that house, with all his family, suffer death. Nothing can be more unjust and cruel than this law; but it is attended with happy consequences; fewer accidents from fire occurring in *Ardrab*, than in any other kingdom, as the law is executed with unrelenting rigour on all degrees of men. Yet when the royal palace at *Jachen* was burnt down, though it was well known that the fire began at a priest's house, and strongly suspected that he had done it with design, the affair was hushed up, and no enquiry made^g.
- As authors have not minutely described the manners, laws, and government of this king-
- g dom, the reader must content himself with such detached pieces of history as they afford.

^f BARBOT, ubi supra. BOSM. ibid.^g SNELGRAVE apud Prevost, tom. v. ad fin.

Wars of
Ardrab.

Recital of a
French voy-
age, from Des
Marchais.

While *Barbot* resided at *Ardrab*, there arrived in that city the ambassadors of a mighty inland prince. Their instructions were, to represent to the king the grievances of his subjects, who had complained to the king their master of the despotism of his government. They were ordered to declare to his majesty, that if he did not loosen the reins, and govern with moderation and equity, the king their master would think himself obliged, in defence of humanity, to march his army into the country, for the protection of those who sought his assistance. This menace the monarch of *Ardrab* received with anger; and, to shew his contempt, ordered the ambassadors to be punished. After this insult, the inland prince marched an army of a million of men, says our author, into *Ardrab*; who, carrying terror and desolation everywhere, laid almost the whole kingdom waste: after which the general withdrew his troops. An extraordinary method of relieving the distress of his supplicants! The king his master was highly displeased at his retiring so soon, and ordered him to be put to death, because he had not brought him the head of the king of *Ardrab*: “for which,” says he, “I sent you, and not to ruin his innocent subjects.” Such was the terror struck by this nation, that the *Ardrasians* cannot hear their name mentioned without horror. The negroes relate a thousand terrible stories of them; among others, a custom they have of depriving their prisoners of their privy members, and adorning themselves with those indecent spoils. *Barbot* concludes with giving it as his opinion, that the prince here meant must have been the prince of *Yos* or *Oyeos*. His reason is, that the sea, which they are forbid by their priests from approaching, is the national *Fetiche*: a reason that rather proves this conqueror to be the king of *Dabamoy*, unless both kingdoms agree in this object of their worship ^a.

WE shall conclude our account of *Ardrab* with the following voyage and embassy, extracted for the entertainment of the reader from the second volume of *Des Marchais's* voyage to *Guiney*. The *French West India* company, established in 1664, being in great want of slaves, equipped the ships *Justice* and *Concord*, to make a slave trading voyage to *Guiney*. The *Sieur D'Elbee* was appointed commodore, the *Sieur Debourg* commander of an intended fort, and one *Carlof*, who had long resided at *Ardrab*, in the *Dutch* service, chief factor. The ships departed from *Havre de Grace* on the 1st of *November*, A. 1669, and anchored *January* the 4th, 1670, in the road of *Ardrab*. *Carlof* set out for *Offra*, from whence he sent an express to acquaint the king of their arrival, and another to the commodore, to inform him of the endeavours the *Dutch* were using to frustrate the expedition. In ten days after, his majesty dispatched the deputy captain from *Assem*, with assurance of his joy, and intention to grant the *French* equal, if not superior, privileges to any other nation. Two days after, the prince royal and captain of commerce arrived, to conduct the *French* to court, and came even to the sea side. The commodore *D'Elbee* saluted them with four discharges of twelve pieces of cannon, and then landing, waited, by order, the prince's arrival. Different companies of blacks approached, with drums beating and colours flying, exhibiting various feats of activity and adroitness, as they saluted *D'Elbee* in passing. They were followed by the great officers of the household, at the head of the guards, with shouldered musquets and gilt headed sabres by their sides. The master of horse walked on foot, richly dressed, covered, and bearing on his shoulder, the sword of state. His royal highness advanced slowly, under a large umbrella, supported by two officers of state; the general of horse on the right, and the captain of commerce on the left hand. Several grandees followed, and the procession was closed by above 10,000 blacks, just in the manner in which we have described the king's public appearance. His highness having stopped within ten paces of the commodore, *D'Elbee* advanced, as directed, and saluted him with a profound reverence. The prince stretched out his hand, and received the commodore's, which he gently squeezed, looking at the same time earnestly into his face, as if he would penetrate into the sentiments he entertained of him. *D'Elbee* then addressed him in *Portuguese*; but the prince, though he spoke the language well, chose out of pomp to answer by his interpreter. He assured the commodore, that all his interest with the king should be exerted in his favour; then, walking hand in hand with *D'Elbee* to the shore, he examined the long-boat with great attention, took the ensign in his hand, and ordered it to be placed on the top of the tent erected for the commodore's reception. Round this, an hundred musqueteers were drawn up, whose pieces, pouches, and sabres, were in good order.

THE prince was about thirty, of a large stature, lusty, but not fat or unweildy. His face was handsome, his eyes fine, his teeth regular and white, his countenance smiling, and the whole of his manner agreeable. On his head he wore an *European* hat, with red and white feathers: his dress was a fatten *paan*, a robe of taffety, that flowed loose, and long behind, a broad taffety scarf, in the manner of a belt, red morocco slippers on his feet, and the upper part of his body naked from the girdle. Dinner was provided in the tent, by the prince's order, who honoured the commodore with a seat on his right hand, the *Sieurs*

^a PREVOST, tom. iv. p. 127, & seq.

a *Debourg*, *Carlof*, and the *English* factors on the left. Beef, wild boar, goats flesh, pullets, and other fowls, were served up, boiled and roasted, with ragouts made of palm oil. *Kowries*, or half calabasses, resembling the small tortoiseshell, were the dishes and plates. The prince was served on the knee, and fanned all the while by officers with scented fans; he fed with his own hands three favourites, who stood behind him, and performed the honours of the table with great politeness. An air of grandeur and dignity, tempered with sweetness, gained the affection and respect of the company. Water for washing was served in crystal cups, with napkins neatly folded, after the last course; when palm wine, sack, port, and claret were sent upon table, in the fashion, and with all the politeness of the most refined luxury of *Europe*. His highness, who was well acquainted with the history of *Europe*, kept up the conversation with spirit, preserving much gravity, yet discovering great vivacity in his remarks, and good sense, penetration, and delicacy of taste and genius in his questions. The commodore, having distributed among the people a great quantity of *bujis*, was received on his coming out of the tent with loud acclamations. After this, trade was opened, and full liberty granted to all the subjects of *Ardrab* to traffick with the *French*. The prince accompanied the commodore to his boat, which the blacks carried upon their shoulders beyond the high furs; and at his departure he promised his protection to the *French* nation. On going on board, the commodore took leave of his highness by several broad-sides from the ships, and cheers from the crews.

THE Sieurs *Debourg* and *Carlof* attended his highness, by invitation, to *Assem*, where, by the king's order, they were lodged in the palace, in a department appropriated to the *French* nation. *Debourg* was introduced to his majesty, in quality of ambassador, by the prince, high priest, and the captains of horse and commerce. The king placed him on a cotton couch near his armed chair, and returned the most obliging answers to his speech by the interpreters *Matteo* and *Francisco*. *Debourg* presented his majesty with a coach, and other presents, from the company; desiring leave to erect a factory at *Offra*, and engaging that four ships should be sent yearly to keep up a brisk trade with his dominions. To this his majesty answered, that he neither wanted merchandize or ships: that the *Dutch*, who had proposed an alliance, and made considerable offers to obtain an exclusive right of commerce, sent more ships than he could load. He taxed the *English* and *French* with neglecting the trade of *Ardrab*, by forfeiting their former engagements: "yet," continued he, the great things I have heard of your king, and the regard his ministers pay to commerce, has raised a desire in me of securing the esteem of so great a prince, by treating his subjects kindly. To encourage therefore and protect their trade, I have given orders to my captain of commerce "to erect a factory." Upon this declaration, boxes of the richest goods were immediately presented for the king's choice, and the prices left to his majesty. The compliment had the intended effect, and raised his admiration of the polite generosity of the *French* nation. *Carlof*, who became manager by *Debourg*'s illness, sent presents to the queen mother, and queen; and, raising the price of slaves from twelve to eighteen bars, traded for three hundred slaves with the prince, chief priest, and great captains. Besides these, the deputy captain brought seventy-five more, for the goods taken by the king, which was greatly above their value. Liberty for the company to trade in slaves was proclaimed in every part of the kingdom on *February* the 8th; and the king's receivers fixed the same duties at *Offra* as at *Assem*; such as were purchased of the king paying no customs or imposts of any sort.

THE *Justice* being ready to sail on the first of *March*, waited for her consort, who had not yet completed her cargo. To expedite matters, the commodore took a journey to court, attended by the Sieur *Carlof* and *Mariage*. Necessaries for their journey were provided by the *Phidalgo* of *Offra*, and the captain of strangers conducted them to *Assem*. Here he was lodged in the *French* apartments in the palace, and honoured the day of his arrival with an audience. The great captains of horse and commerce introduced him to the king, who was seated under a rich canopy, in a great armed chair of damask, in the garden. This prince had been bred in a *Portuguese* convent, where he imbibed the principles of Christianity; but, for political reasons, concealed them. He dreaded the resentment of the *Marbut*, whose authority with the people was so great as might have made him totter in the throne, had he attempted any innovations in religion. King *Torison*, for that was his name, was seventy years of age, lusty, tall, and robust, with large and lively eyes. Penetration, wisdom, and good sense appeared in his countenance; nor did his conversation falsify those first impressions. He was dressed after the *Persian* fashion, with taffety *paans*, the uppermost of pinked sattin, with a girdle of broad taffety, and all above naked. On his head he wore a coif of fine linen, edged with lace; over which he wore a crown of finely polished ebony. In his hand was a whip, probably a truncheon, with a black handle, curiously ornamented. After kissing hands with his majesty, the commodore was seated on a mat on his right hand, and his officers ranged on mats on both sides. Compliments being finished, the commodore, addressing his majesty,

proposed building a factory in the *French* manner, that erected by the captain of commerce a being neither commodious nor sufficiently large. He told the king, that it would be the greatest security to trade to have their officers protected, and their goods well secured, and therefore intreated his royal permission to enter upon this first step towards both. In answer to this the king told him, that the officers might rely on his protection; that debts contracted by his subjects should be paid in twenty-four hours; and that the factory should be enlarged; but he refused to let the *French* build. "You will," says the sensible monarch, "erect a house, and put two small pieces of cannon in it at first. Next year you will mount four; this number you will gradually increase, till in a short time your factory will become a fort, that shall make you masters of my dominions, and enable you to give me law." This he accompanied with an air of raillery and good humour, that made it impossible for the commodore to be displeased with his refusal. After this, his majesty expressed great surprize that the *French* goods did not exceed in quality the *English* and *Dutch*. The commodore replied, that the company tried the success of the first voyage with the same effects, but that his majesty should for the future be supplied with the most elegant and curious merchandize. He intreated the king to name what would be most agreeable, and his majesty mentioned a silver hilted sword and cutlafs, large mirrors, the finest linen, laced shoes, velvet of all colours, scarlet cloth, slippers, silk stockings, and scented gloves. These the commodore promised he would bring or send in the first ship; and in the mean time presented his majesty with a fowling piece, and case of pistols with silver mounting; a present that was well received.

THE king proposed a visit to the prince, and accordingly the commodore was conducted to his palace, a league from the capital, by the captain of horse, at the head of an hundred troopers, armed with blunderbuffes and sabres. On this occasion the prince dispensed with the ceremonial that prohibits people of high rank from receiving visits in the morning. He met the commodore in the audience-chamber, which was spacious and handsome, the floor covered with a rich *Turky* carpet. The prince, who was seated on a mat, received him with great politeness, and familiarity; called for liquors, drank his health, and assured him in the kindest manner of the protection he had promised him. This visit ended, Monsieur *D'Elbee* supped, by invitation, with the high-priest. This great person's age was about forty, of an agreeable aspect, well made, and tall. He received the commodore with more formality than the princes had done, but with as much politeness. The finest clean mats were spread for table cloths on a *Turky* carpet that covered the floor. Sattin and taffety cushions were brought in for the guests to sit on; china and delft plates with fine diaper napkins, were served round; and the repast consisted of ragouts, boiled and roasted meats, with divers kinds of liquors, wines, brandy, *pito*, &c. Music enlivened the entertainments, and voices were heard like young childrens at a distance, which corresponded like the echo of the stronger voices, and were accompanied with the ringing of small bells. The priest, perceiving the commodore's attention, asked his opinion; and he in return expressed his astonishment and delight in the childrens singing. "They are my wives," replied the *Marbut*, "who afford you this amusement. It is not customary to shew our wives; but to convince you of the esteem I have for the *French*, I will give you the satisfaction, if you please." The commodore thanking him, after supper the priest conducted the company to a high gallery, with a window into the hall where they had supped. Here were seventy or eighty women, covered only with taffety *paans*, the upper part of the body being wholly naked. They sat in rows on mats at the ends and sides of the gallery, undisturbed and unconcerned at the entrance of the company, and continuing, with a modest bashful look, to sing and play with iron rods and little cylindrical copper bells. A figure of a child, of four years of age, stood in a corner of the gallery. It was painted white, and well cast. The commodore asked whose image it was? "The devil's," replied the priest. "The devil is not white," said the commodore: "that is your mistake," answered the priest; "for I can assure you he is very white, having often seen and conversed with him." He added, "you are obliged to him; for it is six months since he informed me of the design you had planned in *France* of opening a trade here. Pursuant to his advice we have neglected other *Europeans*, that you might the sooner have your cargo completed." The commodore suppressed his sentiments of this relation of the prelate's, not caring to enter into a dispute, which it would be impossible to determine. After this he took his leave, and the priest attended him to his hammock, in which he obliged the commodore to place himself before he would return to the palace. Hence he was escorted to *Offra* under a strong guard; and his consort having obtained her full complement of slaves, the commodore set sail from *Guiney*. It was thought convenient, however, that the *Concord* should remain a few days behind for the *Sieur Mariage*, who was putting the last hand to some affairs of the company.

THE *Dutch* apprehending the loss of their trade, if the *French* succeeded in their design of establishing a settlement here, did all that lay in their power to traverse them; and looked with

envy

- a envy on every mark of civility and favour the king bestowed on a *Frenchman*. Hitherto the force of the commodore kept their resentment from breaking out; but on his departure, and the arrival of two *Dutch* ships, that jealous people began to give full scope to their spleen. Under pretence of an exclusive right of trading, they pulled down the *French* flag at *Praya*. The *Sieur Mariage* flew with his people to oppose the indignity, and the dispute must have ended in blood, had not the *Phidalgo* interposed, and threatened with banishment whoever should disturb the public tranquillity. Expresses were dispatched to court with remonstrances from the *Phidalgo*; the affair was referred to the king, and both parties summoned to *Asses.* When they came here, new disputes arose concerning precedence, that still more embroiled the king and council, already perplexed. *Mariage* declared he would run the *Dutch* factor through the body, if he presumed to go before him. The prince prevented the quarrel from rising to extremities, by conducting the *Frenchman* to audience on his right hand, and the *Dutchman* on the left. The king approving the expedient, placed the parties accordingly, and admitted their remonstrances. The *Dutchman* could not deny the superiority assumed by the *French*, and acknowledged by all *Europe*, over the States General; but he insisted upon his right in consequence of a prior settlement at *Ardrab*. *Mariage* published the republic's original, and declared to whom they owed their liberty and very being. Both parties grew warm; when the king, commanding silence, spoke to this effect. "Address yourselves to your masters; let them regulate the precedence and rights of their servants; it doth not become me, who am ignorant of their circumstances and power. The date of settlements seems to determine the precedence in favour of the *Dutch*; but the great things I have heard of, and the power ascribed to, the *French* monarch, incline me to infringe this right, rather than be wanting in respect to so great a king. I therefore forbid flags to both, and all occasions of fresh disputes, till you receive the decision of your superiors. You are both but traders in my dominions, and it would better become you to vie in industry, diligence, and honesty, than in ostentation and vanity. I intend to be fully acquainted with the grandeur of the *French* king, and to assure him of my regard: wherefore I appoint my royal interpreter ambassador to him; and, turning to *Mariage*, recommend his safe conduct thither to you. In the mean time my pleasure is, that you embrace before me, that you eat together, live in harmony, and *French* and *Dutch* be but as one nation." The equity and strong sense of the royal reproof and decision enforced a compliance. Mutual embraces succeeded; the prince, highly pleased, entertained both parties with great magnificence; and the king, who ordered victuals from his table, would have been present but for those ceremonials and clogs on felicity in support of dignity. The *Sieur Mariage* had afterwards a long audience of the king, in presence only of the prince and the royal interpreter, now ambassador.
- MARIAGE, having thus happily succeeded in all he desired, embarked, with the ambassador, on board the *Concord*, who had now a cargo of 600 slaves. The ambassador was a man far advanced in years, but upright in his gait. He had a good countenance, with a bold manly air and polite address. He was at this time secretary of state and royal interpreter, a place of great trust and honour; had often represented the king at the courts of *Benin* and *Oyeo*; was perfectly acquainted with the manners, customs, governments, and interests of all the surrounding states; spoke the *Portuguese* language fluently, and was inquisitive in his inquiries, but close in answers; a courtier in complaisance, but a statesman in silence: in a word, he was a man agreeable to strangers upon indifferent topics, and fit to be trusted by his master with subjects of the highest importance. He had been instructed in the principles of the christian religion, assisted at mass with great devotion, and promised to be baptized upon the king's admitting missionaries into his dominions. Three of his wives only and three of his younger sons attended him, with eight domestics. They arrived after a happy voyage at *Martinico*, where they were well entertained by the governor and director general, and provided with proper necessaries for their voyage to *France*, where they arrived in *February* 1670.
- f On the ambassador's landing at *Dieppe*, the governor of the town entertained him with the greatest magnificence. The director, informed of his arrival, ordered the *Hotel de Lagnes* for his reception and residence. He was received at *St. Dennis* by proper attendants, with an equipage of two coaches and six horses, by whom he was conducted to *Paris*. There he was complimented on his arrival by the *West India* company, and the king sent a gentleman to attend him where-ever he went. He asked the *Sieur D'Elbee* and other officers of the company, who had informed him that the king would give him audience at *Paris*, "whether he had not done wrong in going out the day before, and seeing any thing before he had seen the king, and executed the principal intention of his embassy? I will go abroad no more," said he, "till I have waited on the greatest king in the universe, except my master."
- g The directors of the company had visited him in a body, and expatiated largely on the virtues, power, and potency of *Lewis*; insinuating the difference there was between a company protected by so great a king and the *Dutch*. He told the interpreter, "that by what he had seen, he

“ he believed no country in *Europe* was equal to *France*: that the manner in which he was
 “ treated, convinced him of the dignity of the company, and the falshood of the aspersions
 “ thrown upon them by the envious *Dutch*:” adding, “ I must have the honour of seeing
 “ and assuring the king, that the kingdom of *Ardrab* is wholly his, and its ports and trade
 “ at the company’s service.” To a director, who enquired after his health, he answered, “ that
 “ from indifferent it was become better, since he had seen the gentlemen of the company,
 “ and it would be quite established after he had the honour of seeing the king.” The air,
 rich clothing, and arms of the musqueteers and *Gens des Armes*, drawn up on the day of the
 audience in the courts of the *Tuilleries*, surprised and greatly attracted his attention: nor
 was he less pleased with the king’s curiosities and immense riches, displayed, in order for his
 view, on large tables in the hall of the lower apartments. On being asked his sentiments, he
 said, “ that he was going to see the king, whose splendor would throw a shade on all he
 “ had seen.” *Lewis*, distinguished by a profusion of diamonds on his robes, was seated on
 a throne raised on an estrade of several steps, at the upper end of the gallery, which was
 crowded with persons of distinction. He had the dauphin on his right hand, and the duke
 of *Orleans* on his left: lower on each side stood the princes of the blood, and the dukes and
 peers of *France* below them; the whole forming the most brilliant circle of any court in the
 universe. The ambassador in advancing made three profound bows, and, being mounted on
 the estrade, prostrated himself at the king’s feet, his sons doing the same behind him, with
 a politeness of manners that astonished the whole court. He then raised his head a little to
 begin his compliments, which he expressed gracefully in the following words. “ The king of
 “ *Ardrab*, my master, having heard the wonders fame has proclaimed of your majesty,
 “ and being ambitious to gain your favour, has sent me to offer himself and his kingdom
 “ to your majesty.” The king made him rise, and observing some confusion in his face,
 and a paper in his hand, asked what it was? The *Sieur D’Elbee* answered, that the ambassador,
 apprehending that his majesty’s grandeur would awe him so much as to disorder his speech,
 had desired him the day before to translate his memorial into *French*, in order to be read, if
 his majesty pleased. Accordingly the *Sieur D’Elbee* read it aloud, by his majesty’s permission,
 and in the following words.

“ SIRE,

“ THE king of *Ardrab* and *Alghemi*, my sovereign, named me ambassador, to offer and
 “ assure your majesty, that his dominions, ports, and trade are at your service, and open to
 “ your subjects. In confirmation of which, and to cement the friendship he is inclined to
 “ enter upon with your majesty, my sovereign declares, that for the future the company shall
 “ pay no more customs than 24 slaves. This is less considerably than the *Portuguese* for-
 “ merly, and the *English*, *Spaniards*, *Danes*, and *Swedes*, at present pay; it is even upon
 “ an equality with the *Dutch*, who have been long engaged in a treaty of commerce with
 “ *Ardrab*. I am further ordered to assure your majesty, that my sovereign will protect your
 “ subjects against the *Dutch* and prefer *Frenchmen* to them, wherever it can be done con-
 “ sistently with that justice he owes to all nations in alliance with him: and he engages to
 “ load *French* ships before the *Dutch* shall be permitted to purchase a single slave.
 “ In a dispute about precedency, the king, in distinction to so great a monarch, placed
 “ your majesty’s servant on his right hand, and lodged him in his palace, while the prince
 “ entertained the *Dutchman*, who was placed on the left. My sovereign desires to know of
 “ your majesty the honours due to your majesty’s flag, that he may order them to be observed
 “ throughout his kingdoms; and he requests of you to send two religious men, to instruct
 “ his subjects in the tenets of christianity. The principles are already superficially known to
 “ many of them, who have in consequence embraced the true faith. I am ordered to present
 “ my two sons to your majesty; to request your acceptance of them, and of two hangers, two
 “ *Haffagays*, a vest, and carpet. The advantages my children must receive in the service of so
 “ great a monarch I shall esteem my greatest felicity. My sovereign also requests your majesty’s
 “ belief, that if his country had produced any thing more curious, and which he would have
 “ thought more acceptable, it should have been sent to your majesty with joy, as he desires
 “ nothing so earnestly as to persuade the king of *France*, that he is also king of *Ardrab* as
 “ much as the reigning sovereign.”

Lewis listened to his speech with attention, answering the ambassador, that he was highly
 obliged to his brother of *Ardrab* for his genteel compliments, and for sending an ambassador
 whose person was so agreeable to him: that he accepted the present of his children, whom
 he would take under his own care and protection, when he left *Paris*. As to trade, he referred
 him to the directors of the company. The sign then being made to withdraw, the ambassador
 again prostrated himself at the king’s feet, made a low reverence when he rose up, and retired
 backwards

a backwards till he had made the third bow at the gallery door, whence he was conducted by the master of the ceremonies, in the king's coach, to the *Hôtel des Lagnes*.

A few days after the *Sieur de Bellisle* attended the ambassador, with the same retinue, to an audience of the queen. The captain of the guard in waiting received him at the entry of the hall, and the queen, dressed in jewels as far as mourning permitted, amidst the princesses and ladies of her court, received him in her chamber. His excellency made three steps towards her majesty, at each he bowed profoundly, and then prostrated himself with his wives and children, expressing their reverence by the clapping of their hands. The ambassador made his compliments in *Portuguese*: and the queen having obliged him to rise, answered him with great sweetness in *Spanish*. He made a second prostration, and three bows in his retreat; and was afterwards introduced by the duke *de Montancier* to the dauphin; the same ceremonies being observed. In his compliments to the dauphin he politely mentioned the happiness the duke *de Montancier* enjoyed, in being honoured with the education of the first prince in the universe. He told the dauphin, that the prince royal of *Ardrab* had commanded him to assure him of his respects; that he desired his esteem and friendship, which he would endeavour to merit; and presented the dauphin with the arms sent by the prince. His compliments were answered with that gracefulness of manner peculiar to the dauphin; upon which the ambassador was reconducted to his apartments. The greatest civilities were shewn him by the king's ministers and the lords of the court, who returned his visits. He was entertained with a representation of *La Feste de Pierre*, and regaled at *Rambouillet* by the directors of the company. He said his countrymen would take him for a liar when he related what he had seen in *France*. Four tables of twelve covers each were provided, and served in the most elegant manner. He was seated with the king's gentlemen and some directors at the first table; his sons were placed at the second; his three wives with some ladies at the third; and a director with other guests at the fourth. His good sense, politeness, and sobriety, were the admiration of all present. He seemed pleased with every thing, but suppressed his wonder, and resembled a connoisseur running over a gallery of fine paintings, where all the pieces struck him rather by their excellency than their novelty. After dinner he was carried to *Vincennes*, where the spaciousness of the apartments, the richness of furniture, and the elegance of the taste, made him say, "that, after seeing *France*, it was unnecessary to visit the rest of the world." He was reconducted from *Vincennes*, by torch-light, which surprised him more than any thing he had seen, and made him say, "that in *France* they had the art of altering the course of nature." He spent a few days afterwards in viewing the palaces and seats round *Paris*. Crowds attended him to the levee of *M. De Lionne*, secretary of state for foreign affairs. There he declared publicly, "that it was his duty, as he came to offer the king of *France* the dominions and services of the king his master, to beg that *M. De Lionne* would promote the correspondence by his good offices; and that he entertained great hopes from his merit and zeal for the honour of the king his sovereign." *M. De Lionne* having promised his interest, made several enquiries concerning the number of ports, the extent of the kingdom of *Ardrab*, and whether it was much exposed to wars? To which his excellency answered, "that his master's dominions towards the sea were small, but of great inland extent, and a fortnight's journey. That there were no ports on the coast of *Guiney*; roads only, where shipping suffered but little from the furs of the sea, and tempests were rare. As to war, he said, that the king of *Ardrab* was often involved in quarrels with potent neighbours, and on those occasions, headed a numerous army of well-armed and disciplined horse and foot." Upon taking leave he was carried to the company's hotel, where the directors received him in a body. On this occasion he told them, "that he had long wished for this opportunity to thank them for the favours he had received; that his gratitude would be perpetual, and that they might always esteem him their zealous and obliged servant." The directors concluded their compliment with thanking him for the dispatch given by the king of *Ardrab* to their ships *Concord* and *Justice*; for the grant of a settlement in his dominions; and finished the audience with the following proposals in regard to trade.

" 1st. THAT the company's ships trading to *Ardrab* shall enjoy a preference to those of all other nations.

" 2d. THAT instead of eighty, their duties shall amount to no more than twenty-four slaves; and that this duty shall be put on the same footing as in the time of the *Portuguese*.

" 3d. THAT the king of *Ardrab* shall oblige his subjects indebted to the company to render speedy payment.

g " 4th. THAT the factors shall not be obliged to give credit to any grandees whom they have reason to believe incapable of payment.

" 5th. THAT leave be granted to cover the magazines and factory with tiles, instead of straw; to prevent the danger to which it is hourly exposed from fire.

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“ 6th. THAT the king will be pleased to take the company’s factory and effects under a
“ his protection.”

THESE articles granted, the company shall engage to keep the warehouses stocked with goods to the value of 500 slaves above the common call ; to send ships yearly, and to trade with no other prince for the same commodities.

THE ambassador agreed to all besides the first and fifth articles : but answered to the first, that, if the company would deal only with the king, he could assure them of the preference they proposed. As to the fifth, he said, that all his interest with his master should be used to obtain it ; but he could not insure success, as his majesty seemed fixed in his resolution to prohibit their building. A duplicate of the negotiation was drawn in *French* and *Portuguese*, which was signed and kept by both parties. He presented the company with a carpet of the bark of trees, manufactured at *Ardrah* ; in return for which he received a large looking glass in a copper frame gilt : after which the directors conducted him to a coach in waiting. His excellency, having had his audience of leave, left *Paris* in the middle of *February* 1671 ; his charges to *Havre*, where two ships waited his arrival, being defrayed by the king. Upon seeing the presents of *Lewis* to his master, he cried out, “ there is but one monarch in the world ; all
“ kings must yield to the king of *France* : my master will never believe what I tell him ;
“ he will even doubt of what he shall see.” The presents were committed to the care of *Carlof*, who, after the arrival of the ships at *Ardrah*, injuriously suspected the ambassador’s intention of converting some of them to his own use. There never appeared the smallest foundation of proof for this jealousy ; and the indignity so stung the ambassador, that, forgetting his respect for the *French* nation, he used all his interest with the king to their prejudice. Fortunately for the company, the king was wholly employed in a civil war that had blocked up the passages for carrying slaves to *Offra*. Before the war was ended the minister died, the presents were returned to *France*, and the company enjoyed a sort of trade till the revolution we have mentioned was brought about by the brave king of *Dahomay*. b c

C H A P. XVI.

S E C T. I.

Contains the origin of the French, Portuguese, Dutch, and English commerce on the coast of Guiney, and more particularly on the Gold Coast.

^a **H**AVING described the kingdoms of *Benin*, *Whidab*, and *Ardrab*, with some other states contained under the general division of the *Slave Coast*, we now come to give an account of the *Gold Coast*, or *Guiney Proper*. As this division is not only better known, but also of more importance to *Europeans* in general, and particularly to this nation, we shall beg leave to describe it with all the minuteness which the best authorities will admit of, adding to the testimony of writers some farther particulars we have received from some gentlemen long resident at *Cape Coast*, and perfectly acquainted with the manners, customs, government, produce, and trade of the country. *Introduction to the Gold Coast.*

Gold Coast.

^b **T**HE *Gold Coast* had its name given by the *Portuguese*, from the immense quantity of the precious metal which it produces. The same reason has made all the other nations of *Europe* retain the appellation. According to the best charts, founded upon the latest observations, the situation of the *Gold Coast* is between $4^{\circ} 30'$ and 8° north latitude; and 16° and $18^{\circ} 4'$ of longitude, beginning at the river *Ankobar*, and extending to the *Rio Volta*, that is, about 130 leagues from west to east ^a. *Smith* makes some variation in its dimensions; but as his assertions are confirmed by no reasons, we shall adhere to the accurate *Prevost's* account. We have observed, that the *French* and *Portuguese* dispute the discovery of this coast. *Villault* and *Robbé* are positive that *Nigritia* and *Guiney* were known to the *French* above an hundred years before the *Portuguese* began their discoveries. The one goes as high as the year 1346; ^c the other fixes the date of this discovery in the year 1364. It was this year, according to *Robbé*, that some merchants of *Dieppe* made a number of trading voyages to the *Cape de Verde* islands, penetrating as far as *Sestro Paris*, on the *Grain* or *Malaguette Coast*. A. 1382, the merchants of *Dieppe* and *Rouën* jointly sent three ships to make discoveries on the same coast. One of the ships, called the *Vierge*, went to *Commendo*, and thence to the spot where the village *Elmina* stands, which had its name from the quantity of gold supposed to be dug out of the mines in the country. The following year the same merchants built a strong house or factory here; for the defence of which they left twelve men, which colony was for some years increasing. In 1387, it was so considerable, that they built a chapel, and the trade continued to flourish till 1413, when the civil wars in *France* occasioned its falling into decay. ^d The *Normans* were soon forced to abandon not only *Elmina*, but also *Sestro Paris*, *Cape Monte*, *Sierra Leona*, the *Cape de Verds*, and all their other establishments (A). *Geographical description of the coast of Guiney, or that division called the Gold Coast.*

VILLAUT supports the claim of his nation by a relation somewhat different. His account is, that in the year 1346, some adventurers of *Dieppe*, accustomed to long voyages, having sailed along the coast of *Europe*, passed over to the coasts of *Nigritia* and *Guiney*, where they established several colonies, particularly one in the *Cape de Verds*, in the bay of *Rio Fresco*, and another on the *Grain Coast*. They called that bay extending from *Cape Verd* to *Cape Mosto*, *Baye de France*. A village between *Rio Juno*, and *Rio Sestos*, they called *Little Dieppe*; and to another village near *Cape Palmas* they gave the name of *Sestro Paris*, or *Great Sestro*. From each of these colonies they yearly imported great quantities of gold dust, elephants teeth, *The French claim being the first discoverers.*

^a Atlas universel, par M. ROBERT, & M. T. VANGONDY. PREVOST, tom. v. liv. ix. c. 4.

(A) Where *Robbé* picked up all this ancient history we know not. Certain it is, that he brings but lame proofs to support the claim of his countrymen to the discovery. One of the most notable arguments for their having built *Elmina*, is, that after a number of revolutions, one of the bastions of the fort still bore

the name of the *French* bastion, and had distinctly those cyphers 13 — wrote upon it. But these might as well be the last as the first cyphers of the date. In short, he proves nothing but his being possessed of a fruitful invention.

and other *African* commodities. From the ivory, the inhabitants of *Dieppe* made a number a of valuable toys; which gaining them a reputation of ingenuity in that way, they maintained it for a number of years. The same writer affirms, that in the year 1383, the *Normans* laid the foundation of the fort at *Mina*, which flourished till 1484, when the civil wars prevented the *French* from attending to commerce, and suffered their colonies to pass into the hands of the *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, *English*, *Danes*, and *Courlanders*.

History of this discovery.

BUT if we admit those facts, it must appear a little extraordinary that the greatest *French* historians, neither *Serres* nor *Mezeray*, should ever once mention them. Enterprizes of such a nature would seem to merit their attention, especially in the infancy of commerce, and when long voyages excited universal admiration, and were regarded as miracles. Besides, not the smallest testimony appears in any *Portuguese* historian, in support of their conjecture, that *Fort Elmina* b was built by the *French* in 1383. Nay *Azambuja*, who undertook to fortify that place in 1484, appears to be ignorant of there having ever before his time been a fortification there. From this silence of the best *French* and *Portuguese* historians, we may conclude, that the assertions of *Robbé* and *Villault* are bold and hardy, corroborated rather by the silence of the opposite side, than proved by the arguments they bring, and founded more upon prejudice and national attachment, than upon authority.

Origin of the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa.

THE *Portuguese*, continues *Villault*, who knew nothing beyond *Cape Verd*, observing the great advantages drawn by the *Dieppers* from their commerce to *Guiney* for the space of fifty years, fitted out a ship at *Lisbon*, under the protection of *Don Henry*, for the sole purpose of making discoveries along the coast. *Alphonso* the first at that time reigned in *Portugal*. c The ship arriving on the *Guiney Coast* in the rainy season, all the crew, unaccustomed to such a climate, fell into diseases of different kinds, which made such terrible havock of them, that they resolved to leave so inhospitable a shore; but being ignorant of the tides, winds, and the navigation of those seas, they were driven on an island in the gulph of *Guiney*, which they called *St. Thomas*, their arrival being upon that day. The liberal supplies they found here of all necessaries, made them regard this incident as the peculiar favour of heaven to them, at a time when the crazy condition of their ship made their situation very distressful. Here the *Portuguese* made a considerable stay, laying the first foundation of a colony on the island. After repairing the vessel, they set sail for *Lisbon*, where they arrived in 1454. The court of *Portugal*, eager in the pursuit of wealth, and warm in the interests of commerce, were not d long before another fleet was fitted out to secure and strengthen this infant colony. They pushed their discoveries as far as *Benin*, and in process of time arrived in the road of *Akra*, on the *Gold Coast*, where they procured a great quantity of gold. On their return, the governor of *St. Thomas* fitted out three caravans, having on board a number of adventurers, and materials for building factories on different parts of the coast. These vessels came to *Elmina* four years after the departure of the *French* b.

PURCHAS relates, that *Alphonso* having but little leisure for pushing discoveries towards the latter end of his reign, formed or gave an exclusive privilege for five years to *Fernando Gomez*, a citizen of *Lisbon*, to sail to the coast of *Africa*. By agreement he was every year to discover 300 miles, beginning at *Sierra Leona*, and advancing along the coast c.

THIS *Gomez* it was that sent out *Santeren* and *Scovane*, says *Purchas*; *Escobar*, according to *Marmol*; who discovered *Elmina*, and to *Cape St. Catherine*, south of the equinoctial. During this period were also discovered, the islands of *St. Thomas*, *St. Matthew*, *Annobon*, and *del' Principe* (B). In the year 1681, *John* the second, resolving to encourage and support the commercial spirit of his subjects, sent ten caravans laden with stores and every thing necessary for building a fort, and houses for a colony, under the conduct of *Jago Azambuja*, or according to *Purchas*, *Diego Dezambuja*. This general arriving on the coast, sent notice to *Kasamanfa*, prince of the country, to come on board to ratify the treaty concluded with him by the former *Portuguese* ships. In the mean while he possessed himself of a little eminence, capable of containing 500 houses, as a situation the most commodious for a fort. Here he hoisted f the *Portuguese* standard on *St. Sebastian's* day; a name that was given to the neighbouring valley, where the *Portuguese* landed. Soon after their landing, *Azambuja* perceiving that the negro prince with his retinue was approaching, drew up his men in order, and seated himself in a great

b PREVOST, tom. v. liv. ix. c. 4.

c PURCHAS'S pilgrims, tom. i. p. 7.

(B) *Purchas* fixes the date of these discoveries from the year 1449 to the year 1454. *Gomez*, he says, had a five years lease of the *African Coast*, during which time the above places were found out. *Marmol*, as he

is quoted by *Prevost*, asserts that they were unknown till the year 1471; at least that they were not known to the *Portuguese* till the time of *John* the second; and in this *Purchas* seems afterwards to agree with him (1).

(1) *Purchas*, tom. ii. part 2. p. 7. *Prevost*, tom. v. lib. ix. c. 4.

a chair in the center. He was richly dressed in a gold brocade, with a gold collar set with diamonds. All his attendants were clothed in silks, and every thing set off with the utmost magnificence, in order to strike the negroes with high notions of the wealth and power of the *Portuguese*. Nor did *Kasamansa* on his part neglect any thing which could set off the state, the puissance, and the pride of his nation. He was attended by a strong corps of negroes, all armed after their manner, and attended by warlike musick, which made a horrible noise. The chief officers were dressed in their hostile apparel, of which we shall give a description elsewhere, each followed by two pages, the one carrying his shield, the other his weapons of offence. All had their hair and beards finely adorned with gold and other ornaments, interlaced with garlands, or wove in like beads. After the first salutations were over, *Azambuja* entered upon a formal discourse, in which he expatiated on the great power of the king his master, the affection he bore *Kasamansa*, his desire of carrying on a commerce to the mutual advantage of both their nations, and lastly his request, that he might be permitted to build a fort for the protection and security of this commerce. *Kasamansa*, who was a sensible, politic prince, raised several objections against this proposal, but at length consented to it; and next day *Azambuja* entered upon his work. Stones were drawn from the neighbouring quarries, for erecting the fort and houses; but the negroes began to shew marks of displeasure, both on account of the respect and worship they pay to stones and rocks, and because they disliked seeing themselves curbed, and hemmed in by strong works. However, they were appeased by presents, and so diligently did the *Portuguese* labour, that in less than a month their fort was in a state of defence. The materials they had brought were so artfully contrived, that the workmen had nothing more to do than lay them upon each other. *Azambuja* having succeeded no less happily in his trade for gold, returned loaded with immense wealth. Upon this occasion, whatever the *French* writers may allege, it is probable the fort *St. George de la Mina* or *Elmina*, had its first rise (C).

JOHN, the successor of *Alphonso*, conferred many privileges on this new colony; he made *Mina* a city, and lavished his gifts and immunities on it. He ordered a church to be built, which he dedicated to *St. George*; and it was ordained, that all those who for the future should make discoveries along the south coast of *Africa*, should erect a monument of square stone six feet high, with the arms of *Portugal* engraved, and a *Latin* and *Portuguese* inscription, bearing the date of such discovery, the reign in which it was made, and the admiral or discoverer's name.

A few years after, the same prince established a *Guiney* company, with exclusive privileges. So considerable were the profits of this new corporation, that their views rising with their success, they built fort *St. Andrea*, near *Axim*, another little fort upon *Akra*, and a storehouse at *Sama*, on the river *St. George*, to furnish *Elmina* with provisions, as it had hitherto been supplied by a sort of dependance on the prince of the country. The king however, reserved to himself the right of appointing the governors and officers of the head settlement, with a view to make those employments the reward of eminent services to the crown; and the recompence of diligence, courage, and public spirit. Thus, says *Barbot*, the garrison of *Elmina* was in time composed of officers equally poor and covetous, and of soldiers accustomed to war, plunder, and rapine^d. When to these were joined all the felons and other malefactors of *Portugal*, whose crimes were thought too slight to merit a gibbet, but morals too loose to be permitted to stay in the kingdom, can it be wondered, that in all historians, we meet with the most hideous pictures of *Portuguese* violence, cruelty, and inhumanity?

In the reign of *Henry* the third of *France*, tranquility being for a time restored to the kingdom, the *French* began to renew their voyages to the *Grain* and *Gold Coast*. But such was the terror the *Portuguese* had struck into the natives, that they were afraid to accept of any

After the civil wars the French renewed their voyages to Guiney.

^d BARBOT, ubi supra.

(C) By a treaty concluded on the fourth of September, between the kings of *Castile* and *Portugal*, it was stipulated, that the commerce and navigation to *Guiney*, as well as the conquest of *Fex*, should belong to *Portugal*, to the perpetual exclusion of the *Castilians*; and that the *Canaries* should in the same exclusive manner be annexed to the crown of *Spain*. The historian *Faria* pretends, that in contempt of this solemn agreement, the *Castilians* sent a fleet to the coast of *Guiney*, which falling in with the *Portuguese* squadron, a brisk action ensued, the advantage remaining on the side of the latter. *Barbot* takes great pains to refute the truth of *Faria's* assertion, and his arguments appear conclusive.

First, he alleges the intire silence of all the *Spanish* writers concerning this transaction. Next, the strict union begun this year between the two crowns, their forces being united against the common enemy, the *Turks*. Thirdly, the expedition of *Azambuja* he thinks a manifest refutation of the whole transaction related by *Faria*; for *Azambuja* did not sail till near two years after the date of this imaginary treaty. The same historian (*Faria*) says, that in 1478, the *Castilians* sent a fleet of 35 sail to *Guiney*, which returned with prodigious rich cargoes. But this *Barbot* likewise denies, supporting his opinion with several weighty reasons (2).

(2) *Barbot*, p. 162, 163. *Prevost*, t. v. l. ix. c. 4. etiam t. i. c. 2.

Quarrels
between the
French and
Portuguese.

overtures made by the *French*. At length the inhabitants of *Akra* were raised to the highest pitch of indignation, by some severities committed by the *Portuguese*; they attacked the little fort situated in this province, massacred the garrison, and raised the walls to the ground. Henceforward the credit of the *Portuguese* began to decline. From 1578, when this occurrence happened, we may date the first beginnings of the commerce of other *Europeans* to the coast of *Guiney*. Others now shared in that wealth, which had long been engrossed by the *Portuguese*; but this was not accomplished without great loss of blood on all sides. Numbers of *French* in particular lost their lives, not only by the hands of the *Portuguese*, but by those of the negroes also, who had a large premium given them for every *French* head they brought to the *Portuguese* fort. Their heads were set up, and exposed on the walls of *Elmina*; a barbarity which intimidated the *French* merchants, and made them once more abandon the *Guiney* trade. *Artus* of *Dantzick* has left us a curious account of their conduct, from the destruction of the *Portuguese* fort near *Akra*, till their total expulsion from that coast.

Success of the
Dutch.

THE *Portuguese*, he says, did not confine themselves to the extirpation of the *French* only; the same severities they used against other *Europeans*, and even against the private merchants of their own nation, who were hardy enough to encroach on their privileges. Their ships and cargoes were confiscated, and the crews put to death. One instance in particular is given of a *Lisbon* ship, the cargo of which was condemned to the king's use, the ship to the company's, and the crew to death. The *Dutch* were the only *Europeans* who continued firm to their interest, in contempt of dangers and difficulties. Their perseverance was crowned with success, and at last they made themselves masters of the forts of *Elmina* and *Axim*, obtaining that security by their courage, which the *Portuguese* had lost by their insolence and cruelty. In what manner they used their good fortune, is a point we shall at present pass over. Certain it is, that if any credit be due to the *Portuguese* historians, neither natives or foreigners had any reason to rejoice in the change of masters; as to the pride and barbarity of the *Portuguese*, the *Dutch* added a species of cool brutality, peculiar to that phlegmatic people. The rebels, says *Vasconcelos*, speaking of the *Dutch*, owed their success more to debauchery and drunkenness, than to courage. They stuck at no means to accomplish their ends; fraud and force were the same to them, so that they arrived at the same end. They first ruined the morals of the natives and perverted their understandings, after which they became the fit tools of their wicked designs. Wine, spirits, and the indolence of the *Portuguese*, were in fact the true instruments of their good fortune. By these they raised themselves to be masters, or rather pirates, so formidable by their numbers, that they seized the forts of *Bourtri*, *Cora*, *Cormantin*, *Aldin de Fuerto*, and *Commendo*. In the end they got possession of *Elmina* itself, and for the space of many years carried on so peaceable and profitable a commerce, that their returns from thence amounted to little less than two millions in gold, besides other commodities. The quantity of merchandize, which they exported thither from *Europe*, and the good bargains they gave the negroes, raised them high at first in the esteem of those barbarians, who soon found reason to consider their fair and honest dealing as a bait to lead them to their destruction. Such are the words of *Vasconcelos*, an historian who may be supposed strongly prejudiced against the *Dutch*; although it must be owned, that his report of their conduct here bears but too strong a resemblance to their behaviour in the *Indies*, and wherever they proposed to settle colonies.

Origin of the
Dutch com-
merce with
Guiney.

THE first *Dutchman* who led the way to *Guiney*, was one *Bernard Erick*. This man had made the proposal to some merchants in *Holland*. The scheme was thought so rational, that a ship was fitted out; the command given to *Erick*, and a rich cargo sent by him in 1595. Running along the *Gold Coast*, *Erick* established a correspondence with the natives; he treated them with great civility, shewed them a variety of fine goods at an easy rate, and intirely alienated their affections from the *Portuguese*. The *Portuguese* governors were however not wanting in their endeavours to crush rivals they foresaw would be dangerous. They represented the *Dutch* as rebels and traitors to their natural king; a lawless people, whose sole principle was the love of gain. They assured the negroes, that however speciously they might for the present conduct themselves, their view was first to gain a footing, and afterwards to maintain and extend it by force of arms. Commerce was the pretext, but the real design, they said, was to reduce the natives to slavery. By large rewards, the governors engaged the negroes to destroy the first vessels that should arrive on the coast; and *Simon de Tave* was the first victim of the *Portuguese* jealousy; this gentleman and all his crew being cut off by a stratagem of the negroes. Many other misfortunes of the same nature befel the *Dutch*, some of which they revenged, others they patiently bore with, while their interest required it. They had formed a strong interest among the natives; and those who still adhered to their allegiance to the *Portuguese*, were induced to it solely from the force of rewards, or the fear of punishment. At length, by their intrigues with the king of *Sabo*, they obtained permission to build a fort

a three leagues east of *Cabo Carso* or *Cape Coast*. This fort was finished in 1624, the command of it given to captain *Adrian Jacob*, and the *Dutch* power founded in *Guiney*, at the time the states were engaged in a war with *Philip* the IVth of *Spain*.

It was in the year following, that the *Dutch* formed their design against the fort of *St. George d'Elmina*. Their troops consisted of 200 *Hollanders*, and 150 negroes of *Sabo*, led on by the vice-admiral *Jean Dirks Lamb*, who entered *Ampona* in the kingdom of *Commendo*. But they were intirely defeated by the negroes of *Elmina*, who charged themselves with the defence of the *Portuguese*. They attacked suddenly the *Dutch* forces as they descended a mountain, before they had time to range themselves. The action was long and obstinate, when at length the *Dutch* were killed almost to a man. *Lamb* the general was dangerously wounded; and
b owed his life to the seasonable succours sent by the negroes of *Commendo* ^z.

THE next attempt of the *Dutch* upon *Elmina* was in the year 1637, when the *West India* company procured a strong squadron to be sent to the coast of *Africa*. This armament was commanded by colonel *Hans Coine*, a diligent officer, who left no measures untried, necessary to the success of the enterprize. Eight hundred soldiers, five hundred sailors, and a considerable body of negroes were landed within a small distance of *Cape Coast*; provisions for three days were taken with them, and *Hans Coine* began his march, dividing the troops into three columns. The general who led the rear, observing that the negroes of *Elmina*, to the number of a thousand, possessed the hill of *St. Jago*, to prevent his seizing a post, which absolutely commanded the fort, he determined to force it, and for this purpose ordered it to be attacked by four
c companies of fusileers. The negroes made so brave a resistance, that the *Dutch* were cut in pieces, the heads of the slain fixed upon spears, and carried in triumph to the fort. However, another party, conducted by major *Bongarçon*, crossing the river *Dona* by a ford, attacked the hill on the other side with such vigour, that the negroes, after a great loss and an obstinate conflict, were forced to surrender the fruits of their late victory, and abandon the important post of *St. Jago*. *Bongarçon*, leaving a strong guard here, pursued his march, and happily rejoined the army in spite of all the endeavours of the *Portuguese* to cut off the communication. The *Portuguese* and their negroes despairing of being able to keep their ground on the plain, retired to a redoubt they still held on the declivity of mount *St. Jago*. Here they were again attacked by colonel
d *Coine*. The redoubt was covered on the one side by a wood. *Coine*, who perceived this, and that only two paths led to it, one across the ford of the river, the other through the wood, ordered two pieces of cannon and a mortar to be drawn up through the latter, and so advantageously pointed, that after forcing the enemy to abandon the redoubt, a battery was raised which played with great success upon the fort of *Elmina*. After the siege had continued for two days, and the event became doubtful, by reason of the courage of the besieged, and the perseverance of the besiegers, the *Dutch* received a strong re-inforcement under the conduct of the *Dutch* commander in chief, *Van Ypren*. This officer, to cut off all delay, summoned
e the garrison, declaring in the most positive terms, they should without distinction be put to the sword, if they stood an assault. The *Portuguese* governor desired three days to determine, and the *Dutch* general refused it, assembling all his forces for storming the walls. This
f had the effect, the garrison hanging out a white flag, and beating a parley. Two officers from the governor waited on *Van Ypren* to regulate the articles of surrender; but no others would be granted than submitting at discretion. The general however consented to the following terms, viz. that the governor and all the other *Portuguese*, with their wives and children, without their effects, ensigns, arms, or provision, should immediately evacuate the fort. That all the merchandize, the gold, slaves, &c. should remain the property of the conquerors. That all the ornaments of the church, except such as were of the precious metals, might be carried away. And that the *Portuguese* and *Mulatatoes* should be transported to the island of *St. Thomas* ^h.

THUS it was, that the *Dutch* entered upon the possession of the celebrated fortrefs of *St. George d'Elmina*, on the 29th of *August*, 1637. *Bosman* refers this transaction to the following year; but in this he is contradicted by all other historians, *French*, *Spanish*, and *Portuguese*. Here they found 30 pieces of cast cannon, nine thousand weight of powder, great store of other ammunition, but little gold or merchandize. Colonel *Coine* having appointed a governor, and a garrison of 140 *Dutch*, besides negroes in the fort, returned to *Mawri*. Resolving to draw all possible advantages from the consternation with which so rapid a conquest had struck the whole coast, the *Dutch* general sent a message to the governor of *Axim*, summoning him to surrender the place, before he should be compelled by force of arms. This was a settlement, next to *Elmina*, of the greatest consequence to the *Portuguese*; and the governor answered, with a resolution worthy of the confidence reposed in him. His reply was, that the fort had
g been given him to defend: that his oath, and duty to his country, obliged him to this; that

The Dutch
take the fort
St. George
d'Elmina.

Brave answer
of a Portu-
guese go-
vernor.

^z Ibid. etiam SMITH, p. 113.

^h BARBOT, p. 155.

therefore the *Dutch* might come as soon as they pleased, they would always find him in a condition to receive them. This bold conduct caused the *Dutch* for that time to lay aside the design; nor did the fort *Axim* come into their hands till the year 1642ⁱ.

The Dutch
attack the
English settle-
ments.

Their usurpa-
tion.

Natives besiege
Elmina.

AFTER the reduction of *Elmina*, the *Dutch* doubted not but the whole trade of *Guiney* would soon center there, and fall into their hands. *Van Ypren* was ordered by the company to reside at that important place in quality of governor-general of *Guiney* and *Angola*. He applied himself assiduously to the reparation of the fortifications; he enlarged the chief building, encreased the number of the houses, and was no less careful to give strength and beauty, than conveniency to the place. At first he treated the natives with great indulgence, but as soon as the *English* expressed an inclination to share in the trade of the country, and had for that purpose applied to the negroes for leave to establish colonies, then was the kindness of the *Dutch* altered for a severity and cruelty unbecoming a nation that owes its being to commerce, and forms pretensions to civilized humanity. They even presumed openly to attack the *English*, by seizing upon *Fort Cormantin*, where at that time the governor usually resided; a barefaced usurpation, that became one motive of the war in 1666, between *England* and the *United Provinces*. To keep the natives in more absolute subjection, they erected forts at *Bourtry*, *Sama*, *Cape Coast*, *Anamaboa*, and *Akra*, under pretence of protecting them against the frequent incursions of the inland natives, their constant enemies. Not contented with this, they assumed to themselves a right of confining the commerce of certain places solely to themselves; even the fish caught by the poor negroes of certain sea-ports, they prohibited, under severe penalties, from being sold at any price to other nations; although to cheapen it they have suffered it to rot in the market. In a word, the government they erected was the most despotic and arbitrary that could be, taking cognizance of all affairs civil and criminal, and rendering themselves the sole judges of property, liberty, life, and death. Notwithstanding this, they still continued to pay the lawful sovereigns a small tribute for the lands on which they built their factories: but this they soon reimbursed themselves in, by the most unfeeling extortion, and corrupt perversion of justice.

THE discontent and disaffection of the negroes rose so high, when *Barbot* resided in the country, that having come to an open rupture with their imperious masters, they kept the director general blocked up in *Elmina*. This quarrel, which continued for ten months, ended, after two assaults were given, in the loss of four men only on the side of the *Dutch*, and about fifty on that of the negroes^k. However, had those barbarians had perseverance enough to continue the siege longer, *St. George Elmina* must probably have fallen into their hands, and been for ever lost to the *Dutch*. *Barbot* thinks their resentment against the *Dutch* but too well founded. He relates some of the most cruel and savage punishments inflicted upon those miserable wretches for faults merely trifling, by the *Hollanders*, who ought rather to have smiled at their simplicity, had they been possessed of the bowels of humanity. Hence it was, that the author was daily implored to procure them the protection of *France*, and assist them to throw off a yoke altogether unsupportable (D). Such has been the conduct of this phlegmatic people, invariably in all their conquests and establishments, whether in *Asia*, in *Africa*, or in *America*. They would monopolize the whole trade of those countries, without deserving any share of the favours of the natives; they would insinuate, cajole, flatter and cringe, that they might rule, domineer, and play the tyrant, both tending to the same ends, self-interest, and the love of gain.

Origin and
progress of the
English royal
African
company.

WE come now to the first establishments of our own nation on the coast of *Guiney*; a trade here having been carried on some years by private adventurers, without the participation, aid, or protection of the government. In 1585, and 1588, queen *Elizabeth* granted two patents to certain rich merchants of *England*, the one for an exclusive trade to the coast of *Barbary*; the other for that of *Guiney*, between the rivers *Senegal* and *Gambia*. In 1592, the same body of merchants obtained a third patent, extending their rights from the river *Nogne* or *Nagnez*, to the south of *Sierra Leona*. But whether this trade was discontinued on account of a deficiency of their capital stock, from an ignorance of the nature of the traffick; or that the term of their charter was expired, we are no-where told: certain only it is, that the trade

ⁱ Ibid. etiam PREVOST, ubi supra.

^k BARBOT, p. 162, 163, & seq.

(D) The following instance may serve as a specimen of the arbitrary conduct of the *Dutch*. As *Barbot's* ship lay in the road of *Elmina*, the *Dutch* governor observed, while our author was at dinner with him, some canoes going to trade with the *French* ship. This put the *Dutchman* into the most violent passion, and made him threaten to seize the ship and cargo; which

the *Frenchman*, knowing he was too weak to resist, endeavoured to divert by all the concessions in his power. Every means however was ineffectual, till he proposed selling the cargo at an under price to the governor. This bargain was made; and *Barbot*, to prevent losing all, accepted of about a tenth of what the goods were worth (3).

a was wholly dropt, and again resumed in the sixth year of *James* the first, who granted a patent under the great seal to *Sir Robert Rich*, and other merchants of *London*, with an exclusive power, of more validity and extent than any of the former grants. Even this was insufficient; the new company sustained such a variety of losses, that they grew heartily tired of the commerce of *Africa*, and, as appears by a memorial delivered to the house of commons, were ready intirely to abandon it, without relief from parliament. Then it was that the *Dutch* began to share in the wealth of the other hemisphere, and to divide the trade with the *Portuguese*. Their success excited some other *English* merchants to represent to *James* the first, of what importance it was to this kingdom to preserve the *African* trade; a remonstrance that was followed by a patent to *Nicholas Crisp*, *Humphrey Hamer* and company, for the sole and exclusive right of that commerce¹.

b In the year 1651, the same rights were rendered and confirmed to *Rowland Wilson* and several other merchants, by the republic of *England*; but during the unhappy distraction of affairs preceding this period, the *Dutch* and *Danes* had seized the opportunity of fortifying themselves on the coast of *Africa*; infomuch, that with the loss of their settlements, the *English* company had the misfortune to see their stock and capital ruined. Some private traders still however continued to frequent those coasts; but their success was no better than that of the company, having lost ships and effects to the amount of 800,000 *l.* sterling. The parliament, upon some representations made by the merchants of *London*, resolved to address *Charles* the second, upon the subject of the *African* trade. Accordingly in 1664, they c petitioned his majesty that he would be pleased to re-establish this commerce, and, by a vigorous exertion of his power, curb the insolence of the *Dutch*; but the war in 1665 prevented the effects of this application^m.

CHARLES had granted, in 1662, a charter to a body of merchants, under the name of the *Royal Company of England trading to Africa*, extending their limits from the mouth of the *Streights* to the *Cape of Good Hope*. This company, which was only in its infancy when the war broke out, suffered extremely from the depredations of *De Ruyter*, who took the castle of *Cormantin* and fort of *Tokaray*, with ships to the amount of 200,000 *l.* By an article in the treaty of *Breda*, restitution was to have been made of all the places taken by either party during the war; but the affairs of the company were so low and disordered, that they d consented to surrender that charter for a sum of money; upon which the king immediately erected another corporation, called the *Royal African Company*, which has subsisted to this day. This charter bears date *September 27*, 1672, and establishes the limits of the company's exclusive privileges from *Cape Sale* on the south of *Barbary*, to the *Cape of Good Hope*. Although the capital this new corporation begun with was small, yet so great was their diligence and success, that in a few years the face of affairs received a total change, *Cape Coast* was enlarged and beautified. This fort was the only remains of the old company, and purchased from them at the price of 34000 *l.* The forts of *Akra*, *Dicks Cove*, *Winebaw*, *Sukkonda*, *Commendo*, and *Anamaboa*, were built or repaired, all of them on the *Gold Coast*, several e within musquet shot of the *Dutch* settlements. They bought *Fredericksburg* of the *Danes*, and built a new fort in *Whidah*. In a word, in spite of all the murmurings, jealousies, and heart-burnings of the *Dutch*, they raised their commerce equal to theirs, and superior to that of all other nationsⁿ.

It appeared, that the *Royal African Company*, soon after their establishment, exported of home manufactures to the value of 7000 *l.* yearly (E); that they abundantly supplied our *American*

¹ Vid. a pamphlet, intituled, The Importance of the African company, p. 10, 11, & seq. Journ. H. C. sub hoc anno.

^m Vid. a Memoire presented to the committee of the house, p. 667.

(E) The exports from *England* to *Africa*, at present consist of annabasses, arrangos, rough amber, brags of all sorts, blankets, bays, bells, amber beads, crystal, coral and all other beads, broad cloth, boysadoes, carpets, camblets, copper of all sorts, cotton, stuffs of all kinds, worsteds, damasks, druggets, duroys, earthen ware, fringe, flint, fire steels, fuzees, musquets, carbines, blunderbusses, pistols, gunpowder. Goods from the *East-Indies*, viz. atlasses, atchabannies, allejars, allibares, brawls, baufts, bejutepats, bombay stuffs, calicoes, carridarries, cherconnees, chelloes, chillas, chirts, coopees, cowries, chucklaes, cushlaes, cuttanees, elatches, ginghams, *Guiney* cloths, jamewares, long cloths, longees, herbalongees, silk or photalongees, lemmanes, muslins, negannepauts, nillaes, nicones, pintadoes, photus, poizees, romals, salampores, fattins, seersuckers, tapfeels, taffeties herba, taffeties silk, tepoys, fousees, MOD. HIST. VOL. VI.

and many other silks and calicoes, with great variety of drugs, porcelain, &c. Besides the above goods, the *African* company send fine hats, felt hats, handkerchiefs, hollands, iron bars, wrought iron, knives, scissars, hard ware of all sorts; lead, bars, sheets, and shot; liquors, as arrack, brandy, beer, rum, malt spirits, wine; long ells, looking glasses, medicines, paper, padlocks, pewter, perpetuanoes or ranterers. Provisions, as pickled beef, pork, butter, cheese, bread, flour, biscuits, suet, vinegar, oil, sugar, raisins, currants, spices, tobacco. Shalloons, *Silesia* linen, and all other *German*, *Scotch*, and *Irish* linen cloths, sealing wax, swords of all sorts, hangers, scymitars, cutlasses, soap, floss, tallow, slate, and marble. Trimmings, as lace, buttons, silver thread, buckram and tapes, ticken, striped hollands, and striped linens, *Welch* plains; coats, waistcoats, breeches, drawers, shifts, shoes, slippers, stockings,

American colonies with slaves at an easy rate, and often gave long credit: that they imported a into *England* a great quantity of red wood, elephants teeth, gums, cottons, and gold dust; the latter in such plenty, that from thirty to fifty thousand *guineas* have at once been coined from the gold imported; the impression being an elephant. Their success, however, was less considerable on the north-coast, where the *Dutch West India* company possessed themselves of *Fort Arguim*, and the *French* of *St. Lewis*, at the mouth of the river *Sénégal*. In 1673, indeed, they got possession of *Fort James* on the river *Gambia*, and of a small castle at *Sierra Leona*; the commerce of the coast from *Cape Blanco* to *Cape Monte* becoming about this time equally open to the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*. But in 1677, and the year following, the *French* drove the *Dutch* from *Arguim* and *Goree*, and since those places have been formally b ceded at the treaty of *Nimeguen* to the *French*, and they have claimed an exclusive privilege b from that time. They have frequently seized upon the *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, and *English* traders, and not only assumed a despotic government over that district, but made constant attempts to extend their limits.

THE revolution introduced a number of interlopers in the *African* trade, to the great prejudice of the company. Those adventurers diminishing the price of *European* commodities, and raising that of slaves, ivory, and gold dust, obliged the company to implore the aid of parliament; but a majority appeared at that time in the house for an open trade. For three years the trade was made free to all the merchants of *Great Britain*, upon paying to the company ten *per cent.* on their exports and imports, from port to port in *Africa*. Thenceforward, the decline of the trade became sensible, and so low was it reduced in 1700, that the company, after c setting forth the prejudice they had received from the encroachments of adventurers, proposed as the only resource, to enter upon a treaty of neutrality with the *French* company, for all the establishments between *Cape Verd* and *Sierra Leona*°. This, however, did not take effect, and the act for laying the trade open being expired in 1712, all the remonstrances of the company to parliament did not prevent a renewal of it. Then the directors again changed their measures, and began to think, that the decline of commerce was owing rather to the warm opposition and rivalry between them and the adventurers, than to the act, which laid the trade open. In fact, this opposition only served to irritate both parties, now so highly inflamed, as to stick at no means to accomplish the ruin of each other. The company spoke of the adventurers as pirates, and treated them as such as often as they had it in d their power; while the private merchants retorted upon them, by asserting that they fattened upon the spoils of the nation, and restricted the trade, in order to raise the profits. Now at length, the company finding every other endeavour fruitless, began to chime in with their rivals, and to insinuate, that, by a coalition, the profits of each might be augmented, the trade extended, and the encroachments of foreigners prevented. By means of their forts, and the facility with which they could penetrate the navigable rivers, the company in one respect maintained great advantages over their competitors. They could easily push their trade into the inland countries, and procure a variety of commodities in greater abundance, and at a lower price than their rivals. But the adventurers, on the other hand, balanced these by equivalent advantages. They fitted out shipping at less expence; they carried e on the trade by correspondents, without the expence of forts, governors, factors and servants. Hence they were able to undersell the company, particularly in the slave trade, and to make three returns from the *American* colonies, while the others performed two voyages. All these reasons concurred in persuading the directors of the company, that their best method was to join issue with some of the most wealthy among the adventurers. In truth, they could not expect but to be losers, while the nation in general were gainers, and this it was that put it out of their power to maintain their forts and establishments. But as it was unreasonable, that they should support the expence, while the rest of the nation shared the advantages of their forts, the company, in proposing a coalition, demanded an equivalent for this. The matter was referred to the board of trade, and all the particulars f examined by a special committee. The resolutions of this committee were, that the trade should be free, and be exempted from all expences whatever, and that the crown be at the

° LABAT nouvelle relation de l'Afrique occid. v. 4. p. 346.

stockens, perukes, wool-cards, all coarse woollen cloths, &c. &c.—Mr. *Poffletbrwayte*, the sensible author from whom we have extracted this catalogue of exports, has shewn a variety of irrefragable arguments and reasons, why the government ought in a peculiar manner to protect this trade. He has also given some visionary

projects for raising sugar colonies upon that coast without the labour of negroes; but as the first can hardly be denied by any who admit the utility of supporting our *American* colonies, so the latter do not merit any great attention, till the author has proved them reconcileable with practice (4).

a yearly charge of 10,000 *l.* for maintaining forts. The company complained that this sum was insufficient, and made it appear from their books, that in factors, agents, repairing, interest of money, and other expences, near three times the money would be necessary to put the commerce upon a right footing. This they more fully proved by the examples of *France* and *Holland*; but notwithstanding all these measures, things remained in the situation we have mentioned till in the year 1730, when some new regulations, of little consequence, were made. As we shall have occasion towards the close of our history to speak more particularly of the present state of this trade, we have here given only a general idea of the rise and progress of the three chief *European* companies.

Conclusion of
the history of
the European
settlements

Geography of the Gold Coast.

b **S**TRETCHING along the sea, the *Gold Coast* contains a variety of different kingdoms and states, viz. *Adomir*, called likewise *Saku* and *Avina*; *Axim*; *Ankobar*; *Adom*, likewise called *Little Inkassan* or *Warshes*; *Jabi* or *Jabs*; *Commendo* or *Guaffo*; *Fetu*; *Sabu*; *Fantin*; *Ackron*; *Agonna* or *Anguirra*; *Amra* or *Aquambus*; *Labbade*; *Ningo* or *Lampi*. Several authors have represented *Guiney* as a mighty kingdom, whose prince had by his valour and power subdued all the neighbouring states, and subjecting them to himself, erected the whole into one potent empire. This, however, appears to be a mistake of the grossest nature, the very name of *Guiney* being hardly known to many of the natives, and such a monarch as they describe unheard of by the best and faithfullest writers ^p.

Division of the
Gold Coast
into different
kingdoms.

c THE beginning of the *Gold Coast* may be placed at *Rio de Suiero da Costa*, near *Issini*, that being the first place where gold is found; and the end at *Lay* in the country of *Lampi*, three or four leagues from *Akra*; because there the gold is procured, but accidentally from a people called *Amabo* inhabiting the more distant interior country. Each of the above divisions, provinces, or kingdoms, have one, two, or more towns or villages on the sea coast, between or under the *European* forts and settlements. Eight of them are real monarchies, having their own proper kings, who before the arrival of the *Europeans* were called *Captains*; the rest are republics governed by magistrates, who are subject to the laws and periodical changes (F). Upon the river *Ankobar* or *Cobre*, which is properly the first country of the *Gold Coast*, there are a number of towns, which compose the three different provinces of *Ankobar*, *Aborrel* or *Abocro*, and *Eguira*. The first is a monarchy, the two latter republics. For a number of years the *Dutch* had a fort at *Eguira*, and their gold trade, besides what they drew from the neighbouring countries, was very considerable; this canton having its own proper mines. During *Bosman's* presidency at *Axim*, a very rich one was discovered; but the *Dutch* soon lost footing in the country, by an event equally tragical in itself and prejudicial to their interest. The *Dutch* governor having quarrelled with the chief of the negroes, besieged him in his own house, where he made a brave defence. His ball being exhausted, he fired golden bullets at the *Dutch*, giving them at the same time to understand, that he was ready to compromise the difference, which was an artifice of his despair, to involve the enemy in his destruction. In the middle of the negotiation he blew up himself and the *Dutch*, by an act as brave, as it was desperate and unfortunate. To effect this he had engaged a slave, by promising him new cloaths, to stand ready with a lighted match, with which he was to set fire to the train, upon a signal given. The poor wretch punctually executed his orders, and was buried in the ruins, no one escaping besides a slave belonging to the *Hollanders*, who suspecting the design, ran to acquaint his masters of it. By the communication between the negroe's house and the fort, the whole was destroyed ^q.

f EIGHT leagues east of *Cape Apollonia* stands the town of *Axim* (G), which *Barbot*, without assigning a reason, calls *Achombene*. According to the ideas of power established among the negroes, this had formerly been a great and powerful republic; but the arrival of the *Brandenburghers* divided the natives. One party, in expectation of an easier government and looser reins, put themselves under the protection of the new comers; while the other adhered to the *Dutch*. If we take a view of the country before this period, we shall find it extended six miles in length, seven, says *Barbot*, computing from *Rio Cobre* to the village *Bosna*, a mile west of the *Dutch* fort, near *Bourtrie*. The canton of *Axim* produces a prodigious quantity

^p BARBOT, p. 145.

^q BOSMAN, Epist. 11. PREVOST, t. v. l. ix. c. 4.

(F) *Bosman* divides this coast into seven kingdoms, and four republics; but we have here followed the division of *Barbot* and *Des Marchais*, the minuteness and agreement of their accounts giving an air of truth to their relations.

(G) The negroes call it *Axhem*; the *Dutch* *Atsim* or *Atchiem*; but the *French*, to avoid a guttural or harsh sound, call it *Axim*, now the most general term (5).

(5) PREVOST, *vid.* t. v. l. ix. c. 4. p. 9.

Description of the country. of rice, water melons, ananas, bananas, cocoes, oranges, lemons, of two different kinds, with abundance of other fruits, and vegetables of all sorts. As to the maize, it is neither plentiful nor excellent, by reason of the humidity and moisture of the soil. So continual is the rain here, that according to the proverb of the country, it rains eleven months and twenty nine days in the year. Rice the natives export to all the kingdoms of the coast, bringing home in return millet, yams, potatoes, and palm oil. *Axim* produces likewise great numbers of black cattle, sheep, goats, and tame pigeons, as well as other fowls. The whole country is filled with populous villages, some on the sea-side, others farther up the country; all of them rich and beautiful. All the intermediate lands are well cultivated, and the soil so fertile as richly to compensate the labour of the husbandman: besides which the natives are wealthy, from a constant traffick they maintain with their gold with the *Europeans*. This trade however is somewhat diminished by the long wars supported against the negroes of *Ante*, or *Adem*, since the year 1681^r.

Achombone the capital.

ACHOMBONE, the capital, stands under the cannon of the *Dutch* fort. Behind, it is secured by a thick wood, that covers over the whole declivity of a neighbouring hill. Between the town and the sea runs an even and spacious shore of beautiful white sand. All the houses are separated by groves of cocoes and other fruit trees, planted in parallel lines, each of an equal width, and forming an elegant vista. These avenues, together with the extensive prospect, render the *Dutch* fort here one of the pleasantest establishments in *Guiney*; an advantage which is greatly diminished by the humidity of the air and unhealthiness of the climate, particularly in the rainy seasons. The little river of *Axim* crosses the town, and the coast is defended by a number of little pointed rocks, which project from the shore, and render all access to it dangerous^s.

Government.

THE government of *Axim* is composed of two bodies of the natives; the *caboceroes*, or chief men, and the *manceroes*, or young men. In their republics in particular all over the coast, the modes of administration are so perplexed and confused, that it is difficult to describe them. At *Axim* the cognizance of all civil affairs belongs to the *caboceroes*; but whatever is of general concern, and may properly be called national, equally appertains to both members of the state. Thus, making war or peace, treaties or alliances, imposing and augmenting taxes, levying or paying tributes to foreigners, are determined upon by both bodies composing the legislative power. They here form a constitution somewhat similar to a *British* house of peers and commons, where nothing passes into act that has not received the assent of each. Like the *commons* too, the *manceroes* often trespass upon the bounds of authority, and transgress the political line that separates and divides the different departments of the government. Their number being greater, their property is proportionable, and this will ever imply power in all states where a spark of liberty remains; so the *peers* of *Axim* are often forced to yield their opinion to the obstinacy and weight of the *commons*. The *caboceroes* are less wealthy in gold and slaves, and of course less regarded by the people. But what sets the authority of the *manceroes* more conspicuously superior to the *caboceroes* is, that the latter are often impeached before the bar of the former; but no *manceroe* can be tried for crimes of a public nature but by his own assembly^t.

Civil courts.

BOSMAN describes their method of distributing justice nearly in the following terms. If one negro of private rank hath pretensions upon another, he goes loaded with presents of gold or brandy, both of magnetic virtue here, to the *caboceroes*. This he delivers, then states his grievance, desires speedy redress, retires, and leaves them to deliberate rather upon the merits of his present than of his cause. If it be determined to favour the plaintiff in an extraordinary manner, a full assembly is convoked immediately, or at farthest in two or three days. Here they proceed with great solemnity to an iniquitous decision, without assigning any other reason for their verdict than the force of the received bribe, and the gratitude due on that account to the plaintiff. If, on the contrary, the present of the defendant be the more liberal, or if the bribes be equal, and the address of the latter superior, then the sentence takes a quite different turn, and the justest cause in the world cannot procure the plaintiff redress, or even a hearing. However, when the case is too flagrant, and the merits of the plaintiff's grievance universally known, to avoid scandal, the *caboceroes* will decline giving sentence, and have recourse to artful evasions and procrastination. The suit will be perplexed by false glosses, or interrupted by other affairs; nay, if hard pushed, the assembly will be adjourned, and the plaintiff obliged to sit down with the loss of his bribe, his grievance, and the disappointment of his views. The suit is in this manner devolved to his heir, who perhaps thirty or forty years after resumes it with more ability, and perhaps before less partial judges. *Bosman* adds, that he himself has in the *derniere resort*, or last appeal, had such causes before him, as, from their antiquity, one would be amazed how the smallest trace of evidence or vestige of resentment

^r Bosm. ubi supra.

^s BARBOT, *ibid*.

^t DES MARCHAIS, t. ii. p. 22.

a could be found among a people ignorant of writing, and who have no memory of past facts but by oral tradition".

It sometimes happens, that the plaintiff, finding the sentence likely either to be tedious or unfavourable, redresses himself by seizing upon the property in gold or slaves of the aggressor. In this method of retaliating he keeps strictly within the bounds of justice, and apprehends no bad consequences from this self-decision, provided he lives in another town or village. Here he is sure of being supported by his townsmen, and a private quarrel presently terminates in a civil broil, no other way to be appeased than by the sword, or an agreement between the original opponents. If the sentence of the *caboceroes* should happen to be equitable, or if the cause should be decided by the *Dutch* governor, the dispute is amicably concluded by adjudging according to evidence; but if neither party produces sufficient testimony by witness, or probable circumstances, the defendant, clearing himself by oath, is acquitted. Should he scruple to purge himself by solemn deprecation, judgment passes against him, on condition that the plaintiff corroborates his charge by oath. The oath of purgation is always preferred to that of accusation; but if the plaintiff proves his charge by two or one witness, then the purgation-oath is not permitted to be taken. Hence arise numberless inconveniences, perjury being a common crime among the negroes: besides, he who believes himself aggrieved, by subornation, never fails to watch an opportunity of revenge. Instances of this nature are however the most frequent in the interior and distant districts; as all suits arising near the *European* forts are determined by the sentence of the factor and the *caboceroes*; a judgment that is obligatory, admitting of no appeal, but to the director-general. "Thus," says *Bosman*, "you see, when a law-suit commences without the assistance of attornies and counsellors, those pests of society, they are terminated in a shorter time, with less expence, and perhaps with more justice, than in countries where those gentlemen are employed. It must indeed be acknowledged, that causes here are seldom so puzzling and perplexed as to require the advice of counsel, or the address of solicitors and attornies, for the point in dispute; the judges and the parties are equally simple and on a level." This account of *Bosman's* might have been true in trivial crimes, and before the *Europeans* came to share in the executive power; at present we find it contradictory to his own assertions, and the accounts of the best writers, who all agree, that venality and corruption are no where carried to a greater height than in the little republic of *Axim*. As all crimes are atoned for by fines and pecuniary punishments, a door is opened to partiality and the indulgence of an avaricious disposition, the judge always sharing a certain proportion of the fine*.

As to penalties in criminal cases, first, murder is punished either by death or a pecuniary mulct. The former is seldom executed, except where the criminal is poor and unable to answer the demands of his judges. The latter is of two sorts with respect to freemen and slaves, the fine for murdering a slave being trifling in comparison to that exacted for the life of a freeman. We shall have occasion to speak of this more explicitly under the section of general customs among the negroes. At *Axim* all fines are paid into the hands of the *Dutch* factor, who in a manner assumes the supreme executive power. This fine he distributes to the injured person, after having first deducted his fee, which before the presidency of *Bosman* rose high, but by him was reduced. At present the factor is permitted to receive no more than eight crowns for determining the most important suit that comes before him (H). The only punishment for theft is restitution, or paying a fine proportioned

* Epist. 11.

* Aut. supra citat. ibid.

(H) We are at a loss how to reconcile this with the following relation extracted from the same writer. In the country of *Ancobar*, which hath long been subject to *Axim*, there lived two *caboceroes*, both men of rank and distinction. These had for a number of years been involved in a dispute, each pretending that the other was born his slave, and that by inheritance he had an inviolable right over him. Each supported his claim with plausible reasons, and proofs deduced down for a series of years; insomuch that the *caboceroes*, finding themselves unable to decide a case so perplexed, referred it to Mr. *Bosman*, at that time president of the *Dutch* factory. Both parties came to an agreement to plead their cause before him, and to stand by his award. Accordingly the court sat, and a whole day was spent in the hearing, after which *Bosman* assures us he knew just as much of the merits of the cause as when it began. Both sides brought such a cloud of witnesses, and advanced such a variety of arguments, that it was impossible to decide, where the merits seemed so

equal. To put a period however to so litigious an affair, *Bosman* asked both parties, whether they were willing to stand by his sentence; and upon their answering in the affirmative, he proceeded to speak to them in conciliating terms. He told them, that their pretensions on both sides were plausible, and their claims apparently just; that the proper witnesses of the cause being long since dead, it was not possible to arrive at a certainty; and that all the evidence hitherto produced being only hearsay and tradition, the merits of the cause must consequently be doubtful. In a word, after having fully prepared the parties, and represented in the strongest manner the difficulty of the case, he requested that they would both relinquish their claims, and enter into a perfect harmony and friendship, each acknowledging the other free, and submitting to the penalty of a fine, if he should ever again resume the suit. Both parties and all the by-standers seemed pleased with this equitable decision, and departed with all the marks of satisfaction, after embracing each other and vowing eternal affection.

Law concern-
ing debtors.

portioned to the quality of the offender. In cases of debt the creditor may seize of the property of the debtor double the sum due to him; but the execution of this law being deemed oppressive, the usual method is, to settle the account by arbitration, or restitution of the goods and chattels bought^y. But of this we shall have occasion to speak elsewhere.

Description of
the European
settlements;
and first of
Fort St.
Anthony.

WE shall now describe the *European* settlements in *Axim*, beginning with the *Dutch* fort of *St. Anthony*. This fortress stands on a high rock, which projects into the sea in form of a peninsula^y. It is so invironed on this side by other dangerous shoals and blind rocks, as to be inaccessible to an enemy but by land; and there it is fortified by a parapet, drawbridge, and a battery of heavy cannon. The building is neat, strong, and commodious for the extent, that being but small, on account of the narrowness of the rock or point on which it is situated. At some distance at sea it may be taken for a large white house; but for two miles along the shore nothing can be more agreeable than the fort in perspective, the village of *Achombone*, the wood behind, and the multitude of rocks of unequal heights which border upon the coast. In war time, the custom of the natives is, to place their families and most valuable effects among those rocks, to secure them against the enemy. The *Portuguese*, who were the founders of this settlement, fixed themselves during the reign of *Emanuel* upon a small point, which they found not only inconvenient but insecure against the attacks of an enemy. They therefore, on being hard pressed by the *Dutch*, built the fort where it now stands; from which they were likewise driven in the year 1642. Upon a peace between *Portugal* and the States General it remained by treaty in the hands of the *Dutch* company, who have ever since kept possession of it.

THE form of *Fort St. Anthony* is triangular. It has three batteries, one towards the sea, and two, says *Des Marchais*, towards the land, all mounting 24 pieces of iron cannon, besides redoubts. The gate is low, secured by a ditch dug out of the rock, and, as we have said, a drawbridge, behind which is a platform, capable of holding in military order a body of twenty men. The factor's or president's house is built of brick, and of a moderate height. The form is the same with that of the fort, having three fronts, each of which has an esplanade, adorned with orange trees. The garrison is usually composed of 25 white men and an equal number of negroes, under the command of a serjeant. It is maintained at the expence of the *West India* company, and, when well furnished with stores and provisions, capable of making a long defence against any number of negroes. However, *St. Anthony* fort is liable to the same inconveniences as all the other fortifications on this coast; the heavy and continual rains damaging the walls, and rendering frequent reparation necessary. This obliges the *Dutch* always to keep a quantity of lime or cement, composed of calcined oyster-shells, of which the coast produces great abundance. The situation of the fort is east of the river *Axim*, which the *Portuguese* called *Rio Manco*; a river navigable only by canoes, but rich in gold dust washed down by the stream from the inland countries^z.

THREE leagues east of *Fort St. Anthony* stands *Mount Mansore*, near which is the town of *Pockeso*, large and populous, the chief or captain of which is known by the name of *John*. This is probably the same person as *Atkins* calls *John Ronny*. *Pockeso* is an extensive handsome town, says he, the houses not inferior to those on the north and west of *England*, each surrounded by a grove of coco trees. It is usual with the people to assemble in the streets, to sell their coco nuts, oranges, lemons, maize, and *kanka*, or a kind of pastry, in making which the women are very expert^a.

Fredericks-
burgh.

MOUNT *Mansore* is a situation extremely commodious for a fort, it being the first point of *Cape Tres Puntas*. Here it is that the *Brandenburghers* or *Prussians* have their principal factory, called *Fredericksburgh*. This fort is well built, strong, and beautiful, mounting 46

^y BOSMAN, Epist. 12.

^z Ibid. Etiam BARBOT, p. 136.

^a Aut. citat. ubi sup.

affection. The more effectually to convince *Bosman* of their entire acquiescence, both sides made him presents suited to their ability, his rank, and the trouble he had taken. But three months after, the one hired ruffians to murder the other in his own house, which they accordingly effected in the most cruel manner. *Bosman* receiving intelligence of this, sent to demand the criminal might be surrendered up to him, that due punishment might be inflicted; but this the people of *Antobar* absolutely refused. He then went in person, but with as little success. Determined to maintain the authority and dignity of his nation, he threatened, that, if they persisted in their obstinacy, he would seize all

the inhabitants of the town in his power, and punish them as accessaries to the murder; upon which they desired time to consider of his demand. Next day the criminals appeared before the fort, in fetters, and were surrendered to him; their countrymen at the same time soliciting that the crime might be atoned for by money. To this *Bosman* had no objection; but pretended difficulties, in order to raise the price. When the sum was agreed on, the criminals were dismissed, the fine paid, and almost the whole appropriated to the judge, a small proportion going to the relations of the deceased. Such were the equity and resolution of the *Dutch* president, by his own confession (6).

(6) *Bosman*, Epist. 11.

a pieces of ordnance upon four batteries. *Bosman* observes, that the cannon are too small for the importance of the settlement, and the gate so large as to give the other *Europeans* an opportunity of applying in derision the proverb, "Shut your gates, that the town may not run away." On the east side is a beautiful outwork, which greatly diminishes the strength of the fort: but the greatest fault in the whole building is, that the breastworks are too low, reaching no further up than the knee, whence the garrison in case of an attack would be totally exposed to the fire of the enemy.

THE commander in chief of *Fredericksburgh*, and indeed of all the *Prussian* establishments in *Guiney*, takes the title of director-general of the *Prussian African* company. In *Bosman's* time, their commanders and servants, common soldiers excepted, were chiefly composed of Dutch; who, in imitation of that people, exerted a supreme authority over the negroes. However, they were always unsuccessful, owing chiefly to the intestine divisions among themselves, and in some measure to the obstinacy of the natives, who are tenacious of their liberty. *Barbot* gives us the following relation of the rise of that establishment. In 1682 the Elector of *Brandenburgh* sent two frigates to the *Gold Coast*; the one mounting 32 pieces of cannon, the other 18 guns, having on board 120 men. The largest frigate was commanded by *Matthew de Vas*, the smallest by *Philip Peter Blanco*. They arrived in the month of May off *Cape Tres Puntas*, and landing at *Mount Mansore*, then called *Mantfort*, erected the standard of the electorate. *Blanco*, who was well acquainted with the character and customs of the natives, employed his credit with so much address, that he obtained liberty from the caboceros to build a fort upon the mount, and to establish a regular commerce. After landing his cannon and throwing up some slight works, he built a few houses, and left a garrison there, after which he returned to *Hamburg*. So well had he managed his affairs, that some of the caboceros determined to accompany him to *Europe*, and they were accordingly conducted to *Berlin*, where the elector received them with great kindness, shewing them every thing that could excite their admiration and engage their esteem. Next year they returned, under the conduct of the same *Blanco*, who then built the fort, and fully established the colony.

BOSMAN gives us the names and characters of six successive directors^b. Of these the last, *John Vistor* was a person of so little conduct and prudence, that the affairs of the company began to fall into confusion and ruin. At last the negroes, enraged against him for some acts of cruelty he had committed, seized him, broke all his limbs, and after torturing him with the utmost barbarity, threw his body into the sea. Henceforward the affairs of the *Prussians* were on the decline till the year 1708, when Sir *Dalby Thomas* was governor of the *English* fort at *Cape Coast*. This gentleman acquainted the *African* company, that the king of *Portugal* had offered his *Prussian* majesty 40,000*l.* sterling for the fort; however, it was not till the year 1721 that the *Brandenburghers* abandoned it, the company having purchased both it and *Arguin* for 30,000*l.*

ACCORDING to *Des Marchais*, the *Prussians* quitted *Fredericksburgh* in the year 1720, and put the fort into the hands of *John Ronny*, king of *Cape Tres Puntas*. This author adds, that the year following it was attacked by the *Dutch* under pretence of a prior contract with the *Prussians*. But that the negro king replied with great courage to the commissioners sent to him, that the fort had been put into his hands, and that he would defend it with his blood. That he could not conceive any right the *Dutch* could claim to a fort built in his territories, and that their menaces should not deter him from defending it for the *French*, whose right only he chose to acknowledge. The conference being now broke off, the *Dutch* began the attack with great fury, the governor of *Mina* marching with a choice body to give the assault. *John Ronny* received him with such spirit and address, that, after the loss of 155 men they were forced to quit the siege, and embark with great precipitation, the governor and several officers being dangerously wounded. During the attack, a *French* ship, called the *Princess of Rochefort*, lay at anchor in the road. After the *Dutch* were repelled she approached the shore, and the captain in landing was civilly received by the natives, and particularly by the king, who offered him the fort and his protection. A formal instrument to this purpose was drawn up; eight *French* and a certain number of negroes were appointed to garrison the place, till the captain's return from *Europe* with a sufficient force, and every method for establishing the right of the *French* nation. But all proved abortive, through the timidity of the captain. After his return on board his ship he sent orders for the eight *French* left in the fort to quit it, and avoid the snare laid for them by the negroes: thus, by his suspicion and pusillanimity, robbing his country of a valuable settlement.

DES MARCHAIS asserts, that *Fredericksburgh* is one of the most commodious situations on the whole coast^c. The anchorage is safe, and entrance into the harbour easy to pilots acquainted with the road. The climate is as healthy as any in *Guiney*, and the surrounding country rich

^b Epist. 3.^c DES MARCH. vol. ii. p. 56.

and well cultivated. Besides the great quantity of gold found in the river, the inhabitants a carry on a considerable trade in ivory and slaves, besides the profits arising from the salt made by the women for their amusement. The government is well conducted, and the people in general, the magistrates in particular cases excepted, possessed of the principles of humanity, industry, and justice. In a word, says he, this trade is no less pleasant than profitable; and, if the *French* had known their own interest, the most important colony they could have settled in *Africa* might have been at *Fredericksburgh*.

Taken by the Dutch.

Soon after the above accident it was taken by the *Dutch*, who have kept possession of it, with great advantage, to this day, and probably will continue to do so, unless circumstances occur to make them totally abandon the *African* trade; a resolution that can only flow from some peculiarly unhappy change in the situation of the *United Provinces*.

CAPE *Tres Puntas*, of which we have made frequent mention, had its name given by the *Portuguese*, from its being composed of three points or eminences projecting into the sea. These points are separated by little bays, which afford good anchorage. Each of the hills is clothed by beautiful woods, which are seen a great way at sea. Upon the shore of the two bays stand three villages, *Akora*, *Acaron*, and *Instamma*; to which last the *English* give the name of *Dicks Cove*. The village of *Akora* is situated at the bottom of the first bay, westward; *Akron*, on the declivity of the middle point, and *Dicks Cove* on a little gulph formed by the land between that point and *Akron*. Some voyagers affirm, that these three villages belong to *Wasbas*, a country lying between *Axim* and *Anta*. The whole of this coast is mountainous and woody; among which the timber most in esteem is a yellow tree, much used in chairs, tables, and household furniture. Near *Akora* stands the little fort *Dorothea*, which received considerable improvements from the diligence of the *Hollanders*. This building consists of one house, flat roofed, defended by two batteries of ten guns each, and divided into a great variety of convenient apartments.

Fort Dorothea.

Dicks Cove.

DICKSCOVE was rebuilt by the *English* in 1691, after having long disputed the ground with the *Prussians*, who were at length forced to evacuate it. In the space of six years the conquerors had not completed their building; and after all it scarce merits the name of a fortress. *Bosman* has often heard the *English* complain of the situation of this fort, as it is not only inconvenient for trade, but placed in the midst of a fraudulent, intractable, and obstinately vicious band of negroes, with whom there is no dealing with safety. If the *English* d have recourse to force, they are also opposed by force, and so warmly, says our author, that for five years after their establishment they were continually skirmishing with the natives, who at length laid siege to the fort, and were very near carrying it. The consequence was, that they forced the *English* to accept of their terms, threw off the yoke, and recovered their liberty. Hence proceeded, says the same author, an alliance so strict between them, that they jointly agreed to cheat all the ships that traded there, by passing false gold for pure; a fraud they here frequently practised. *Bosman* relates an instance of this within his own knowledge; an *English* vessel having bartered 1700 *l.* worth of merchandize for sophisticated gold. On discovery of the fraud he applied to the *English* chief governor on the coast; but could never procure redress. These are actions which discredit a whole people, and ought to be punished by the e legislature with the utmost severity. The fraud is so common as to be practised every day in some degree; nor is it hardly possible for strangers in the trade to discover the false from the genuine gold, so artful is the imitation. In a word, says *Bosman*, this place may be called the false mint of *Guiney*^a.

BARBOT describes this fort as standing two miles east of *Dorothea*. It borders on the sea, is of a quadrangular form, built of stone and cement, and its principal strength consists in two bastions, mounted with 12 cannon. In 1726 it would seem to have been greatly improved; for *Smith* describes the fortifications as complete and regular, with four bastions, mounting 20 pieces of cannon, and gardens equally pleasant and useful^c.

^a BOSMAN & DES MARCH. *ibid*.

^c P. 126.

Of the Countries of Anta and Tabi, with their Towns and Forts.

Kingdom of Anta.

Description of Anta.

THE kingdom of *Hante*, as the negroes call it, or *Anta*, begins with the village of *Boesira* f (I), eight miles east of *Ankora*. For a series of years this country was divided into the *Upper* and *Lower Anta*; *Axim* being reckoned the former, and that district now called *Anta* composing the latter. It is bounded on the north by the country of *Adom*, on the north-east by *Mampo*, by *Axim* on the west, and on the south and south-east by the ocean: its extent from east to west being about ten leagues. The country is mountainous, and covered

(I) *Prevost*, after *Barbot*, gives this country the above name; but *Bosman* calls it *Bosna*, and differs in many other appellatives from all the other writers.

- a by large trees, among which stand a number of fine villages. Formerly *Anta* was potent and populous, inhabited by a bold and rapacious people, who greatly annoyed the *Europeans*, by their warlike disposition and frequent incursions. By continual wars with *Adom* and their other neighbours, they are however now greatly enfeebled, the country in a manner depopulated, and no vestiges remaining of their former glory. The land here is well watered, the vallies rich and extensive, producing rice in abundance, maize of the best sort, sugar canes, yamms, and potatoes the largest on the whole coast. *Bosman* is of opinion, that it might easily be improved into a fine sugar colony; an experiment we are amazed has not been tried with more success, or rather diligence. No finer soil is to be met with in any part of the globe than along the banks of the river of *Bourtry*, and the country is no less beautiful than it is rich. It
- b affords the greatest abundance of bread, wine, oil, and animal food: but with the number of the people, the spirit of the few remaining inhabitants is fled; desponding, dispirited, and abject, they shelter themselves under the cannon of the *Dutch* fort, leaving the greatest part of the land wild and uncultivated. It is really deplorable to view it at present, and reflect on its once flourishing condition; and perhaps a better lesson in politics and the direful effects of war cannot be given, than by a view of the changes made by ambition, and a haughty, turbulent spirit in the *Aniese* nation, in the space of one century^f. *Bosman* relates, that before the war that put a period to its glory, and closed the last scene of its felicity, he had an opportunity of walking to *Bourtry*, when it regaled the eye with numerous villages well peopled, with rich fields finely cultivated, and with every other object capable of filling the
- c mind with pleasure, content, and admiration of the wise Author of nature. Here a soldier, who could hardly breath on his scanty pay in other places, fared luxuriously on half his income; the labourer lived with the affluence of the gentleman, and he with the splendor of the nobleman. Besides, it is remarkably the most healthy situation on the coast, it being observed by all writers, that the number of deaths here bears no proportion to that in any other country on the coast of *Guinea*^g.

THE river that washes *Bourtry*, whose banks are covered with stately trees that spread a melancholy shade over the water, is navigable for four miles up; but there it is choaked up by rocks and prodigious falls of water, which add to the beauty of the scence, though they diminish the conveniency. On both sides are seen infinite numbers of monkeys, apes,

d tygers, wild cats, and some elephants, as well as cows, horses, sheep, hogs, fowls, and all kind of birds. Its waters are filled with shoals of delicious fish; but the catching them is rendered dangerous by the great number of sharks and crocodiles with which the river abounds.

- THE principal villages of this country are *Bourtry* or *Botro*, *Boyera*, or *Petre Grand*, *Pando*, *Bourtry*, *Tokorari*, which surpasses all the others in extent and beauty, *Sukonda*, *Anta*, and *Sama*; all of them deserving particular notice, on account of the commerce they drive. *Botro*, or *Bourtry*, stands upon a small river at the foot of an eminence, on which the *Dutch* have built an irregular and mean fort, of an oblong form, divided into two parts, each defended by four small pieces of cannon. It was built by one *Carolus*, in the service of the *Dutch*, who afterwards
- e passed into the pay of *France*, and who obtained that privilege from the king of *Anta*, on acknowledging his superiority by a slight tribute. This fort is called *Badenslyn*. Its batteries command the village of *Bourtry*, which has no other commerce than the gold trade carried on with the negroes of *Adom*. The inhabitants are of a mild and gentle disposition, greatly affected to the *Europeans*, upon whom they look as their protectors. In 1708 the *Dutch* began to mark out ground for forming sugar plantations, and their director-general sent to *Whidab* for two hundred slaves, who were to be employed in cultivating them. They likewise sent to *Europe* for all the necessary implements, and made such preparations as alarmed Sir *Dalby Thomas*, the *English* governor at *Cape Coast*. He transmitted an account of their proceedings to his constituents, and frequently remonstrated to the *Royal African Company*, the
- f danger of permitting the *Dutch* to bring to execution a plan which must lessen the value of the *British* colonies in the *West Indies*. Whether the intrigues of the company, or some other cause, might be the occasion, we know not; but those plantations never answered the great expectations of the *Dutch*.

THE king of *Anta* has fixed his residence four miles from the *Dutch* fort, chusing to live near the *Europeans*, as even now he is seldom freed from his apprehensions from the incursions of the *Adomese*^h.

- POYERA and *Pandos*, two villages lying between *Bourtry* and *Tokorari*, are wholly inhabited
- g by fishermen and labourers, who drive a considerable trade with their neighbours, exchanging the fruits of the earth and fish for the produce of other countries. Those two villages are known at sea by a large pointed rock lying before the coast. *Tokorari*, or as the *English* call it *Tokorada*, is the chief village on the coast. Its situation is on a hill, advancing into the sea at the south-east, surrounded by a number of rocks, some below and some above the

^f Bosm. Epist. 12.^g Ibid.^h BARBOT, ubi supra.

surface of the water, for two miles along the shore. These rocks are extremely remarkable, a on account of the prodigious waves that dash against them, which probably inspired the negroes with the notion of praying to them as divinities; fear, according to the maxim of *Lucretius*, rendering them susceptible of the sentiments of piety and devotion. The town, which is discovered behind these rocks, yields nothing in point of beauty, wealth, and extent, to *Bourtry*. Around it are plains and delicious vallies, adorned with large trees and thick groves, and at every yard's distance are seen the footsteps of different animals on the white sand. The *Dutch* had formerly a fort, called *Witsen*, hard-by *Tokorari*, which the *English*, commanded by captain *Holmes*, took from them. *De Ruyter* retook it the following year, and, after putting the garrison to the sword, levelled it to the ground, as a place of little consequence. Still the ruins of the fort are to be seen, after having successively passed b through the hands of the *Portuguese*, *Danes*, *Prussians*, *Dutch*, and *English*; and some *French* writers allege, that it owed its origin to certain merchants of *Normandy*; but on the most minute inquiry *Barbot* declares that assertion to be false and groundless¹.

The natives famous for building canoes.

THE inhabitants of *Tokorari* have the reputation of building the best finished canoes of any in *Guiney*. One shall see them thirty feet long and eight broad, composed of one piece of wood, and dug out of the trunk of a single tree. The *European* ships who frequent the coasts of *Whidab*, and trade to *Ardrab*, usually load and unload by those canoes; and their value may be judged of by the price they are usually sold for, which is never less than forty or fifty pounds sterling. Such is the opinion *Europeans* entertain of the dishonesty of the inhabitants of *Tokorari*, that no commerce is carried on with them, except for their canoes; besides, the coast affords but unsafe and bad anchorage. *Bosman* relates, that in the wars between *Anta* and *Adom* this village was destroyed, so that in his time it consisted of a few houses only. Since his time it would seem to have been rebuilt, as subsequent writers speak of it as a large and populous place. c

Sukonda.

SUKONDA stands on the opposite side of the same bay. This is a rich and pleasant village, much noted for the clemency and healthfulness of the air. It stands about six miles distant from *Bourtry*; and before the wars of which we have spoken, was reputed the finest village on the whole coast. It however shared the fate of all the other places in *Anta*; its inhabitants were dispersed, its houses demolished, and a number of years ensued before it was restored to its former flourishing condition. The country for eight or ten miles round is not inferior in any particular to those we have described. The vallies are beautiful beyond imagination; and here, says *Bosman*, nature seems to have exerted all her skill, and poured forth her richest treasures. Formerly the *French* had an establishment here; at present the *English* and *Dutch* are the only *Europeans* who maintain forts at *Sukonda*. The *Dutch* fort called *Orange Fort*, was built in the year 1682: the *English* fort a few years before; but the exact date is not known. They are exactly of the same model, and situated at the distance of a musquet shot from each other. In the year 1694 the *Dutch* fort was surprised and pillaged by the negroes, who massacred in it a whole ship's crew, that had unfortunately put into the road. Four years after, the *English* fort met with the same fate; and was rebuilt the year after by Mr. *Nourse*, the *English* factor, whose name is still inscribed on the wall. *Phillips*, who relates this transaction, speaks of it as a mean and trifling fortification. In the year 1699 it was, according to him, no more than a plain house in the middle of a court, defended by eight or ten pieces of cannon. For five or six years after this the commerce of the *Europeans* at *Sukonda* was on the decline; owing to the mutual jealousies of the *English* and *Dutch*, and a rivalry that was prejudicial to the interests and felicity of all parties. Their animosities, indeed, had birth prior to the taking of either fort by the natives, and this it was that encouraged them to the attempt. When the negroes formed their design upon the *English* fort, they came in two bodies from *Elmina*, the one in a large canoe, the other by land. They approached the fort under pretence of demanding an old debt; and the *English*, after being made acquainted with their complaint, referred them to the *Dutch* governor. Although d the *Hollander* was perfectly informed of the design of the negroes, he affected a profound ignorance and disbelief of their intentions, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the *English*. After they had been driven from the fort, they were hard pressed in their flight by a party of the enemy in their rear, upon which they requested the protection of a *Dutch* ship that lay in the road; but the captain's answer was, do you imagine that we take any concern in your misfortunes? An answer perfectly suitable to the character of a *Dutchman* and a barbarian. The *English* replied, that they must then perish. "Perish then," said the *Hollander*, "and God have mercy on your souls." Hence there remains no doubt but the *Dutch* were deeply concerned in the plot, and other reasons appeared to confirm the suspicion, that they had no small dividend of the plunder². e

The English and Dutch have each a fort at Sukonda.

Brutality of the Dutch.

IN the year 1700 there remained only the walls of the *English* fort: but though the *Dutch* g possessed the whole trade, they drew little advantage from it; because the continual efforts

¹ BARBOT, p. 92.

² BARBOT & PHIL. ubi supra.

- a of the *English* to restore themselves, greatly disturbed their operations. At last a re-establishment was effected, and a new fort rose out of the ashes of the old, with more splendor and strength than the former. *Smith*, who had been there in the year 1726, represents it as larger and better fortified than *Dickscove*. The form is quadrangular, upon an eminence, says, *Barbot*, about fifty paces from the sea, and between two *Dutch* forts; that at *Tokorari* on the west, and *Sama* on the east. It is built of brick, and mounted with several pieces of cannon, the garrison consisting of five white and twenty black men. As for the harbour and pier, the advantage the *Europeans* at *Sukonda* enjoy peculiar to this situation; it is, that the forts standing so near, the factors of both nations have constant opportunities of each other's company when they happen to live in friendship and harmony; an advantage of inestimable value to rational and social beings, placed in this barbarous and ignorant country.

*Description of
the English
new fort here.*

As to the villages of *Anta* and *Boari*, their commerce is but accidental. They are situated between *Sukonda* and *Sama*: the country behind being woody and mountainous. The former is of some note for its *palm* wine, which the merchants buy up there, and sell to all the countries on the *Gold Coast*. This makes a chief branch of their trade, at the stated periods of their vintages. The soil produces abundance of roots, fruits, pulse, goats and fowls. It is remarkable, that the natives of this country are even harrassed with a canine hunger, a *Boulimy*, or insatiable appetite; arising, as some imagine, from the liberal use of *krisca*, a kind of wine common in this place. The gold comes from *Mampa* and *Eguira*; but only with the permission of the *Adomese*, and on paying a high duty; those negroes drawing a large revenue from the power they have of blocking up the chanel of this trade. At the village of *Aboari* the *Dutch* had formerly a small factory; but the profits were so trifling that they removed it to *Sama*, a large and populous village, where however the inhabitants are extremely poor¹.

SAMA stands on an eminence, the fort of which is watered by the pleasant river of *St. George*, *Sama*. that discharges itself into the sea. The town contains above two hundred houses, which seem to form three distinct villages, one of which is immediately under the cannon of the *Dutch* fort *St. Sebastian*. *Des Marchais* deems this town to be one of the largest on the whole coast, *Barbot* likewise agreeing with him in its situation, extent, and number of inhabitants. The sole employment of the natives is fishing, a circumstance which easily accounts for their poverty. The government of this place is republican, the magistrates having the supreme power, being subject to periodical changes, and under the authority of the king of *Gavi*, who seldom, however, interferes in the affairs of the state. This prince resides some leagues distant from the sea, is rich, and much respected by his neighbours^m.

HERE the *Dutch* fort is built upon much the same plan as that at *Bourtry*. During the wars between *England* and *Holland*, the *English*, joining the negroes of *Jabi*, made frequent attempts on *Fort St. Sebastian*, but could never succeed farther than in damaging the fortifications, without being able to seize it, the *Dutch* keeping possession in spite of all their endeavours. *Barbot* says, that the apartments are convenient, and the situation for trade exceedingly favourable, the negroes of *Adom* and *Worchar* carrying on a constant traffick in gold, which they exchange for *European* commodities. The *Dutch* maintain a great authority over the natives, notwithstanding they pay an annual tribute to the king of *Gavi*. The river of *Sama* was by the *Portuguese* called *Rio de St. Juan*, but the natives call it *Bosum Pra*, which signifies *God* or the *Divinity*, agreeable to which they worship it. They affirm, that its source lies four hundred miles up the country, and *Barbot* agrees with them. The entrance is commodious for shipping, who have nothing to fear besides a flat rock, which the sailors call the *sugar-cake*. *Des Marchais* alleges, that the *Dutch* having resolved, if possible, to discover the mines, whence the negroes brought their gold, they fitted out a yawl with six men, to proceed up the river to its source. After they had been gone six days, and had rowed with great difficulties against a rapid stream for sixty miles, they found their labour was lost, and that the passage was choked up by rocks, shoals, and cataracts, which obliged them to returnⁿ.

SAMA is supplied with roots, fruits, and other vegetables, by the little territory of *Jaben* on the east, it standing at so small a distance, that most geographers have mistaken it for part of its district. A little farther east lies the country of *Jabi* or *Jabbab*, which extends quite to *Sama*. *Commendo*. The king of this country is so poor, that *Bosman* advised the *European* merchants not to trust him with goods to the value of ten pounds sterling, and this from no distrust of his will, but of his ability to pay. He adds, however, that the fertility of the soil would soon enrich the inhabitants, if they were not exposed to the continual inroads of their neighbours, who spoil and destroy what they are not able to carry away. Here the village *Abrobi* alone deserves mention. It is situated upon a bay, with a large plain behind, that stretches to the foot of some high mountains. Very little pure gold is to be found here, the natives being

*Produce of the
country round*

¹ BOSM. Epist. 13.

^m DES MARCHAIS, BOSM. ubi sup.

ⁿ BARBOT, p. 156.

as well skilled in adulterating it, as any other people in *Guiney*. To conclude this head, the *Chamefcian* river, or *Rio de St. Juan*, is so useful to the *Hollanders*, that without it, *Bosman* says, it would be difficult to keep possession of the fort. By means of it they are supplied with wood and water; the kitchens and ovens have not only their fuel from thence, but materials for canoes; and small shipping are procured by means of the river. In short, it is the chief chanel both of commerce and of the conveniences of life^o.

^o BOSMAN, Epist. 13.

Description of the Kingdom of Commendo.

Kingdom of
Commendo.

THIS country, which by voyagers is called *Commendo*, *Commany*, *Komany*, *Auguesto*, and *Guaffo*, is bordered on the west by the countries of *Jabi* and *Jaben*, on the north-west by *Adom*, by *Ambranbo* on the north, on the east by a little republic lying between *Commendo* and *Fetu*, called *Addena* or *Elmina*, and by the ocean on the south. Its dimensions are about five miles along the sea coast, and about as much up the country. In the center, on the strand, stands *Little Commendo* or *Commany*, by the negroes called *Ekki Tekki*, having *Cape Aldea das Terras* on the west, and *Ampeni* on the east, with some little hamlets lying in the intermediate space. *Commendo* had formerly been a part of *Sabu* and *Fetu*, but of late years erected into a separate and distinct monarchy. The chief city or residence of the king is called *Guaffo*. It is well inhabited and large, containing no less than four hundred houses. The situation is upon a high ground, at the distance of four miles from *Little Commendo*; the *Dutch* distinguish both by the names of *Great* and *Little Commendo*. This kingdom produces but little rice, yet are the vallies no less fertile than agreeable, and the hills covered with wood, which affords the most delightful prospect. Behind *Little Commendo*, the land rises by a gentle ascent into little hills, beautifully clothed with woods of a perpetual verdure, and at the bottom are meadows and plains disposed in the most agreeable manner, and filled with fruit-trees of various kinds: The natives are of a warlike disposition, and so numerous, that in this little kingdom his majesty is able to raise an army of 20,000 men. His ordinary body guard is composed of 500 stout fellows, well armed, resolute and loyal. Most writers are persuaded that *Commendo* abounds in gold mines; but that the king, for fear of exciting the avarice of the *Europeans*, prohibits their being worked. *Barbot* relates, that near *Cape Aldea* some of the natives had discovered a rich mine, which the policy of the council, to guard against the consequences, and prevent its being opened, immediately consecrated into a divinity^p.

Produce of the
country.

Disposition of
the people.

As this country is divided into two distinct provinces, we shall begin with describing *Little Commendo*. This province, says *Artus*, is by the *Portuguese* called *Aldea das Terras*, and by the natives *Ekki Tekki*. *Villault* says, that this town contains at least one hundred houses. It stands upon the banks of a fine rivulet, that empties itself into the sea on the southward, which forms a kind of canal, or little oblong harbour for canoes. The north-east side of the town, where the *French* had formerly a settlement, is bordered by little hills, at the foot of which lie fine rich meadows, and pasture, as well as fertile fields, every-where interspersed with groves of fruit-trees. *Little Commendo* had once been a place of great note, and one of the finest towns in *Guiney*. At present it is only the remains of a town destroyed by fire; and well peopled ruins of a once flourishing and great city. Such it was in the year 1675, when most of the inhabitants, who were burnt out of their houses, retired to *Ampeni*.

Little Com-
mendo.

HERE the natives are in general turbulent, cunning, and deceitful, much addicted to lying and stealing. Their employment consists either in fishing or in commerce, and their neighbours employ them as brokers and factors, particularly the people of *Akamen*, who drive a considerable trade. Every morning 70 or 80 large canoes may be seen upon the coast, fishing or trading with the *European* shipping in the road. About the middle of the day they put to shore, when the south-west winds begin to blow, both for facility of unloading and for securing a market for their cargoes, either at *Great* or *Little Commendo*, whither the inland negroes assemble with the commodities of their several countries. No markets on earth are better supplied with all sorts of grain, roots, fruits, pulse, and fish, than these, nor at a more reasonable price^q.

English fort.

HERE the *English* and *Dutch* have forts. According to *Barbot*, the *English* fort is a regular spacious square, with bastions at each angle, the whole mounted with twenty-four pieces of iron cannon. The fort is well supplied with water, and guarded by a body of sixty men, including negroes. *Smith* affirms, that, next to *Cape Coast*, this is the principal fortifi-

^p BARBOT, *ibid.* PREVOST, t. v. l. ix. c. 4.

^q BOSMAN, *ibid.*

a cation the *English* have in *Guiney*, at least on the *Gold Coast*. The *Dutch* fort of *Wedenborough* is but a musket-shot distant, but the advantages arising from so near a vicinity are destroyed by the quarrels and jealousies between the factors of both nations, who, according to the same author, never live upon a footing of friendship. An *English* factor, a friend of *Smith's*, was attacked by a *Dutch* factor in a cowardly manner, as he was asleep under the shade of some trees near the fort. The approach of his adversary waked him, and he was just able to save his own life at the expence of the *Dutchman's*. The landing place, or where they unship goods, is convenient, the gardens excellent, and the fort pleasant^r.

Dutch fort called Wedenborough.

WEDENBOURGH, the *Dutch* fort, was built in the year 1688, by *Swerts*, at that time director general. The building is a square, defended by good batteries, capable of mounting 32 pieces of ordnance if complete. In 1695, the negroes attacked it in the night, and at a time when 20 out of the small garrison, commanded by *Bosman*, were laid up with sickness. However, after an engagement of five hours, they were repulsed with considerable loss. Although the negroes poured showers of shot into the embrasures, which could not be shut close, yet so bad marksmen were they, that *Bosman* lost but two men. Not discouraged, they returned a second time to the charge, resolving to push their way sword in hand. *Bosman* had sent for relief to *Elmina*, and a seasonable reinforcement arrived, just as the negroes were cutting down the port-holes with their swords. An obstinate engagement ensued between this detachment, endeavouring to force their way to the fort, and the negroes determined to oppose them. After a warm conflict, which lasted half an hour, the *Dutch* were overpowered and defeated; however, a considerable number found means to enter the fort. By this supply the spirits of the garrison were raised, and the negroes discouraged from prosecuting the siege. *Bosman* relates, that his gunner had the treachery to nail up his cannon; a piece of villainy that was nearly attended with the loss of the fort. When the siege was raised, the delinquent was sent in irons to *Elmina*, to be punished according to his deserts, instead of which, he was not only set at liberty by the director general, but promoted to a place of more trust and profit than he had before enjoyed^s. Thus we see that prejudice and partiality can have place even in the bosom of a stoical *Dutchman*.

Wedenborough.

Siege of Wedenborough.

THE principal commodities for which there is a demand by the negroes of *Commendo*, are, glass beads, brass bells and buttons, long linen cloths, and woollen stuffs. The former they send up the country in exchange for gold; the latter they keep for their own consumption; however, those articles are sold only by retail, and such a variety of factors, brokers, and agents, are employed by those negroes, as makes trading with them equally tedious and uncertain. When they are at war with neighbouring nations, trading thither for slaves is profitable, for they hurry to dispose of their prisoners to save the expence of maintaining them. A vessel arriving upon such an occasion is sure of completing her cargo in a few days. *Barbot* complains, that the adulteration of gold here is commonly practised, and with great ad- dress. The worst gold is that called *Akra* or *Kraka*, but this fraud is not of late invention; for *Artus* observes, that in his time, the people of *Commendo* were infamous for this scandalous custom. After having melted it with copper, they cut the mass into small pieces, the better to disguise the mixture. Nay they have even had the effrontery to offer the *Dutch* copper instead of gold^t.

Commodities.

Adulteration of gold.

WHEN the people of *Commendo* are at war, they usually have a slave market at *Little Commendo*, for the more quick dispatch. Here too they keep quantities of gold in the hands of certain agents, employed to carry on trade, while the rest are fighting the enemy in the field. The gold trade indeed is not very considerable, tho' the negroes show the ruins of a *Norman* factory, established solely for the gold traffick. The *French* build much upon this old factory; and a late writer of that nation asserts, that had they chosen it, they might have retained the exclusive commerce of *Commendo* to this day. His arguments are founded upon a traditional story, that one of the kings, hearing that a *French* ship was arrived in the road, sent refreshments on board, and ordered the messenger to acquaint the captain with his resolution never to trade with any other *Europeans*, as long as the *French* favoured him with their custom. *Barbot* relates, that the natives to this day express a peculiar regard for the *French*. On his second voyage, in the year 1682, the king sent his son on board, as a pledge for his, the captain's, return, if he came to *Commendo* to settle a treaty of commerce between the two nations, although at that time he denied the *English* and *Dutch* the liberty of erecting forts. *Barbot*, after his return, proposed this treaty to the minister, and mentioned the district of *Ampeni* as the most commodious for a fort. His remonstrances were, however, disregarded^u. In the year 1688, *Du Casse* arrived on that coast with a squadron of four men of war equipped at *Rochefort*, with intention of forming some settlements at *Commendo*, where the natives were proposing to throw off the yoke imposed upon them by the *Hollanders*. Here he actually erected a factory, in which he left a small garrison, and then sailed to *Alampi* and *Whidab*, with the same intention.

An old French fort at Commendo.

Scheme of Barbot.

^r SMITH, p. 122.

^s BOSM. Epist. 4.

^t BARBOT, p. 268.

^u Idem ibid.

A few months after *Du Casse's* departure from *Commendo*, the intrigues of the *Dutch* kindled a war amongst the negroes, in which their king was killed, and the new-founded *French* settlement pillaged; the garrison being forced to screen themselves under the protection of the *English* at *Cape Coast*. After this disgrace, the enterprize was never again resumed.

Lari.

A LITTLE to the east of this fort stands a village, called *Terra Piguena*, or *Lari*. It belonged to the *Dutch*, but the commerce carried on was inconsiderable, on account of its vicinity to *Elmina*, which engrossed all the capital branches of trade. When the *Portuguese* desire to trade, they send some of their natives to *Tekki Ekki*, or to *Commendo*, with gold dust to be sold to the *Dutch*^w.

Cause of the war with the Dutch.

THE kingdom of *Commendo* was in the most flourishing condition, when the arbitrary and haughty conduct of the *Dutch* obliged the natives to seize arms in defence of their liberty, and to rescue themselves out of the jaws of destruction. Hostilities were however for a while suspended by the good offices and interposition of the king's brother, then in the service of the *Dutch* governor of *Elmina*; but this useful mediator having been dismissed and affronted, the *Commendians* only wanted a fair opportunity of declaring themselves and coming to an open rupture. In 1694, the governor of *Elmina*, having had miners sent him from *Europe*, began to make some trials of their skill upon a little hill, two miles distant from *Wedenbourgh*; the natives were highly enraged, because that eminence happened to be one of their divinities. They attacked the miners, seized upon all their utensils, and made prisoners of those whose want of address or activity prevented their escape. Of this insult the *Dutch* complained to the king, but he declined giving satisfaction, by protesting his innocence and ignorance of the fact. Being strongly urged to punish the offender, he laid the whole blame upon *John Kabes*, who resided near the fort *Wedenbourgh*, and carried on a considerable traffick with the *Dutch* (K). *Bosman* however contradicts this, giving for a reason, that *Kabes* was a person of no courage or resolution; a character by no means consistent with what *Barbot* relates, and probably owing to *Bosman's* strong prejudices against him. The governor of *Elmina*, upon the king's declaration, marched some troops into the territory of *Commendo*, under the pretext of obliging *Kabes* to make satisfaction. Upon the first report of their arrival, *Kabes* came out of his village to justify himself, and to offer them presents; but finding that they proceeded to ravage and lay waste the country, he prepared for his defence. He assembled a body of troops, met the *Dutch*, and a sharp action ensued, in which both sides lost a number of men. This event flung the affairs of the whole country into confusion: *Kabes*, to be revenged on the *Dutch*, invited the *English* to settle in *Commendo*, or in its neighbourhood. He even offered them a residence in his own town, and promised them in a short time to enable them to rebuild the ruins of an old fort they had formerly possessed. *Bosman* said, that with such diligence did they set to work on the fort, as in a few weeks to make it habitable, and so strong as to render dispossessing them difficult^x.

Hostilities begun between the Dutch and Commendians.

Misconduct of the Dutch governor.

It is defended by four batteries, and a strong tower mounted with cannon, which might greatly annoy the *Dutch*. *Bosman* asserts, that the *Dutch* company complained grievously of this establishment, and impeached the indolence, the ignorance, and the cowardice of the governor of *Elmina*, for so easily permitting it to be erected. His conduct to *Kabes* was likewise taxed as highly impolitic; but the governor flattered himself with acquiring the same honour as *Swerts*, another *Dutch* governor, had done. This man, after the king's death, had obtained by his address an absolute power over the natives of *Commendo*, and the present governor expected the same success. To repair his former errors, he had the precaution to engage for the sum of 5000*l.* an army of negroes in the service of the company. This body was formed out of the inhabitants of *Jaffer* and *Kabestere*, and powerful enough to reduce both the king of *Commendo* and *Kabes*, had not the governor been imprudent enough to declare, that after chastizing them, he would turn his arms against the negroes of *Fantin* and *Sabu*. To avoid ruin, and from absolute necessity, those kingdoms were obliged to join the *Commendians*. They formed a body so powerful, that after frequently defeating the *Dutch* and their allies, they rendered them incapable of attempting new enterprizes; but divisions soon arose among the

Commendians defeat the Dutch in several battles.

^w BOSMAN, Epist. 4.^x Idem ibid. etiam BARBOT, p. 159 & seq.

(K) By Sir *Dalby Thomas's* letters to the directors, dated Nov. 1. 1701, it appears that this *Kabes* had formerly lived at *Cape Coast*, from whence he retired, to avoid the payment of certain debts he had contracted. Although he had been the bitter enemy of the *Dutch*, on this occasion a purse of gold gained him the governor of *Elmina's* protection, and the liberty of settling near *Wedenbourgh*. Afterwards upon some disgust he again went over to the *English*, and became useful in erecting a fort at

Commendo. Upon some fresh occasion of complaint, he joined himself to the interlopers, and they by his assistance, put themselves in a condition, in the year 1702, to erect a fort with eight pieces of cannon. This did not prevent his being again reconciled to the company in 1707, and furnishing them with powerful succours against the *Hollanders*. In a word, he was a person of an active lively turn, perfectly acquainted with his own interest, but too fickle to pursue it (7).

(7) *Barbot*, p. 439.

a conquerors, that quickly stopped this rapid course of victory. *Tekki Ankan*, brother to the king of *Commendo*, unmindful of his duty to his country, king, and engagements, went over to the *Dutch*, with the negroes of *Adom*, and some other auxiliaries. An incident so unforeseen, put the *Dutch* in a condition to venture the hazard of another battle, where the issue remained a long while in suspense. At length victory so far declared itself for the *Dutch*, that their troops began to neglect every other care for the business of plundering the enemy's camp. This the king of *Commendo*, one of the bravest princes of his age, observed, and determined to profit by their error. He rallied his men, and gave orders they should march up to the enemy with their muskets clubbed, to deceive them into a belief of their being a body of allies, come to share in the booty. The stratagem succeeded to his wish; he attacked the enemy with the utmost vigour, easily drove them out of the camp, made prodigious slaughter among them, and obtained a most complete victory. *Bosman* charges the whole of this loss upon the misconduct of the *Dutch* governor, first in imprudently irritating two powerful nations, and next in permitting his troops to desert the victory in their hands, in quest of plunder.

THE next governor who succeeded, resolved to pursue other measures. Having nothing to hope for by force of arms, he tries the effects of negotiations and treaties. He proposed to the king of *Commendo* a perpetual alliance offensive and defensive, on the sole condition of being indemnified in the losses occasioned by the war. Here the *English*, who could expect no advantages from this reconciliation, represented to the king, that as he had not occasioned the war, it was unreasonable he should sustain the expence, which would only encourage the *Dutch* to enter upon a fresh war. They added, that now it was the king's power to impose his own terms, and that the *English* were ready to assist him with all their forces, in doing himself justice. The king, gained with proposals which equally flattered his resentment and his interest, recommenced hostilities. The *Dutch* continued for some time to bear those injuries with patience, hoping to overcome the king's passion by gentleness and moderation; but perceiving that every day produced fresh outrage, they had recourse to the negroes of *Fantyn*, engaging them by a subsidy to remain neutral. Thus those barbarians were engaged by both sides; from the one they received a sum of money for fighting, and from the other, a larger sum for remaining inactive spectators. The last they chose, as most for their interest, and agreeable to their inclinations; nay, by raising the subsidy to 300*l.* sterling, they engaged to declare war against their former allies, and to assist the *Dutch* with all their forces. While the governor of *Elmina* was feeding himself with great hopes from this new alliance, he had the mortification to see all his views destroyed, by a counter-mine of the *English* governor at *Cape Coast*, who offered the same sum to the *Fanti* people, if they would remain neuter. This they embraced for the same reasons for which they accepted the first offer of the *Dutch*. Their chief was the only man among them who was disposed to perform his engagements with the *Hollanders*. Him therefore they deposed in a solemn assembly, and in his room substituted a prince more ready to comply with the humours of the people. The *Commendians* still continuing their insults, obliged the *Dutch* to apply to the *Adomese* on the one side, and to the negroes of *Akani* and *Kabeshore* on the other, promising each the sum of 500*l.* for their aid against the *Commendians*. The effects of these treaties appeared infallible; but the division of the subsidy had occasioned civil wars among the new allies, and so embroiled their affairs, as rendered it impossible for them to serve the *Dutch*. Instead of reproaching their treachery, the governor of *Elmina* turned to the negroes of *Dinkira*, whom he endeavoured to gain heartily into his cause, by a sum of 800*l.* sterling. This they accepted, and were preparing to take the field, when an incursion of some neighbouring nations into their territory obliged them to employ their troops in their own defence. However, they had so much honour as to return the subsidy, deducting only a part for the expences of ambassadors; an example that was by no means followed by the *Fanti* people, who thought of nothing less than a restitution. In this desperate state of their affairs, there remained no alternative besides ruin, or in the humblest manner supplicating peace; but a fortunate incident gave a happy turn to affairs, and an opportunity of extricating themselves with more honour. The brother of the king of *Commendo*, who had deserted to them in the beginning of the war, had, upon some misdemeanour, been banished with all his family to *Surinam*. His banishment coming to the ears of the directors of the company, was by them thought too rigorous, and accordingly revoked. The prince was set at liberty, brought back to *Elmina*, and employed to bring the king his brother to hearken to reasonable propositions of peace. In this business he acquitted himself with so much address, that he soon disposed the king to listen to certain terms, in consequence of which a peace was concluded, every way honourable and advantageous to the *Dutch*. We are shocked at the thoughts of relating the sequel. The *English* at *Cape Coast*, disgusted with the king's con-

The bravery of the king of Commendo.

The Dutch offer terms of peace, but are refused thro' the intrigues of the English.

The Dutch disappointed by all their allies, and deserted.

A favourable incident relieves them.

A treacherous action of the English.

^y BARBOT, p. 268.

^z Idem ibid. BOSMAN, Epist. 4.

duct, had him assassinated at a feast to which they invited him; a sad recompence for the faithful services this brave prince had done them; and an action that will stain with ignominy the memory of that unworthy governor, whose name we chuse to pass over in silence (L). a

The Commendians resent the murder of their king.

The English defeated.

An action so barbarous and insidious, threw the country into new troubles^a. The *Commendians* were seized with the strongest resentment against the *English*, and entertained the most bitter but just notions of revenge, for the death of their brave king. On the other hand, *Tekki Ankan*, the king's brother, who had connived at the murder, secretly quitted *Elmina* to join himself to the *English*, and with them to fight against his country. They proposed to the *Dutch* an union against the *Commendians*, and pointed this out as the favourable opportunity of revenging the injuries they had suffered in the late war; but the governor of *Elmina* shut his ears against every proposition tending to involve him in fresh quarrels, so ruinous to trade and commerce. *Tekki Ankan* and the *English* then looked out for other alliances; they engaged several little states in their cause, and assembled an army greatly superior to the *Commendians*. The issue of the first battle was agreeable to justice; the *English* were defeated, and a complete victory obtained by the *Commendians*, owing chiefly to the conduct of their leader *Tekki Ami*, who signalized himself greatly in the action, and gained the reputation of being as brave and skilful a commander as their late king. b

A villainous action of the Dutch governor.

ALTHOUGH the *Dutch* had embraced a strict neutrality, the *Commendian* general paid them the compliment of sending to *Elmina* a great number of the enemies heads, testifying by this, that he was resolved to live and die in the service of the *Hollanders*. The compliment was well received, and the ambassadors returned loaded with presents. A fairer occasion, says *Bosman*, could never offer of revenging themselves upon the *English*, had they heartily espoused the cause of the *Commendians*; but the *Dutch* governor was influenced against the national interest by a favourite negro, called *Azim*, a mortal enemy to the *Commendians*. This man never desisted from exciting his ambition, by proposing the conquest of *Commendo*, as a just reparation of the losses the company had sustained under the preceding governor. His arguments had such weight with this weak agent of the *Dutch*, that without consulting his council, he determined to attack the negroes of *Fetu*, a nation subject to the *Commendians*. All the rights of nations were violated to gratify his ambition and favourite slave. He began hostilities upon a market day, when the *Fetuans* were bringing their goods to *Elmina*, under the sanction of publick faith and solemn treaties. In a word, as if the *Dutch* governor were determined to equal in treachery and the blackest villainy the *English* at *Cape Coast*, he attacked and pillaged, without honour, remorse, or conscience, those industrious and inoffensive negroes. Many of them were killed on the spot, and twenty-four prisoners carried into *Elmina*, put on board a ship in the road, and sent into perpetual slavery. The pretext for so shocking a violation of public faith, was the murder of certain women of *Elmina*, whom the *Dutch* asserted were massacred under the walls of the fort by the *Fetuans*. The allegation was false; and had it been true, none but a base mind could stoop to so mean and treacherous a revenge. Those women were put to death by *Tekki Ankan*, and the council of *Mina* were so sensible of the share their governor and his favourite *Azim* had in it, that they chose to drop the inquiry, which they knew must terminate to their dishonour^b. c

The Dutch trade on the decline.

The English defeat the Commendians, and kill their king. Peace established.

By this detestable and unwarrantable conduct, the *Dutch* trade at *Elmina* was ruined at one stroke, and the *Commendians* and *Fetuans* became the irreconcilable foes of *Holland* and the *Dutch* company. On the other hand, the *English* had strengthened themselves by new alliances, and believed the opportunity favourable for renewing the war with the *Commendians*. They attacked them with an army greatly superior in number; but the superior courage of the *Commendians* would have gained them a decisive victory, had not their brave general received a mortal wound, just when the scale of fortune was weighing down in their favour. This unlucky accident dispirited the troops, and made them fall into confusion; for *Tekki Ami* was the soul and vital principle of his army. The *English* pushed the advantage; and the loss of one man made fortune change sides, and declare against the *Commendians*. They were routed with great slaughter; a prodigious number of prisoners were taken; which, with the booty, more than indemnified the *English* in the expence of the whole war. In consequence of this victory, *Tekki Ankan* mounted the throne of *Commendo*; a change of government greatly to the advantage of both the *English* and *Dutch*; though they might, had other measures been at first pursued, have hoped for advantages still more considerable and important. *Bosman* has concealed from us the names of all the *Dutch* governors, whose false system of politics brought upon the company all the losses of the *Commendian* war. He excuses or rather f

^a BARBOT, *ibid*.

^b DES MARCH. p. 236. v. i. BARBOT, *ibid*. BOSMAN, *ubi sup*.

(L) We have it from the best authority, that the head of this unfortunate king is to this day preserved in a casket at *Cape Coast*, which the negroes are desirous of purchasing at any price.

- a palliates, the conduct of the last governor, by transferring the blame to *Azim*, who had all his confidence; and seemingly with great reason, as he had done him the most essential services, before he arrived at the government affairs^c.

Description of the kingdom of Fetu.

- b **T**H E reader will perceive that, in describing the situation of countries, we have some-
 what changed the method pursued in the former volume, for one which, we hope, he will esteem more rational and uniform. We have here proceeded from west to east, in describing the maritime kingdoms, in order that we might in one regular chain pursue the history of the interior countries from east to west. Thus, we begin the sea coast with the provinces farthest west, going regularly back till we come to the most easterly province of the division we are describing. Then we proceed to the interior kingdom immediately north, and follow a direct line to the west, where we fall in with the next division to be described. By this method all chasms are avoided, and we are relieved from the disagreeable necessity of skipping over whole kingdoms, in order to lay down the geography of those north of it.
- c The maritime and interior kingdoms are described in one sweep; the reader's attention fixed, and his ideas rendered perfectly clear by the uninterrupted succession of kingdoms immediately adjoining. This alteration became the more necessary, on account of the multiplicity of petty kingdoms, states, and provinces, into which the coast of *Guiney* and the inland country are divided. Without it we apprehend it would be impossible to lay down the geography with any tolerable precision, as we must have described inland and maritime kingdoms, after the manner of voyagers, just as they happened to occur to our memory.
- THIS kingdom, which *Barbot* calls *Fetu*, has the name of *Afuto* by *Vasconcelos*, and by most *English* writers is called *Fetou*. The first orthography we have retained, as nearest the found and expression of the word by the natives. It is bounded on the west by the river *Benja*, and kingdom of *Commendo*; on the north by the country of *Ati*; on the east by *Sabu*, and by the ocean on the south. The king, who reigned in *Barbot's* time, was called *Aken Penin Ashrive*. The crown is elective, and the capital, also called *Fetu*, stands in the inland country. *Bosman* gives this kingdom 160 miles in length, and near as much in breadth. He describes it as beginning at mount *St. Jago*, or the river *Sel*, and terminating at mount *Manfro*, or *Montfort*^d.
- THE kingdom of *Fetu* had once been so powerful as to inspire with terror all the neighbouring nations, and render *Commendo* tributary; now the scene is reversed, the civil divisions and broils among the inhabitants reducing it so low, that neither the king or nobility dare take a step without leave from the king of *Commendo*. During the *Commendian* war, the *Fetuan*s were divided, one party joining with the *Dutch*, the other with the king of *Commendo*. Hence they contributed to their own ruin; neighbour fought against neighbour; they were cut down on all sides, and in the last battle almost totally destroyed. At present the inhabitants are scarce sufficient to cultivate the country, which is fertile and pleasant as any upon the coast. Before those wars, which ended in its destruction, *Bosman*, who had often traversed it, says that it was filled with populous villages, the country every-where shewing proofs of wealth and plenty. Grain of all kinds, cattle of all sorts, oil and palm wine, constituted its principal riches. But what rendered it unspeakably pleasant and beautiful, were the groves with which all the public roads were shaded, by which the passenger was equally defended against the rain, and the scorching beams of the sun. One of the finest in the whole kingdom was that from *Elmina* to *Sambu*, a village near the capital. Add to this the trees of various kinds with which the hills were clothed, and the rivulets, which in pretty meanders watered the valleys, and the whole will give the prospect of a country luxuriously beautiful. It is extremely well situated for *European* settlements, by reason of the neighbouring trading kingdoms, and the conveniency and cheapness of living. The natives, to a man, were busied in tilling the ground, sowing the seed, planting trees, making oil, or drawing wine from the palm, with which the kingdom abounded. Some indeed were employed in fishing, in making salt, in driving a trade upon their own capitals, or as brokers for the merchants of the inland countries. *Smith* affirms, that he country round *Elmina* and *Cape Coast* is not inferior to any part of the kingdom in beauty and fertility; but that it is more thinly inhabited. In another place he says, that the nearer you approach the *Slave Coast*, the land grows more rich and pleasant^e.
- THREE miles below *Wedenburgh*, stands the town and fort of *La Mina*, or *St. George Elmina*; a name given it by the *Portuguese*; but for what reason cannot so clearly be determined, as no part of the country affords mines of any kind. *Bosman* thinks it probable, that the name arose from the great abundance of gold sent hither from the interior country, which made it seem as if the neighbouring mines produced it. The town is by the natives

Reason for changing the manner of describing the geography of countries.

Geography of the kingdom of Fetu.

This kingdom once powerful.

Beauty of the country.

Employment of the natives.

Description of the Dutch fort at La Mina or Elmina.

^c BOSMAN, ubi sup.

^d PREVOST, t. v. l. ix. c. 4.

^e BARBOT, p. 142. SMITH, p. 139.

Town of Elmina, its former wealth and power.

called *Odden*, though the *Europeans* in general retain the appellation first imposed by the *Portuguese*; it is of a great length, but narrow. The houses are built of a stone hewn out of a neighbouring rock. In the year 1684, this town was so populous, so powerful, and the inhabitants so brave, that they were the terror of the whole coast. Under the conduct of a good officer, they were, according to *Bosman*, capable of the greatest undertakings; since then, the small pox first made terrible havock among them; afterwards the tyrannical government and wars of *Commendo* concluded the devastation begun by that nauseous and filthy disease. So depopulated, impoverished, and miserable is the place, that one finds it difficult to credit the best authorities concerning its potency, and that a change so sad should be produced in so short a time. It is not able to raise above fifty men, exclusive of the servants of the factory, fit to bear arms. Hardly a town on the whole coast, but has profited by the calamities of *Odden*. They have become populous by its becoming a desert; and the tyranny of the governors of *Elmina*, the dread of the small pox, and the *Commendian* war, have all been so many advantages to *Akim* and other places, which have furnished an asylum to the miserable inhabitants of *Odden*. When *Bosman* first arrived there, not a morning passed, but five or six hundred canoes were seen fishing beyond the beach; in the space of four years not one tenth part of that number were to be found in the whole town; but he indeed imagines, that were a governor of a mild disposition, an encourager of the arts, and a man of conduct, set over them, the place might soon be brought to its former flourishing condition. He might by his gentle usage recall the fugitives, restrain the engrossing disposition of *Akim*, and by proper encouragement render the town of *Elmina* populous, industrious, and wealthy; a change which would be attended with unspeakable advantages to the company. Hitherto, neither the natives or *Dutch* have been so happy, as to meet with such a governor, and one would be tempted to think, that our author's sentiments of one are merely ideal.

THE town of *Elmina*, *La Mina*, or *Odden*, as the natives call it, stands on the river *Benja*, upon a low, flat peninsula, formed by the ocean on the south, the river on the north, *Commendo* on the west, and the famous citadel of *St. George D'Elmina* on the east. Towards *Commendo* it is fortified with a strong wall of large stone, brought from an adjacent rock, a deep ditch, and some pieces of cannon mounted on each side of the gate. The wall begins at the sea side, and stretches along to the banks of the river, which separates the town from the fort on mount *St. Jago*. This fort the *Dutch* call *Conradtsburgh*, which they built for the security of *Elmina*, upon a situation that equally commands the town and their chief factory.

THE natives of *Elmina* are well limbed, clean made, and robust, of a warlike disposition, but more civilized and polished than other negroes, on account of their familiar acquaintance with the *Europeans*. Their usual occupations are fishing, trading, and making palm wine and oil. They come to market with their fish about mid-day, paying the *Dutch* a fifth by way of customs. Their commerce extends along the coast even to *Whidah*. They have great address in adulterating the precious metals, and pretend that they acquired the art from the *Portuguese*; if so, they greatly excel their instructors. In *Elmina* are a great number of artisans, who work in metals in a manner little inferior to the best *European* mechanics. They cast and carve in gold and silver; they make buttons, plain or filigrane rings, chains, sword hilts, and other ornaments; nor are they ignorant of the method of cutting, grinding, and polishing crystal and glass, and of giving it all shapes and forms. In the town are about two hundred houses, and hardly any but has its mechanics. Most of the streets are ill peopled; otherwise, from the ingenuity of the inhabitants, they would appear to great advantage.

THE town is divided by most writers into three districts, each having its particular rights, and governed by a chief, whom the negroes call *brasso*. Under them the *brassos* have *cabo-ceroes* and certain inferior officers, the ministers of justice in ordinary cases. The three chiefs with their councils form the regency and legislative part of this small republic, since the *Portuguese* rendered it independent of the kings of *Fetu* and *Commendo*, who enjoy the sovereignty of all the country besides. In this condition, and from the nature of their government, it was, that the inhabitants of *Elmina* found means to render themselves formidable to all their neighbours; their freedom inspiring them with a courage, a boldness, and independency of thought and action, no where else on the *Gold Coast* to be met with. First they maintained their liberty under the protection of the *Portuguese*; and afterwards of the *Dutch*; but no sooner had the latter begun to limit their privileges, to retrench their rights, and to mix in their government, than that spirit which was the soul of their courage vanished, and they became timid, cautious, and dastardly, like slaves fearful of disobeying the nod of an imperious master.

f BOSMAN, BARBOT, & SMITH, in locis citatis.

a BEFORE we proceed to the description of the *Dutch* fort, we shall beg leave to mention a few particulars concerning the river *Benja*, which glides by the walls of the town of *Elmina*. Monsieur *Foequenbergh* observes of the waters of this stream, that they are ten times more salt than the saltiest brine or pickle. In the months of *May* and *June*, it is as fresh as rain water, from the quantity of rain that pours down in streams from the hills. It is only in the dry seasons that it is remarkable for its saltness, which *Foequenbergh* attributes to the nitrous quality of the soil; but perhaps more properly to the evaporation of the sea water, by the intense heat of the sun, and the shallowness of the chanel: for he acknowledges that the tide runs for two miles up the river. What confirms our opinion, is the practice of the natives, who generally make their salt after a high tide, which they let by sluices into basons, or small ponds dug in the earth. Here the water is evaporated, and a fine bay salt produced in the same manner as in different parts of *Europe*.

b THE citadel of *Elmina*, standing in the center of the *Gold Coast*, is extremely commodiously situated for the purposes of trade, and the protection and security of the trader. Its situation is upon a rock, bounded on one side by the ocean, and also defended by strong bastions. The whole building is square, surrounded by a high stone wall, cannon proof. As the company have spared no expence in beautifying and fortifying this settlement, it is beyond contradiction one of the most complete on the coast. The fort, exclusive of the out-works, is forty rhinland yards in length, and thirty-two in breadth, surrounded by four grand bastions, or four interior batteries. Two of these point towards the sea, and are of a prodigious height, the point of the peninsula on which they stand being a high perpendicular rock; the other two front the river, where the land descends by a gentle declivity. Upon these four batteries are mounted forty pieces of heavy cannon, with a multitude of swivels and patereroes. A little lower stands another battery of large iron cannon, chiefly intended for salutes and public rejoicings.

c THE garrison is composed of an hundred white men, well officered, and an equal number of free negroes in the pay of the company. On the land side are two canals cut in the rock, serving for the security, the conveniency, and the ornament of the citadel, supplying it with fresh water, at the same time that, by means of a drawbridge, and two redoubts mounted with eight pieces of cannon, it renders it strong, and almost inaccessible. Here nature took the least care in fortifying it; but this defect art has compensated, by portcullis's, strong barricadoes, and iron rails of prodigious weight. The guard-house, which stands immediately behind, is a strong building, well defended with swivels, besides a number of slits in the walls, by which the musquetry have the intire command of the river. It is inconceivable with what toil and expence these works have been completed, all the houses being built of stone hewn out of a hard rock, and the canals of a great depth, effected by the same labour. They were begun by the *Portuguese*, but not completed when the place fell into the hands of the *Dutch*.

d THE principal building is a magnificent square stone house, divided into a number of different departments. The upper part of it is appointed for the governor's residence, which you ascend by a grand flight of stairs, of black and white stone. At the very top of the house are placed two swivels, and a variety of smaller artillery, which command the armory, and are defended by a strong guard of soldiers. In your way thither, you meet with a fine long gallery, beautifully ornamented with hard plaister, carved with great art, and *Venetian* windows, handsomely glazed. There is a spacious chapel with a rich altar, where prayers are every day read, and all the officers were obliged to attend, under the penalty of 25 sols for each absence, and double that sum on Sundays and Thursdays. Along the ramparts by the river side, is the infirmary for the sick and wounded, capable of containing an hundred persons, and attended by the surgeons of the fort. The magazines for stores, provisions, and merchandize are large, convenient, and always well stocked. Nor is the factory or residence of the agents neglected, where there are accommodations for sixty persons, the number of servants, exclusive of soldiers, retained by the company. On the porch of the old storehouse there is an inscription, intimating the year when the foundation was laid, in the reign of *John* the second of *Portugal*; viz. in 1484. The letters, which are engraved on a hard stone, are as distinct and clear as if they had stood but a few years. All merchandize and goods enter the fort by a gate towards the sea, at which a crane and other machines for raising them, and unloading the ships, are erected. In a word, tho' the citadel of *Elmina* is strong, it has more the air of a palace than of a fortress, or a house destined for the purposes of commerce. It was far from being thus beautiful while possessed by the *Portuguese*; it was the *Dutch West-India* company that gave it this perfection, at a great expence, which they have no cause to regret. *Smith* affirms, that it is larger, more convenient and beautiful than *Cape Coast*, but less pleasant on account of the situation. You land from the shipping at a grand key, built by the company, near the mouth of the river. The materials are the same we have mentioned, only that great

great labour has been bestowed in cutting the stone, and giving the cornices an elegance and polish.

The fort of
Conradf-
bourg.

ON the north side of the river *Benja*, the company have built the fort *Conradsbourgh* on mount *St. Jago*, so called from a *Portuguese* chapel dedicated to that saint. Fortifying this hill the company judged necessary for the security of *Elmina*, though if the enemy once got possession of it, they would soon be in a condition to oblige the citadel to surrender. Hence it follows, that, if obstinately defended, an enemy will be able to carry on no approaches against the citadel by land; but from the moment they get possession of *Conradsbourgh*, they are masters also of *Elmina*. *Conradsbourgh* stands in the kingdom of *Fetu*, just on the frontier. Its form is quadrangular, with a strong bastion at each angle, and a curtain between each, twelve feet high, built of stone; behind which stand four batteries, mounted with 48 cannons. The interior edifice consists of a tower, which commands all the adjacent country, and affords a commodious lodging for a garrison of 25 soldiers, with their officers. The garrison is relieved every day from *Elmina*; and upon emergencies, increased to double the number. As it is a post of the utmost importance, it is constantly well supplied with stores, and provisions, and the fortifications kept in constant repair. On the side of *Elmina* it is not difficult of access, there being a fine road cut by an easy ascent out of the rock; but on this side it cannot be attacked by an enemy, who must necessarily be between two fires, that from *Elmina*, and the post of *St. Jago*. Towards *Fetu* and *Commendo*, nothing can be stronger than the situation, which is a high perpendicular rock. The bridge over the river, which forms the communication between the two forts, is altogether after the *Dutch* fashion, with a drawbridge in the middle. At the foot of the hill stands a large magazine, where they lay up their canoes in the wet season, This also is the repository of carpenters tools, and all other mechanical instruments. Near this are seen a great number of tombs, with ridiculous figures cut upon stone, the workmanship of the negroes, in compliment to the memory of their kings, who lie buried here.

The company's
gardens.

BELOW mount *St. Jago*, on the north-side, the company have a fine garden, inclosed by high stone walls, and divided into beautiful alleys and parterres, by rows of orange, lemon, palm, and coco-trees. Here they have all sorts of fruits, roots, and pulse, peculiar to that country, as well as the natural growth of *Europe*. In the center stands a magnificent dome or temple, surrounded by lofty trees, that afford the most delightful cooling shade and fragrance. In a word, all the fruits produced here are the best in their several kinds, and, in particular, their sweet oranges yield in nothing to those raised in *China*; by many they are thought superior.

DES MARCHAIS observes, that the territory of *Elmina* is by no means fertile; a remark which he says is applicable to all countries abounding in gold. However, other authors, of no less credit, affirm that the country is fruitful, and no gold found, besides what is brought from the interior countries. *Des Marchais* adds, that they are supplied with provisions from *Fetu*, *Commendo*, and *Cape Coast*. "Besides," says he, "the gold found in the rivers and rivulets, there are several mines of that precious metal, at the distance of five leagues north north-east of the fort. The negroes have neither the art nor industry to work them; and they are too jealous to permit the *Europeans* to open them." Whence *Des Marchais* procured this intelligence we know not; nor is it very material, as it appears to be without foundation. *Bosman* expressly affirms, that no part of the country affords gold; and his long residence in it must procure him credit. As for the quantities of gold which *Des Marchais* says the *Portuguese* drew from hence, it is probable they were supplied by the negroes from the interior countries. The *Dutch* have since amassed prodigious sums; but it was never imagined that they were in possession of one mine in *Africa*, notwithstanding they pretend to have made great discoveries in the inland kingdoms.

Account of this
settlement un-
der the Portu-
guese.

BEFORE we enter upon the trade and regulations of this factory, since the conquests of *Elmina* by the *Dutch*, it may not be disagreeable to the reader, that we take a retrospect view of these, while it remained in the hands of the *Portuguese*. After the discovery of the *Gold Coast* by those great founders of *European* commerce and maritime power, and the great sums expended in building forts and establishing settlements, the king of *Spain*, to whom they became subject by the union of the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, looked upon himself as the absolute master of all the discoveries of the *Portuguese*. He bestowed therefore the citadel of *Elmina* and its dependencies on a company, for a certain annual acknowledgment; prohibiting at the same time all his other subjects, under pain of death, from trading to those places specified in the charter of the company. The governors, who were still appointed by the king, became triennial; and old officers, who had served with reputation in the army, but without interest to raise them to the highest preferments, were sent thither.

a Here they soon found means of enriching themselves and rewarding their faithful and long services. The inferior servants of the company were the chaplain, surgeon, *viador* or factor, king's attorney or judge, the commandant of the garrison, the deputy of the company, and the military officers and soldiers; all of whom had their lodgings within the fort. All the artisans and black soldiers in the pay of the company were quartered in a neighbouring village, protected by the cannon of the fort, all of them returning to their several employments at stated hours to the citadel. When no ships were in the road, all military duty was wholly neglected; and for a small bit of money a soldier was excused from guard, and permitted to employ his time as he pleased; an abuse common to almost all *European* settlements in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, where the military power is lodged in the hands of the civil magistrate. The garrisons were composed of criminals, banished their mother country for life. In 1600 they were so diminished, that only thirty remained, and these loaded with diseases, shut up within walls, and confined to the hospital. However, *Artus* affirms, that even then there were among them persons of rank and quality. They were paid by the king, who charged himself with the whole military expence: but when the trade began to decline, the court of *Spain* began to relax in the care with which hitherto they had supported it. They neglected to maintain the usual number of troops to fill up the vacancies, and to relieve by able-bodied men the old, decrepid, and infirm. The misery and weakness of the garrison had often been so great, that a soldier was afraid of stirring out of the gates, dreading to be knocked on the head either by the *Dutch*, or by the negroes in their interest. At length the commerce was so totally depressed and sunk, that they seldom saw at *Elmina* more than one or two small ships in a year from *Europe*, the whole trade of the coast passing into the hands of the *Dutch*¹. The decline of the Portuguese trade.

WHILE the affairs of the company flourished, the *Lisbon* fleet arrived every year, about the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. This fleet consisted wholly of five stout ships, which, after unloading their cargoes, passed a month in refreshing the men, and laying in a stock of fresh provisions. The natives had no other trouble than to deliver their merchandize to the factors, who gave them *European* commodities to the value of the gold they sent in. In eight or nine months the whole voyage was completed, while the *Dutch* seldom performed it in less than twelve, fifteen, or eighteen months, for want of strong warehouses and forts to deposite their merchandize in with security; yet did this industrious people overcome all difficulties, and by dint of diligence rise superior to all the advantages of the *Portuguese*. Such a number of ships were yearly sent out from *Holland*, that a stock of *European* goods was never wanting on the coast. They snatched all opportunities of improving their condition, watched the indolence of the *Portuguese*, and profited by it. Cause of the rise of the Dutch trade.

WE need not wonder at the success of the *Dutch*, and the preference given to them by the natives, if we consider the arbitrary manner in which the *Portuguese* traded. They obliged the negroes to keep their warehouses constantly filled, to barter their gold for whatever kind of goods they thought fit to give in exchange. The nobles of the district of *Elmina* lived in perpetual terror. Upon the smallest suspicion, frequently upon false evidences, their persons were imprisoned, and all their effects seized and confiscated. Thus for a time the *African* trade became greatly advantageous to *Portugal*; but it could not last long under so despotic a government. The natives threw off the yoke, as soon as they found themselves succoured by the *Dutch*; yet in the sequel it appeared, that they had only exchanged one set of tyrants for another; the *Dutch* being now as arbitrary as lately the *Portuguese* had been. It must however be acknowledged, that the country is obliged to the *Portuguese* for many advantages it has received, although they had only their own interest in view, and that mistakenly. The cattle, fruits, and grain, have been increased by their means, and many of these, intirely unknown in the country, are now so abundant as to be thought indigenous. The *Portuguese* supported all the inconveniencies of the climate much better than the *Dutch*. This most travellers have attributed to their temperance and sobriety; but the women are more susceptible of diseases peculiar to the country; numbers of the most healthy and robust being carried off in a few months, weeks, and frequently in two or three days². It would be difficult to explain this phenomenon, and it is the business rather of the physician than the historian. We can easily perceive why the *Dutch* should be less healthy than the *Portuguese*; the change they undergo from a cold to a hot, from a moist to a dry, and from a dense, heavy, to a thin, fine, and rarified atmosphere, must occasion correspondent alterations in the fluids and solids; but why the *Portuguese* females, whose habit is lax, fibres delicate, and perspiration free, should be more sickly than the males, is what we find so difficult to explain, that we must either doubt of the fact, or ascribe it to some irregularity in their manner of living. As the *Portuguese* who settled on the coast intermarried with the negroes, a race of mulattoes soon sprung up, more

¹ ARTUS dans le coll. de De Bruy, part vi. p. 114.

² BOSMAN, p. 93. BARBOT, p. 105.

healthy than the *European* women, better-liked, and more congenial to the blacks; and, such is the force of custom, no less agreeable to the *Europeans* than the *Lisbon* ladies. Notwithstanding this prudent measure, their arbitrary government alienated the minds of the natives from them, and made room for the establishment of the *Dutch*; of which we are now to speak.

WHEN the *Hollanders* first began to settle on the *Gold Coast*, the highest rank among them was that of military officers. The government constantly employed the soldiers as clerks and agents in the counting-house, if they were capable of business and taught to write. Their appointments were thirteen florins *per* month, which they might pocket, and twenty florins for their support. The misconduct and irregular behaviour of the soldiery obliged the company to alter this method, and totally to exclude them from the direction of trade, and all civil affairs; a change more agreeable to the constitution of a commercial state, and the general interest of commerce; though frequently attended with inconveniencies, from the jarring interests and inclinations of the civil and military power. At present, the servants of the company are gradually raised to the highest employments, passing a kind of probation in the several inferior stations. Hence, by understanding the proper duty of each department, they are reasonably supposed to direct the whole with more ability.

The regulations of the Dutch factory, and the several officers belonging to the African trade.

THE first step towards the post of *director general* is that of *sub-deputy*, whose appointments are 24 florins *per* month. These sub-deputies receive all the gold, and give in their accounts to the inferior factors, and sometimes to the chief factor, who is accountable to the company. As the public magazines, stores, and warehouses are at *Elmina*, the employment of *sub-factor* is of considerable consequence, as he has a great share in the regulation of markets, and the necessaries of life. Thus the *head factor*, who is responsible for the conduct of his inferiors, holds a delicate post, that requires great address, diligence, and judgment. The eyes of all are upon him, and he is equally to satisfy the expectations of the negroes, the settlement, and company. From the sub-factors are chosen the commissaries or governors of the smaller settlements dependent on *Elmina*. These are obliged to reside at their several governments, and without any other authority or power than in affairs relative to trade. Their salaries are 36 florins *per* month, exclusive of 10 florins for their domestics, and 20 for the expence of their table, besides the profits arising from private trade. The fort of *Mawri*, or *Cormantin*, being the most considerable interior settlement, this government is bestowed upon persons of the greatest experience, diligence, and merit. The gift of it is reserved to themselves by the company, all others being in the disposal of the director general. Till the year 1699 the governor of *Mawri* derived great advantages from the slave trade to the coasts of *Ardrah* and *Whidah*. The profits were so considerable that the gold trade was neglected and sunk to the lowest ebb. Upon information given to the company, they determined to commit the slave trade solely to the commanders of ships, which *Bosman* speaks of as a greater evil than what they intended to remedy. Their ignorance of the manners and customs of the natives led them into numberless difficulties, and their low rank in life and rough manner into contempt. The company lost the esteem of the natives, and that respect, which will ever attend grandeur and power, vanished as soon as the trade was taken out of the hands of those who alone could support it with dignity.

BESIDES those immediately employed in trade, the company maintain a number of other officers on the coast of *Africa*. Of these the *fiscal* is the chief in rank and profit. His salary is 60 florins *per* month, 10 for paying the expence of domestics, with the privilege of eating at the table kept for the director-general. If his appointments should seem mean and trifling for a post of so high a nature, this deficiency is amply compensated by his perquisites. He has a third of all the gold and merchandize forfeited by interlopers or others upon the coast, and also a third upon all fines upon criminals, which are so frequent as alone to make a handsome revenue. Next to him is the *comptroller-general*, whose business it is to inspect the books of the factory. The salary annexed to this post consists of 70 florins *per* month, and 35 for the expence of his table and servants. Under him he has a lieutenant, or deputy comptroller, and two secretaries, each of whom have 390 florins *per annum*. The *comptroller* of the garrison is the next office, whose appointment is about 36 florins *per* month. His inferiors have an equal salary; but, to supply the smallness of his, five *per cent.* is given him upon the effects of all persons who die upon the coast, together with the power of selling them by public auction, should any dispute arise with the heirs at law concerning the amount of the property. There is also a *secretary* of the fort, with a salary of 15 florins *per* month; but with perquisites which render the place not contemptible. The last and formerly least lucrative employment is that of *deputy fiscal*, or *auditor*: This place is neither agreeable nor honourable; the employment of the *deputy* consisting in lodging informations and proving indictments against his fellow officers, the servants of the company, and the natives. As the nature of his office is in itself contemptible, and the salary small, in order to raise the credit of the place, the company have given him a fifth of all confiscations,

- a confiscations, and ordered, that he should take rank of the sub-factors. Thus it is, that with all the ignominy and ill-will annexed to his employment, he is at present raised to the rank of the third person for consideration belonging to the factory ¹.

*Ad summam sapiens uno minor est Jove, DIVES,
Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum.*

- b THE interests of religion are by no means cultivated with the same care as those of trade; for in this whole tract of country the *Dutch* have but one chaplain or minister of the gospel. The stipend of this clergyman is very considerable, amounting to an hundred florins *per* month, exclusive of ten florins to defray the expence of domestics, spiritual fines, and the constant use of the governor's table. The fines arise chiefly from an excellent custom we have mentioned, of mulcting, according to their rank and ability, every person who absents himself from divine service ^m.

- c THE following is the order and precedency in rank among the company's servants in *Africa*, or rather of the officers at *Elmina*; 1. The director-general. 2. The chaplain. 3. The fiscal. 4. The head factor. 5. Three superior factors. 6. Ordinary or inferior factors. 7. Ten lowest factors. 8. Twenty deputies. 9. The captain or guard of the magazines. 10. The comptroller-general. 11. His lieutenant. 12. The comptroller of the garrison. 13. The clerk of the spiritual court (whose employment we are ignorant of). 14. The sub-fiscal or auditor. The chief power and reins of government are lodged in the hands of the director-general, as the other officers are incapable of acting without his consent and approbation; yet in all affairs of importance, and where caution and deliberation are requisite, a council is assembled, consisting of the director-general as president, the fiscal, head factors, and comptroller-general. The governors of the out-forts are sometimes called, and the council enlarged according to the exigency and circumstances of affairs. In this assembly each member has the liberty of freely delivering his sentiments, or voting, without assigning a reason for the opinion he approves. The authority of the director-general is very extensive, having power to displace at pleasure all the officers on the coast, without being accountable for his conduct. For this reason they pay him the most servile submission, watch every nod, and tremble at every cloud upon his countenance; a despotism that has been attended with the worst consequences under bad governors, and useful in no conjuncture, but to quicken the motions of trade, and prevent divisions among the servants of the company. *Bosman*, sensible that commerce can never flourish under the conduct of an ill-disposed director-general, exhorts the company to retrench and moderate their power: he proves incontestibly the advantages which would result from an administration more regular and equal, where the interest of each individual is regarded with more discretion and justice. In a word, as the servants of the company in the aggregate do not exceed sixty persons, none of them, if they behave well, can fail of being advanced to profitable and lucrative employments ⁿ.

- e WE now proceed to a description of *Cape Coast*, the chief *English* settlement upon the coast of *Guinea*. Previous however to this we shall speak in a few words of a considerable town lying between *Elmina* and *Cape Coast*. The town we mean is *Agua*, or *Oegwa*, standing, according to *Artus*, on the brow of an eminence, raising itself by a gentle ascent to a considerable height, and defended by rocks, against which the waves beat with the utmost violence, and a noise which is heard at a great distance ^o.

- f BARBOT affirms, that *Oegwa* contains above 500 houses, disjoined by narrow crooked streets; and that from the sea it has the appearance of an amphitheatre ^p. *Des Marchais* reduces the number of houses to 200, in the center of which stands a large square building, the repository of their gold dust, and other commodities (M). The houses are built of earth and clay, but convenient, and well furnished with chairs, stools, mats, carpets, earthen pots, and even looking-glasses, which last they purchase from the *Europeans*. No part of the coast is better provided with all kinds of eatables, which are sent in from the adjacent cantons, and sold in public markets. Every thing is bought and sold by gold dust, which is the standard of all other commodities, and brought hither in great abundance from all quarters of *Fetu*, *Abrambo*, *Affiento*, and *Mandingo* ^q. The gold is sold by weight, and the quantity determined by nice scales, made in the country before it was frequented by the *Europeans*: a proof that those negroes are not wholly ignorant of the more

*Description of
Oegwa.*

¹ Aut. supra citat. ibid. part. vi. p. 114.

^m BARBOT, p. 168.

ⁿ BOSMAN, Epist. 7.

^o Dans coll. de De Bruy,

^p Ibid.

^q DES MARCH. t. i. p. 266.

(M) Almost all writers agree, that the town of *Oegwa* is entirely commanded by the cannon of *Elmina*; which plainly indicates an error in the best *Dutch* charts

of the *Gold Coast*, where the town is placed half way between *Elmina* and *Cape Coast*, viz. four miles and a half from either.

refined principles of mechanics. Next to gold, the chief commerce of the place consists in the sale of fish, of which they catch prodigious quantities on the coast. Although the natives are brave and warlike, yet in time of peace no people are more industrious, their whole time being employed in catching fish or cultivating the fruits of the earth. They are extremely expert in throwing the lines, and fishing by the hook; nor is their intrepidity in combating the elements, and pursuing their employments in all kinds of weather, less astonishing. Every day in the week, besides *Wednesday*, which is sacred to their *Fetiche*, is taken up in their several occupations, and no season of the year exempted from fishing. Their canoes weather storms which would endanger the largest shipping; and the negroes have the dexterity of making their advantage of those seasons, which obliges others to discontinue their labours, by throwing their lines with the same success in tempestuous as in calm weather. This conduct however we are not altogether to ascribe to courage; insensibility would seem to have a great share in it; for *Phillips* assures us, that he has seen them drinking and smoking upon barrels of powder they had bought of the *English*, without apprehending the smallest danger from the sparks of fire which fell from their pipes.

A description
and history of
Cape Coast,
the chief Eng-
lish settlement
in Guiney.

THE name of *Cape Coast*, by which the *English* call their chief settlement, is thought to be a corruption of *Cabo Corso*, the antient *Portuguese* appellation. This cape is formed by an angular point, washed on the south and east by the sea, upon which stands the *English* fort, nine miles from *Elmina*. Here the *Portuguese* settled in 1610, and built the citadel of *Cape Coast*, upon a large rock that projects into the sea. A few years afterwards, they were dislodged by the *Dutch*, to whom this place owes its principal strength. In 1664 it was demolished by admiral *Holmes*, after his expedition against fort *Witsen*, at *Taberari*. In 1665 *De Ruyter*, the famous *Dutch* admiral, had orders from the states to revenge the insults committed by the *English*. With a squadron of thirteen men of war he attacked all the settlements of this nation along the coast, ruined the factories, and took, burnt, and sunk all the shipping of the *English* company: but after all his endeavours he was frustrated in his attempts on this fort, although at that time it had not recovered the damage done it by *Holmes*. The treaty of *Breda* having confirmed *Cape Coast* to the *English*, and the king granting a new charter in 1672, the directors applied all their attention to fortifying and rendering commodious this their chief possession.

THE walls are high and thick, especially on the land side, built partly of stone, but chiefly of brick, which the *English* made at a small distance. To the height and strength of its walls the fort owes its chief security, and the neighbouring negroes dependent on the company a protection against the incursions of the *Fantins*. The interior parade, raised twenty feet above the surface of the work, forms a quadrangular space, cooled by the refreshing sea breezes, to which it lies open, and pleasantly situated on account of the prospect, having in view *Queen Anne's Point*, and all the shipping in the road of *Anamaboa*. This platform is defended by three pieces of large cannon, the three other sides of the square being extremely well built, containing spacious lodgings, with their offices and other conveniencies; but particularly the south side, which is occupied by a handsome chapel, adjoining to the walls of the fort, or rather the walls making one side. The three pieces of artillery on the platform command the road and its entrance; nor is the landing-place less exposed to the fire of the musquetry behind the rocks. The fort has four bastions, mounted with 29 pieces of cannon. On the battlements are ten pieces of cannon, and six upon the wall towards *Tabora*, of no other use than to command the respect of those negroes, and to keep them in awe. Towards the sea, the prospective of *Cape Coast* is beautiful and regular; the fortifications are happily imagined, and all the assistance that could possibly be drawn from art is added to nature. You enter it by a large gate, well fortified, which leads to the square parade we have mentioned, capable of receiving 500 men drawn up. The four bastions communicate with each other by covered ways and curtains, forming a beautiful chain of batteries of 15 cannon, pointed towards the road. *Smith* says, that the whole artillery of the fort amounts to 40 pieces of large cannon, exclusive of demiculverines. *Phillips* says, that the garrison is composed of an hundred men; and *Barbot* mentions that number of *Europeans*, besides as many negroes in the pay of the company, with their proper officers, and all cloathed in red. Neither of those writers mention more than one military officer above the rank of a serjeant, whom they call captain, and who would seem to be the lieutenant of the fort. The gates are shut every evening at eight o'clock, and defended by a regular guard.

NOTWITHSTANDING such a number of authorities and undoubted testimonies of the strength of *Cape Coast*, *Bosman*, who is an author of reputation, would insinuate a very different idea of the fort. After giving an advantageous account of the fortification, he adds, that the garrison is composed of wretches, less capable of inspiring terror than pity. The

* BARBOT, p. 170.

* SMITH, p. 126, & seq.

* BARBOT & SMITH, *ibid*.

- a reason he gives is, that the *English* too readily receive the *Dutch* deserters, from a false principle of humanity; which in fact is an infraction of the articles stipulated between the companies. "Though," says *Bosman*^u, "those who leave us are generally drunkards and fots, yet the *English* receive them gladly, as their factors are never better pleased than when the soldier spends his money upon spirits, sold at double the price. Of this the agents make a considerable profit, selling it privately by their emissaries. No care is taken whether the soldier saves enough of his pay to provide victuals, sufficient for their purpose it is that he has *punch*; by which excessive tippling and poor feeding the garrison is composed of lean, meagre, half-starved, and decrepit beings, fitter for the ease of an hospital than the duties of a fort." Nor is *Smith* more favourable to the conduct of the officers of the factory; for he says, that the soldiers are suffered to abridge and shorten their lives by excessive drinking, while their superiors run into an extreme equally dangerous, by indulging in idleness, and the most gross and luxurious eating.

WITH all its advantages of situation, *Cape Coast* has also its inconveniences: among these are some neighbouring hills, by means of which it would be no difficult matter for an enemy greatly to embarrass and annoy the fort. This it is that obliges the *English* to study the inclinations of the natives, to keep well with them, and engage them by acts of kindness into a strict alliance. They spare neither presents nor caresses, exclusive of the tribute paid to the king of *Fetu*, by way of acknowledgement for the ground they possess. Thus it was in the days of *Barbot*; and we believe that very small alterations have been made to this time.

THE soldiers at *Cape Coast* are lodged in the best barracks of any upon the coast of *Guinea*, and receive their pay daily in gold dust. Here are also convenient apartments for the slaves, who in this particular, are treated with great humanity; with forges for smiths, sheds and workhouses for carpenters and other mechanics, together with a convenient public kitchen for the use of the settlement. Our author remarks, that the officers of the company at *Cape Coast* make but two meals a day; the first at ten in the morning, the second at four in the afternoon; notwithstanding which the expence of the public table amounted to near 1500*l.* in one year^{*}.

THE governor's apartments communicate with the chapel, which is no more than a large hall, answering a double purpose, that of a church and a dining-room. The first story is ornamented with a handsome balcony, extending the whole length of the front; and the accompting-house is large and convenient. In *Barbot*'s time there was a school for the instruction of negro children, to initiate them in reading, writing, and the principles of the Christian religion: whether it still remains so, is what we cannot take it upon us to affirm. A little way from the gate is a prison for murderers, traitors, and other criminals, convicted of capital crimes, where they are detained till an occasion offers for sending them over to *England*, to take their final trial. Finally, there is cut in the rock beneath the platform a large vault, for the confinement of slaves. This horrid dungeon is divided into a number of cells, well contrived to prevent their revolting or forming conspiracies. Such only are confined there as are purchased for exportation. An iron grate serves it for a roof, to admit the air, and as much light as is thought necessary; and the numbers of ships which frequent the coast prevent their being so long detained as to contract distempers, the consequence of close confinement. The cistern for preserving their water, by which the fort is chiefly supplied, is capable of holding 400 hogsheads. It is dug in the rock, and made as convenient as the nature of such a necessary contrivance will admit; for, besides this, they have no water, but what is brought at a considerable distance^v.

FORMERLY the salary and perquisites of the governor were very considerable, amounting to two thousand pounds *per annum*; at present they are dwindled to half that sum, and the chief profits arising from trade. His council is composed of the governors of the outposts, in which he has no more than a single voice; but as this is assembled upon extraordinary occasions only the chief management of affairs devolves upon him. He had formerly the appointing of factors and supercargoes, some of which were exceeding lucrative, as, besides their salaries, they were permitted to trade to a certain extent. The government of *Akra* was in particular a place of profit; but those of *Anamaboa* and *Dicks Cove* were rather laborious and important than lucrative or convenient; the living being bad, the lodgings inconvenient, and the salary and trade inconsiderable. In general the presidency of *Cape Coast* is lodged in the hands of one man; but when *Smith* resided there the government was divided among three persons, who enjoyed a more ample authority than any single governor, the company leaving to their choice the disposal of all places and preferments in their service. *Des Marchais* says^z, that the governor of *Cape Coast* does not confine himself to the traffick of the place, but employs a number of great and small vessels,

^u Epist. 4.^{*} SMITH, ubi sup.^v ATKINS, p. 99. BARBOT, ibid.^z Ubi supra.

Description of
the company's
gardens.

who bring to his warehouses all the commodities of *Guiney*, which he ships off for *Europe*.^a At present they deal chiefly in gold dust and slaves, the former being returned to *Europe*, laid out in trade, or the purchase of slaves for the *West Indies*. The company's gardens, which are no less than eight miles in circumference, are the chief beauty of the place, but without walls or any other inclosure; all that place going by this name that is planted with trees. Here the soil is fertile, producing every sort of fruit to be found in the warmer climates, as lemons, oranges, citrons, guavas, mangoes, plantains, bananas, pine apples, tamarinds, cucumbers, water melons, coco nuts, cinnamon, and every kind of sallads and roots. It is believed that the cinnamon tree would grow here to great perfection, if properly cultivated; an experiment we are amazed the company have not made, as it would justly revenge the injuries received from the *Dutch* in their spice trade, and be a prodigious saving to the nation, without interfering in the smallest degree with the rights or interest of the *East India* company. When *Phillips* was at *Cape Coast*, the *African* company had two gardens; the first a large one, and probably the same that *Smith* speaks of; the other the pleasure garden of the factory, where they had a pleasant summer-house, in which the gentlemen of the fort used frequently to refresh themselves. It served for a burying-ground for the factors, and all the *Europeans* in the fort, except the governors, who were generally interred within the walls of the fort.^b

Account of the
surrounding
country.

THE sea coast extends from east to west, facing directly the south. The country is filled with mountains, which, without having any extraordinary height, render the vallies narrow, upon account of their standing so close to each other. They are covered with a sort of low thick briar, that renders them impassable, except where the paths are cut. The negroes do not cultivate one tenth of the ground; and six months interruption will produce a new crop of briars in those places they had intirely cleared. Voyagers have endeavoured to account for this extraordinary peculiarity, by conjectures equally unsatisfactory and absurd; some ascribing it to the barrenness of the earth, others to the disposition of the air, others to moisture, and a few to a vitriolic principle in the soil, as if they were determined to be more ridiculous in their system than any of the foregoing. The surface of the earth is in general sandy, poor, and gravelly; a kind of soil which in this country we find productive of thorns and brambles. A little lower is a kind of white marl, and somewhat deeper a brown earth, of a dry, sandy nature. We here speak of the hills, the vallies being in general fertile and rich, except round *Cape Coast*, where the land is dry and sterile. Except here the kingdom of *Fetu* is peculiarly rich and fruitful, and the ground well cultivated. The people are numerous and industrious, employing themselves in the gold trade, fishing, agriculture, or some other business supplying the necessities of life. They send great quantities of provisions to the markets of *Elmina*, no less to their own advantage than to the conveniency of the *Dutch*. Their fish is excellent and abundant; their fowls, and especially the *muscovia* ducks, are good and cheap; the mutton and goats flesh of the country lean and insipid, beef scarce, and pigeons in great plenty.^c

Of the climate.

WITH regard to the climate, *Barbot* says, that it is neither better nor worse than that of the other kingdoms of the *Gold Coast*; although he observed morning and evening a thick fog spread itself over the face of the country, which he imagines could arise from no very good cause, nor continue without carrying sickness and disease with it. But the principal cause of the unhealthiness of the country he places in the quality of their food. *Smith*, on the other hand, affirms the air to be the most wholesome, and the people the most healthy, of any on the *Gold Coast*; nay he calls *Cape Coast* the most supportable situation in all *Guiney*.

An Account of
two forts at a
small distance
from Cape
Coast.

IN the neighbourhood of *Cape Coast* the *English* have built two forts, the one called *Phillips's Tower*, and the other *Fort Royal*, or *Queen Anne's Fort*: each of them are three quarters of a mile distant from *Cape Coast*; the first standing on an eminence on the side of the garden, south-east of the fort. In *Bosman's* time *Phillips's Tower* was garrisoned with six men, the intention of it being to keep the negroes in awe, by means of some pieces of cannon, and to guard against the incursions of the neighbouring nations. *Phillips* speaks of a redoubt raised upon an eminence, resembling those little watch towers on the coast of *Spain*, to alarm the country upon the approach of the *Moorish* or *Turkish* pirates. It was garrisoned with a few men, and mounted two or three pieces of small cannon, to sound the alarm upon the smallest danger.^d

QUEEN ANNE'S FORT is situated near the village of *Manfro*, upon a hill called *Danistein*, where *Fredericksburgh* formerly stood. At present it is a square building, mounted with sixteen pieces of cannon, twelve of them standing on a platform, and guarded by six white men and an equal number of blacks. *Des Marchais* says, that it is accessible only by a crooked path, which forms a kind of spiral street, bordered on each side by negro huts.^e

^a PHILLIPS, p. 207, ubi sup.

^b Auct. cit.

^c BOSMAN, Epist 4^a

^d T. i. p. 203.

a THE town of *Manfro* is of an oval form, situated on the banks of a river, in a place almost inaccessible, on account of rugged rocks that surround it. The inhabitants are continually busied in fishing, agriculture, and making salt, a commodity greatly wanted in that country; and many of them act as factors to the merchants of the interior countries. To conclude our account of the kingdom of *Fetu*, there is held at *Abramboe* a brilliant assembly of the natives, from all parts of the kingdom, to celebrate by dancing and other diversions the birth-day of the king. Here an incredible number of negroes of both sexes pass the whole day and night in this fatiguing exercise. The only division of time at *Fetu* consists in the sitting of the courts of judicature at certain periods, at which all causes of property, that cannot be determined by the inferior judges of districts, are tried and finally decided. This supreme court is composed of the king, the prime minister, the *jaraffo*, the *braffo*, and two *English* factors, chosen by the governor of *Cape Coast*. These two commissaries appear at every session in new suits, an expence which costs the company annually the sum of 300*l.* sterling. Finally, *Aquaffo* is a negro town, west of *Cape Coast*, that has the reputation of being large and populous, with a market, where the natives buy and sell their slaves which they intend should be sacrificed at the interment of their king, and buried with him.

Of the Kingdoms of Sabu and Fantin.

c IT is not the extent of *Sabu* that has attracted the attention of voyagers; for this is so incon siderable as to be confined to two leagues, some say miles, from east to west along the coast; and four from south to north into the inland country. It begins at the foot of mount *Danistein*, and ends within a mile or two of *Mawri*, or *Mawerri*, there joining the kingdom of *Fantin*, its boundaries being the sea, and the countries of *Atti* and *Fetu* on the south and west. *Sabu* produces an amazing quantity of *Indian* corn, potatoes, yamms, bananas, oranges, lemons, and other fruits; besides palm oil, with which it supplies the countries of *Akra* and *Axim*. The natives pass for the most industrious people on the *Gold Coast*, being in a perpetual course of employment, either in tilling the earth, fishing, or trading with the *Europeans*, or *Akanese*, a nation that exchanges gold for the fish and fruits of *Sabu*.

d BOSMAN represents the negroes of *Sabu* as equal in power to those of *Commendo*, and nothing inferior to them in villainy and treachery; probably because they disappointed the design of the *Hollanders* against *Commendo*. This writer runs out into bitter invectives against the king of *Sabu*, for having, under pretence of mediating a peace, ruined the *Dutch* affairs by a political procrastination and delay, which he calls fraudulent and wicked; although by his acknowledgement the conduct of the *Dutch* merited every artifice that could possibly distress or oblige them to abandon the country. But what chiefly excites *Bosman's* indignation is, that his countrymen should not only be forced to acquiesce in the conduct of the king of *Sabu*, but also to engage him by presents from siding with the *Commendians*. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!* *Barbot*, on the contrary, attributes the animosity of the negroes to the *Dutch* to that brutish insolence and barbarity that characterizes this nation where-ever they have acquired dominion. He adds, that with the affection, of the natives the *Dutch* have likewise lost their trade; and that the king of *Sabu* in particular has frequently offered to assist with two thousand men, supported at his own expence, any *European* nation that would undertake to expel the *Dutch* from the coast. The motive of his disgust arose from the intrigues of the *Hollanders* to wean the inhabitants of *Mawri* from their allegiance to him, to excite them to a revolt, and persuade them to refuse paying the usual tribute and homage. It appears from the distinct testimony of *Artus*, that the disaffection of the negroes to the *Dutch* was by no means voluntary, or the effects of caprice, but the result of a series of ill usage, and an arbitrary, cruel usurpation which the governor of *Elmina* assumed: they were far from wishing to disturb commerce; but they panted eagerly after freedom, and longed to remove that iron scourge held over them by the *Hollanders*. This voyager relates, that, a few years before his arrival in that country, some *Dutch* sailors landed, to cut wood upon the banks of a neighbouring river, and began with hewing down those trees consecrated to the *Fetiché*. The natives, who beheld the sacrilege with horror, gently remonstrated to them upon so prophane a conduct and unprovoked usage; but, perceiving all their representations disregarded, they had recourse to arms, and soon obliged the *Dutch* by a shower of darts and arrows to retreat to their ships. One sailor was left dead on the field, and his head cut off by a negro. The day following the negroes, repenting of what they had done, repaired in a troop to the ship, and offered to deliver up the murderer of the *Dutchman*, desiring he might be punished in the manner his crime deserved: their proposal and contrition being rejected,

* *Auct. cit.*

† *Epist. 4.*

‡ *BARBOT, p. 171.*

they

they returned, and with their own hands cut off the head of the offender, severing his body a into quarters, which were exposed a prey to the birds and beasts of the field. When the *Dutch* came ashore they found the body of their countryman decently interred, and the head of the negro placed on his grave^b; whence we may rationally infer, that the inclination of the natives is to live upon a footing of friendship with the *Dutch*.

For a number of years the negroes of *Sabu* were in a perpetual state of hostilities with those of *Atti* and *Akana*: but the late king, being of a mild and pacific disposition, put an end to those troubles, and restored peace and tranquillity. The *Sabuans* were always inferior in number to their enemies; but sufficiently made up that deficiency by the use of fire-arms, in which they were expert, and gaining thereby many signal advantages. They frequently brought loads of their enemies heads to the *Dutch* fort at *Mawri*, as a token of b their respect and submission^c.

Sabu the capital.

The English fort on Queen Anne's Point.

Mawri.

Duties which the Dutch exact.

Fort Nassau.

THE city of *Sabu*, where the king takes up his residence, stands two leagues from the coast. It is long and populous; and *Des Marchais* describes it a fine city, north north-east of *Mawri*; which is all that historian relates concerning it. The first place westward which deserves mention is the *English* fort on *Queen Anne's Point*, built with stone and lime, upon an eminence about a mile from *Fort Royal*, or mount *Danistein*, and two miles from *Nassau Fort* on the east. It is defended by five pieces of cannon, and a garrison of five white and as many black men. Near this lies the village *Ikon*, or *Congo*, where may be seen the ruins of a *Dutch* factory, the principal intention of which was to descry *European* ships at sea, which were coming to disturb the commerce of *Mawri*. Next stands *Mawri*, or c *Mouree*, a town half a mile from *Congo*, and, according to *Artus*, upon an eminence, without being more healthy, clean, or regular, than if it stood in a plain. Its market is bad, and every thing, even palm wine and fruits, scarce and dear. It is the immediate property of the king of *Sabu*, who levies his rights by proper officers, under his own direction, and accountable only to him. The chief trade of the place consists in crude gold dust, with which canoes every day arrive from all the sea-port towns. Before the *Dutch* fixed their residence here, it was a petty inconsiderable place: at present it carries on a trade the most flourishing of any besides *Elmina* and *Cape Coast* on the coast of *Guiney*. *Villault* affirms, that it contains above 200 houses, which surround three sides of the *Dutch* fort *Nassau*. In his time it was supplied by the *Akanese*, and by *Ikon*, or *Congo*; though d then it had the reputation of a place rich in gold, but poor in the conveniencies and necessities of life. The greater part of the inhabitants are fishermen, who go out every morning in four or five hundred canoes, paying on their return one-fifth of their fish to the *Dutch* factor in the town, by way of toll or tribute. This kind of tribute they also exact at *Elmina* and *Schana*, in right of conquest; though *Bosman* does not pretend that they have yet conquered *Mawri*^k. No other *Europeans* have this prerogative, nor do any of them exercise the same sovereign authority as the *Dutch*, who would seem to affect despotism abroad, in proportion to the freedom of their constitution at home. A great number of *Akanese* have lately settled at *Mawri*, for the conveniency of trading with the *Dutch*. The houses stand at a great distance from each other, and the intervening space is generally e filled up with a rock, which makes the passing from one to another incommodious, and sometimes dangerous. It is called the grave of *Dutchmen*, on account of the great number who have died there; yet is the place still in a flourishing condition, because all ships bound to the *Gold Coast* are forced to wood and water here^f.

FORT *Nassau*, the greatest *Dutch* settlement in *Guiney*, except *Elmina*, stands upon a rock, watered towards the south by the sea. It owes its origin to the *Hollanders*, who made it their head settlements as long as *Elmina* was in the hands of the *Portuguese*. Its form is nearly quadrangular, the front being rather the largest side. It is provided with four batteries and eighteen pieces of cannon; and, if we except *Elmina*, its walls are the highest of any fort on the coast. The curtain comprehends the two sea batteries, and is so spacious f and convenient as easily to admit of such a battery as the *English* have on the platform at *Cape Coast*. But the greatest ornament and strength of the fort consists in four towers at each angle, well provided with artillery, musquets, and stores. *Des Marchais* remarks, that it stands on the east side of *Mawri*, the gates being defended by an out-work resembling a half-moon, built with the same stone as the bastions or towers. According to *Barbot*, *Fort Nassau* was built in the year 1669, by order and at the expence of the States General, who gave it the name of *Nassau* in compliment to the prince of *Orange*. At first it was intended for no other purpose than to awe the inhabitants of *Mawri*. The States soon made it over to the *West India* company; but in a condition very different from its present state, the works being all of earth, often destroyed by the rains, and leaving the garrison g exposed to the insults of the *Portuguese* at *Elmina*. No sooner had the *Dutch* seized upon this

^b ARTUS, p. 48.

^k BOSM. Epist. 4.

^k Epist. 4.

^f BARBOT, ubi supra.

a fort than they seriously applied their thoughts to securing themselves upon the coast, and fortifying *Nassau*. This it was that occasioned the erecting of stone walls and bastions, together with commodious apartments for the governors and factors, and garrisoning it with seventy or eighty soldiers. At a small distance from the fort the company have a fine garden, kept in excellent order, and neatly laid out in parterres, groves, and shades of fruit trees; but it has one fault in common with the gardens of *Elmina* and *Manfro*, and that is the vicinity of high mountains, whence torrents of rain rush down, that frequently destroy the roots, herbs, and all the labour of the gardener^m.

Next follows the kingdom of *Fantin*, bounded by *Sabu* on the west, the *Iron* mount half a mile below *Mawri* being its extremity. This hill is a quarter of a mile long at the base, and hath from its bottom to its summit a charming walk, so thick shaded with trees that the light is obscured at noon day. From the foot of this hill *Fantin* extends itself about ten miles eastward along the coast, having on the north side *Arti*, *Agua*, and *Tongua*; *Akron* on the east; and the sea on the south. The *English* and *Dutch* have each their separate forts in this country, and the former three small lodges besides. The first *English* flag that presents itself is at *Anican*, or *Ingenisian*, standing upon a little eminence two miles from *Mawri*. Formerly the *Dutch* had a settlement here; but finding the trade did not answer, on account of the share which the *English* and *Danes* had in it, they resolved to abandon it. Upon this the *English* took possession. In *Bosman's* time it was defended by only one white man and two or three negroes; a formidable power, says he, to support the honour of the *British* flag. *Barbot*, however, gives a more favourable account, and says, that it was secured by two pieces of cannon, three *Englishmen*, and several negroes; however, he does not boast much of its commerce. He relates farther, that the *Portuguese* had likewise a settlement here, defended by a redoubt, and a garrison of six *Portuguese* and twelve blacks. Their trade consisted in pipes, tobacco, soap, rum, and several *American* commodities: but *Barbot* is intirely ignorant what advantage they could propose by such an establishment, and in a place where all the trade had been forestalled.

HALF a mile below this, says *Bosman*, and two miles, according to *Barbot*, the *English* have a small compact fort at *Anamaboa*, or *Jamisia*. *Phillips* represents *Anamaboa* as a handsome large town; but the inhabitants as the most rascally lying people on the *Gold Coast*, surprisingly artful in debasing and counterfeiting the precious metal. The town stood under the cannon of the *English* fort; and the road was constantly filled with ships. This place would afford a considerable gold and slave trade, says *Bosman*, if the *English* and *Zealand* interlopers had not met with so much encouragement, and so firmly established a traffick. *Anamaboa* may faithfully be reputed the most powerful town upon the whole coast, being able to arm as many able-bodied men as the whole kingdom of *Commendo*, or *Sabu*; and yet in proportion not a fifth of *Fantin*. The town is divided into two parts, the one inhabited by the fishermen of *Elmina*, the other by those of *Fantin*, who pay a certain duty to the *Brasso* for the liberty of pursuing their callings. They treat the *English* garrison with so much insolence, as often to block them within their walls; and frequently, if they dislike the governor, they send him in a canoe to *Cape Coast*, with marks of the utmost contempt. Far from being able to oppose them, the *English* are glad to appease them by presents: in short, the negroes of *Fantin* are the most turbulent and desperate of any upon the coast; and were it not for their civil divisions they would become unmanageable and dangerous neighbours to all the surrounding states. In 1701, they declared war against the *English*, and the *Dutch* were suspected of supplying them with powder. Upon Sunday the 4th of September they assembled in a tumultuous manner before the fort, setting fire to the exterior buildings, and going on with their outrages, till they were dispersed by a discharge of the cannon from the batteries. The night following the *English* took their revenge, by setting fire to the greater part of the town of *Anamaboa* and laying it in ashes; and thus, after open hostilities had been carried on for the space of twenty days, the natives offered a truce, leaving the terms to the *English* governor, and the king of *Sabu* acting as mediator. No objection was made to the demands of the *English*, and they agreed to satisfy them for the damage done to the fort; taking their *Fetiches* solemnly to witness the sincerity of their intentions, and giving several of their children as hostages. However, after the arrival of an *English* interloper, who promised them ten per cent. extraordinary on the price of slaves, they forgot all their engagements, entered a second time upon hostilities, and carried on the war with such vigour, that, *Bloom* affirms, the governor and garrison, seized with a panic, fled to *Cape Coast*. Farther particulars we are not favoured with.

THE *English* fort at *Anamaboa* was built upon the foundation of a large old house, which subsisted intire in the year 1679. It is a large edifice, flanked by two towers, and secured to the sea by two bastions, the whole of brick or stone, well cemented with lime. It stands

Geographical description of the kingdom of Fantin.

An English flag at Anican.

The English fort at Anamaboa.

The insolence of the natives to the English garrison.

Description of Anamaboa fort.

^m *Aust. citat.*

upon a rock, at the distance of thirty paces from the sea. It is mounted with twelve pieces of cannon and twelve patereroes, and defended by a garrison of twelve white and eighteen blacks, under the command of the chief factor. The greatest inconvenience attending the situation arises from the difficulty of landing from the ships, the shore being covered with rocks a small distance into the sea, or rendered equally dangerous by a continual high surf. All ships are forced to come to an anchor without side of the rocks, and goods are landed by means of canoes upon a sandy point, surrounded by a wall, built at the expence of the company, and rendered convenient by lodgings for the negroes under the cannon of the fort. Our author observes, that the soil here is well calculated for making bricks, and the abundance of shells upon the coast sufficiently furnishes them with excellent lime; so that building here is cheap, especially as the country affords great plenty of wood and timber.

An account of
the adjacent
country.

ROUND *Anamaboa* the country is mountainous; but the hills are at a sufficient distance from the town. Five in particular are remarkably high, and serve as distinct marks at sea to determine this division of the coast. As they are covered with wood, the multitude and variety of trees form an agreeable prospect. Here the palm wine is made in great perfection, especially that which they call *Quacker*. Besides that the country is populous, it is exceeding rich in gold, slaves, and all the necessaries of living; but more particularly in corn, which they sell in large quantities to the *Europeans*. Their opulence has had upon them the usual effects of wealth, rendering them so insolent, arrogant, and haughty, that an *European* who trades with them must pay the most abject submission, and even stand uncovered in the presence of those barbarians. In the woods of this country are found the most beautiful paroquets in the world, and an infinity of other birds. Fruits, roots, and vegetables of all kinds are plenty, and cultivated with little trouble; and it is really amazing to see countries so contiguous as this and *Sabu*, so different in the qualities of the soil, the one clothed with a perpetual verdure, rich in all the productions of the earth, while the other in most places looks bare, barren, and naked, affording scarce a scanty subsistence to the indigent inhabitants.

Adja village,
a Dutch settlement there.

THE fort at *Anamaboa* was abandoned in 1733, but the *English* afterwards resumed the settlement, and continued in it ever since. About half a mile from *Anamaboa*, stands a village called *Adja*, or *Aga*, upon the sea side. Here the *Dutch* formerly possessed a fort, whence they were driven by the treachery of the *English*, who, upon some quarrel with the people of *Anamaboa*, sought protection among the *Hollanders*, and seized that opportunity of dislodging their hosts, forgetting all the rights of justice and hospitality. At present the *Dutch* keep but one factor here; and one might retort upon *Bosman*, the raillery he bestows on the *English* on another occasion. *Barbot* says, that the village of *Aga* is divided into three different districts, each of them containing 25 or 30 houses. It is a situation by no means favourable to commerce, the landing being dangerous and difficult for shipping; yet round it the country produces several valuable commodities, and among others a very fine cotton. In the war between *England* and *Holland*, in 1665 and 1666, the *English* committed great cruelties upon the *Dutch* of this factory, which usage the *Hollanders* have since faithfully repaid in numberless instances.

Little Cormantin.

THREE miles from *Mawri*, and a little below *Aga*, stands the village of *Little Cormantin*, in contradistinction to *Great Cormantin*. *Bosman* speaks of it as a contemptible place; but *Des Marchais*, a later writer, assures us, that it is larger and better built than most of the villages of that country. *Artus* says, that, after having been a place of considerable note, it was ruined in the year 1600, since which time it never recovered its former splendor. This village is situated upon an eminence, easily distinguished by a lofty tree that grows upon the very summit. Hither the *French* and *Portuguese* drive a great trade, the *Dutch* also sharing in it, till it was discovered that the negroes adulterated the gold. This first gave the *Dutch* a dislike to the trade, and at length drove away almost all the *Europeans*. Afterwards the trade was resumed by the *Dutch*, about the year 1682, when they greatly enlarged and strengthened *Fort Amsterdam*, the chief residence of the *English*, till they were driven from thence by *De Ruyter*, in 1665. This is a square stone building, strengthened by four bastions, mounting twenty pieces of cannon. In the center is a tower where the *Dutch* flag is fixed. The apartments of the officers and soldiers are neat, clean, and commodious, the parapets spacious, and fine views of the country and sea present themselves from the tower. The fort is well supplied with water, by means of large cisterns, that contain an incredible quantity of rain. Here the garrison consists of 25 white men, and a number of blacks, who live happily and at their ease, making fortunes with very little trouble or labour.

Amsterdam fort.

Great Cormantin.

ABOUT a cannon-shot from the fort stands *Great Cormantin*, upon a high hill; a town so large and populous, as justly to merit the name given it of *Great*. It is situated upon a high

^R DES MARCHAIS, BOSMAN, & BARBOT, ubi sup.

^o Bos. epist. 4. ARTUS, p. 50.

a hill, behind and under the cannon of *Fort Amsterdam*. The number of merchants and fishermen in the town exceed 1200, besides other inhabitants of different occupations. *Cormantin* and *Anamaboa* were formerly the great marts of the *English* and *Dutch* commerce, as they were frequented by the *Akbanese*, who came hither with their goods in large caravans. In 1665, *Holland* and *England* being at war, the flames spread themselves to the coast of *Africa*, where they broke out with great fury, each company supporting the interest and honour of their several nations, with the utmost heat and animosity. In consequence, the *Dutch* were forced to abandon *Cormantin* and *Anamaboa*, and retire to *Mawri*; but the *English*, less skilful in making the proper advantage in victory than gaining it, used the negroes with such insolence, that out of revenge they recalled the *Dutch*, and assisted them in building the fort, which the *English* took the year following. After this the *English* factors prudently strengthened their interest, by entering upon a subsidizing treaty with the *Brassos* of *Fantin* and *Akem*, and by their means built a strong fort at *Anamaboa*, of which they keep possession till this time.

BESIDES the above, there are other towns and villages within the district of *Fantin*, which carry on some trade. *Agua*, *Laguyo*, *Fantimqueri*, and *Manpran*, are the most considerable, though scarce deserving to be mentioned in history. As to the government of *Fantin*, it is lodged in a supreme magistrate, called a *Brasso*; but without the ensigns or dignity of royalty. He is the chief governor, leads their armies into the field, enjoys the greatest power of any person in the nation, but is greatly restrained, and his authority limited by the old men, who form a national council, somewhat resembling an *English* parliament, their votes and acts being intirely independent of the *brasso*. Besides the supreme *brasso*, every town and subdivision of the kingdom has its chief, who frequently throws off his allegiance, assumes independency, and enters upon a war with his sovereign and the council of *Elders*. The natives of *Fantin* are, in general, as we have said, a hardy, bold, and intrepid people, who stick at nothing where either their revenge or interest are concerned. They trade freely with interlopers, frequently shut up all the passages to the inland countries, and prevent all trade between the *Europeans* and the merchants of the interior kingdoms, either in gold or slaves; nay more, they sometimes almost starve the *Dutch* in their efforts, by intercepting all supplies, till their demands are fully complied with. In consideration of their aid in taking *Fort Amsterdam*, the *Dutch* entered into a contract with them, that all ships, except slave ships, trading to their coast, should pay a duty of three hundred guilders; but now the negroes make no distinction, and insist upon the same customs for all vessels whatever. They also extort a subsidy from the *English*, and the remonstrances of either company have hitherto had little effect.

Of the kingdoms of Acron, Agonna, and Aquamboe.

e WE now come to the remaining eastward maritime kingdoms of the *Gold Coast*; after describing which, we shall proceed to recite the interior countries, in the order in which they lie from east to west; that is, from the river *Volta*, to *Cape Apollonia*, the boundaries of this coast. The remainder of the *Gold Coast* from *Fantin* to the river *Volta*, contains three large kingdoms, viz. *Acron*, *Agonna*, and *Aquamboe*, which are divided into an infinity of lesser states. The first extends along the sea east from *Fantin*, to the mount called *Monte del Diabolo*, or the *Devil's Mount*. It is divided into *Great* and *Little Acron*; the former, which is the interior country, being under a republican government; the latter, bounded on the south by the sea, having a sovereign, and all the requisites of a pure monarchy. Notwithstanding they are absolutely independent on each other, yet has there always a strict union subsisted, both living under the protection of the *Fantins*, who, in their turn, are obliged to the fertile and industrious *Acron* for a principal part of their maintenance. In the year 1697, the *Dutch* began to build a fort, now fortified by two batteries, at *Apam*, which they called *Leydsamkeyd*, or *Patience*, because they met with abundance of opportunities to exercise that virtue while they were employed in the building. The village of *Apam* is small, and formerly, as well as at present, only inhabited by fishermen. The fort is mounted with eight pieces of cannon, and contains a garrison of 16 men, whites and blacks; but its chief strength consists in a fine strong tower, built by *Bosman's* order, when he commanded at *Elmina*. This is the only *European* settlement in this kingdom; and indeed its poverty affords no great encouragement to other nations to attempt an establishment.

g BOSMAN relates, that though, by the constitution, the king of *Acron* is absolute, yet so mild was the disposition of the monarch reigning at that time, that he was influenced by all his subjects,

^p BOSMAN, ubi supra.

^q Ibid. epist. 3.

An account of the king and chiefs of Acron.

subjects, and perfectly under the controul of a nephew, a pernicious villain, whose savage a
humour occasioned all the quarrels between the *Dutch* and the natives. The other chiefs
were, according to him, moderate, sensible, and good-natured people, with whom it was
no difficult matter to live in friendship and amity. The king he had frequently conversed
with; and always found his temper sweet, mild, and engaging. He was then upwards of
seventy, the richest prince upon the coast, except the king of *Aquamboe*, but so plain in his
diet and dress, that he might be mistaken for the meanest of his subjects. As the natives
of *Acron* live under the protection of the *Fantins*, they enjoy perfect ease and tranquility,
cultivate their lands in peace, and pursue their employments in security. So well do they
husband their time and ground, that every year produces a plentiful harvest, by which they
supply the adjacent countries, and their protectors in particular. Harts, hares, partridges, b
and pheasants, with various other kinds of wild fowl and quadrupeds, are here in great
abundance and perfection: yet amidst this plenty, the *Dutch* fort is poor, and the commerce
trifling, although for what reason we are not informed. It is probable, that the *Fantins*
disturb the trade, and repay here the insults they receive from the *Dutch* at *Cormantin*; but
these suggestions we shall leave to the reader's own reflections.

Productions of
the soil.

Kingdom of
Agonna.

Gold mines in
Agonna.

THE country of *Agonna* begins at the *Devil's Mount*, stretching along the sea coast to the
village of *Anonsa*, on the frontiers of *Aquamboe* or *Acra*, a space of 16 miles, bounded on
the north by *Songuay*, and on the south by the ocean. It abounds in towns and villages
along the sea, the chief of which are *Dajon*, *Polder*, *Mango*, *Winiba*, *Simpa*, and others.
The *Devil's Mount* properly belongs to *Agonna*, though it is the frontier between this king- c
dom and *Acron*. According to most authors it is rich in mines, the gold of which, it is
affirmed, the negroes after heavy rain gather to a considerable quantity in the sand; how-
ever, as yet, no attempts have been made to open the mines, or the natives have opposed
it for the reasons given by all the other negroes, the apprehension of inducing the *Europeans*
to dispossess them. *Bosman* relates, that when he resided in *Africa*, the *English* company
had invested Mr. *Baggs*, governor of *Cape Coast*, with more ample powers than any of his
predecessors had ever enjoyed; upon his promise of carrying on works upon *Devil's Mount*,
and transmitting gold to *England*. For this purpose he bought up all the necessary instru-
ments, but suddenly dropt the design, probably apprehending the resentment of the natives.

English fort
of Winiba or
Simpa.

AGONNA surpasses *Acron* in extent and number of people, and is equal to it in fertility and d
beauty. It has the advantage of a fine large fresh water river, well stocked with fish and
oysters. The *English* built a fort about the middle of *Agonna*, at a village called *Simpa* or
Winiba. The roof is flat, and the building square, with a battery at each angle, mounted
with half pounders. In a word, it is such a fortress, as *Bosman* describes, that requires
another fort to defend it. The village of *Simpa* is populous, and the natives industrious,
in fishing, agriculture, and grazing; for they breed great numbers of cattle, which they sell
to their neighbours. In *Bosman's* time, the commerce of the fort and village in gold and
slaves was inconsiderable; but he is of opinion, that, as soon as the wars cease with the
inland countries, they will both become flourishing. Six miles farther stands *Barku*, a vil-
lage once frequented by the *French*, and remarkable for one circumstance, that the language, e
which is the same all along the *Gold Coast*, begins here to change, first into a different dia-
lect, and a little farther into a quite different language. *Barbot* says, that this is the chief
town in the kingdom of *Agonna*; that the surrounding country is fertile, pleasant, and
exceedingly well adapted for the establishment of a factory. Formerly the *English* had great
influence here, being allied to the queen by a formal contract; but the *Dutch* gained such an
advantage over them, that they built a triangular fort at *Barku*, mounted with twelve can-
nons. Some years since the *English* had a fort at *Schido*, four miles from *Barku*; but it is
since abandoned, and now nothing besides the ruins remain.

Agonna go-
vern'd by a
queen.

WHEN *Bosman* wrote, *Agonna* was governed by a woman, and had been so for several years f
before this period. This queen had a mind noble and elevated, with a strength of judg-
ment, and piercing wit, superior to the weakness of her sex. To prevent sharing the
power with a husband, she continued single; but that she might not be absolutely a stranger
to the softer passion, she usually kept a young handsome small slave, with whom she amused
herself in her vacant hours, prohibiting him under pain of death to intrigue with any other
woman. As soon as this gallant had lost his charms, or her passions were palled, he was
exchanged for another; and some affirm that she kept a number of lovers at a time. One
cannot help imagining, that *Bosman* was drawing the counterpart of our *Elizabeth*.

The great
kingdom of
Aquamboe.

NEXT follows the kingdoms of *Aquamboe*, bounded on the east by the river *Volta*, and on
the west by *Agonna*. *Prevost* speaks of the district of *Acra* as a distinct kingdom; but we

* BARBOT, p. 182.

* BOSMAN, *ibid.*

† Ubi supra.

- a cannot discover any sufficient authority for his opinion. That part of *Aquamboe* which lies on the coast is called *Acra*, and might formerly have been an independent state; at present it is annexed to the crown, at least tributary to it. *Aquamboe* is one of the greatest monarchies on the coast of *Guiney*, his majesty's maritime dominions stretching for the space of twenty miles, and ten times that length into the inland parts. *Bosman* says, that the coast is divided into a number of petty royalties, but all of them subject to the king of *Aquamboe*, who indiscriminately exercises an unlimited authority over them and his meanest subjects. His despotic power gave rise to a proverbial saying, "that there are only two ranks of men at *Aquamboe*, the royal family and the slaves." The natives of this country are haughty, turbulent, and warlike; and their power is formidable to all the neighbouring kingdoms, except *Akem*, which in general is an overmatch for them. All the tributary nations are miserably tormented with the plundering visits the *Aquamboans* make them. Whole armies enter the adjacent territories, take whatever they like, and meet with no opposition from the inhabitants, who are sensible, from experience, that the king would not fail to punish any resistance offered to his troops, esteeming that an indignity offered to his crown. In *Bosman's* days the supreme power was divided between the father and the son, the former retaining to himself the greater share of authority. This had been the usual method of administration till the late reign, when the young king was deposed by his uncle, under pretence of incapacity. This double sovereignty was extremely burthensome to the subjects, who by that means became the slaves of two tyrants instead of one, and were sacrificed to the caprice equally of the father and the son, at the same time that they were oppressed with the expence of supporting two monarchs. "The old king," says *Bosman*, "was of an abject but wicked disposition, and an inveterate enemy to the *Europeans*. Although he received from the *English*, *Danes*, and us (*Dutch*) an ounce of gold, in acknowledgement of the liberty granted by his predecessors of building in the *Aquamboan* territories, yet did he horribly pester us in the most unreasonable manner. If he but fancied that any one of the *European* nations had injured him, he was sure to make all three pay for it, by shutting up the passage in such a way, that no trade could be carried on till his whim and avarice were fully satisfied." His son was more favourable to the *Europeans*, more regardful of the delicacy of trade, more intelligent and hospitable, and his accession to the throne was of the utmost advantage to the *English* and *Dutch* factories; such was his confidence in the *Dutch*, that upon a certain illness with which he was seized, he put himself under the care of the surgeons of the company, and resided in the *Dutch* fort, till a cure was completed.

THE *English*, *Dutch*, and *Danes*, have each of them forts at *Acra*, which may be looked upon as the best on the whole coast. Steering eastward, the first we meet with is the *English* settlement, which is a well built square building, with four batteries; its walls high and thick, especially towards the *Dutch* fort, and the whole mounted with 25 pieces of heavy artillery. This, like all the *English* forts, is badly garrisoned, as if it were sufficient to build forts, mount cannon, and lay in stores without men. This is the saving scheme of the directors of all our companies, whence repeated misfortunes have ensued to the settlements, and the proprietors in stocks. *Smith*, who had been at *Acra* in 1727, affirms, that *Fort James* is strong and beautiful, standing upon a rugged rock that hangs over the sea, upon which a battery is raised capable of mounting 20 cannons. Near it is a salt pit, which supplies a great part of the coast with that commodity, and brings in a considerable revenue.

WITHIN cannon shot of *Fort James* stands the *Dutch* fort *Creveceur*, on the extremity of a high rock, the beach for landing being under the fire of the artillery and musquetry of the fort. The building is square, and, after the general manner of the coast, flanked with batteries, joined by long curtains, of so irregular a construction, as to be able to withstand but a short attack. *Bosman* affirms, that it surpasses the *English* fort in extent and weight of metal; yet he acknowledges that a rupture with that nation would be attended with dangerous consequences to the fort. On the contrary, all the *English* writers give the preference in strength greatly to the *Fort James*; asserting that it is able in a few hours to reduce *Creveceur* to dust (N).

DIRECTLY a cannon-shot farther east stands the *Danish* fort *Christiansburgh*, the only one they possess on this coast. It is stronger than either of the above forts, being a square building of one continued battery, as *Bosman* expresses it; for the roof being flat, the cannon may be pointed in every direction. But all these advantages could not preserve it from a number of misfortunes and revolutions. In 1670 it was governed by *John Ollarichs de Gluckstad*, a man of merit and personal courage, who was perfidiously murdered by the natives, at the

^u BARBOT, p. 187. ATKINS, p. 107.

^w BOSMAN, Epist. 5.

(N) A trial of their comparative strength has lately happened, as we are credibly informed, in which the *Dutch* had reason to repent the experiment.

instigation of a *Greek* he had kept a great number of years in his service. This traitor sold the fort to *Julian de Campo Baretto*, the old governor of *St. Thomas*, for the sum of 444 *l.* sterling. Towards the beginning of the year 1682, *Baretto* was confined by his own garrison, and the command taken from him. The chief of the *Mutineers* shut up all entrance into the fort, declaring that he was ready to justify his conduct, adding, that if *Baretto* desired to return to *Europe*, he was at liberty to pursue his intentions. *Baretto*, however, was obstinate in his resolution not to quit his command, but by order of the king of *Portugal*, charged *Barbot* with a letter to the court at *Lisbon*, expecting in consequence a speedy release. In the mean while the garrison was reduced to extreme necessity, being totally destitute of bread and the necessaries of life, and the whole effects in the warehouse not exceeding 60 *l.* in value, although they had received 200 marks of gold for reparations which they never made. In this state of affairs the *Danes* solicited a restitution of the fort, and obtained it in 1682, for a large sum. They pursued their commerce with great success till the year 1693, when they suffered it to be surprised by the negroes. The *Danes* having incurred the displeasure of the king of *Acra*, that prince seized an opportunity of a sickness that prevailed in the fort to revenge himself. Observing that the *Danes* reposed great confidence in a negro called *Assemi*, who had acquired great influence in the kingdom, and had done them considerable services in their commerce, he wanted not address to gain him over to his purposes. *Assemi*, flattered with the royal promises, persuaded the *Danish* governor that a body of negro merchants were coming to the fort, to make a purchase of fire arms, and advised him to raise the price. In effect the negroes, to the number of 30, being introduced, and the bargain finished, those perfidious wretches loaded their pieces with powder and ball, under pretence of proving them, and fell upon the garrison unprepared, finding it no difficult matter to conquer them. In a word, the *Danes* were driven out of the fort, their magazines plundered, and sold to the king of *Acra* for 7000 *l.* sterling. The fort was given to the treacherous and artful *Assemi*, who maintained a profitable commerce with the ships of several *European* nations. For some time it remained in his hands; but, on the arrival of two *Danish* ships, he found it necessary to make restitution, and yielded to the mediation of the *Dutch*; a service, says *Boisman*, which they soon repaid with ingratitude. They had no sooner regained possession, than they stripped their ships of the necessary hands, which occasioned their falling a prey to some *Turkish* pirates, before they lost sight of the coast, on their return *.

WHEN we reflect on the courage and martial disposition of those negroes, it appears extraordinary, that they should permit themselves to be bridled by three strong *European* forts, so contiguous to each other; but what will not gold do, even in the native country of gold? The king of *Acra*, gained by the presents of the *Dutch* and *Danes*, first permitted lodges to be built, which they soon improved into regular forts. Each fort hath its adjacent village, though the general one is *Acra*, the name of the antient kingdom, before it was conquered by the *Aquamboans*, and its inhabitants driven to *Little Popo*, as we have mentioned in the end of the last chapter.

It would be no unreasonable conjecture, that the companies trading hither might be fatal, by their contrary interests and rivalry, to the general commerce; but experience proves it otherwise. The abundance of gold and slaves are indeed so great, that neither is in danger of wanting a sufficient proportion, and each is stocked with commodities which the other has not, a circumstance which often tends to promote trade. At *Acra* alone, more gold is frequently received than on the whole coast besides; and its extensive commerce would be still greatly enlarged, but for the perpetual quarrels between the natives of *Aquamboe* and *Akem*, the latter pretending a feudal sovereignty over the former, in consequence of which they demand an annual tribute, which the former refuse paying. The king of *Aquamboe*, sensible of the superiority of the enemy, and at the same time that any concessions would in time cost him his whole country, has the address to divert the storm, by sowing dissention in their councils, by which means he preserves the tranquility and trade of his realm. This is the general maxim of the sovereigns of *Aquamboe*, handed down from father to son for several generations^y. *Boisman* is of opinion, that the king and his nobility are richer in gold and slaves, and possess greater treasures, than all the kingdoms on the coast of *Guiney*, at least on the *Gold Coast*.

THE chief business of the people is trade, agriculture, and war, employments almost incompatible in other countries, but here perfectly consistent, where war promotes trade and husbandry, by increasing the number of slaves and prisoners, who are obliged to labour for the *Aquamboans* while they are maintained by them. This people is therefore by interest and inclination much addicted to arms. Though the soil is fertile, yet provisions generally fall short towards the end of the year, and they are forced to supply themselves from other countries. The *Aquamboans* take no pleasure in fishing or salt-boiling, though it would be easy to improve both to advantage. Those employments, which they repute beneath their dignity, they

Fertility and
wealth of the
country.

Manners of
the natives.

* Idem ibid. Etiam BARBOT, ubi supra.

^y PHILLIPS, p. 211.

- a leave to the maritime negroes, whom they affect to despise, or to other nations, who remove hither for the purposes of fishing and making salt. The maritime negroes are numerous, and all the fine villages of the sea coast thickly peopled, the inhabitants employing their time not only in fishing and making salt, but in driving a great trade with the *European* shipping. The number of slaves sold here is at least equal to what is disposed of on the whole coast besides, not excepting *Anamaboa*. When the *Aquamboans* are at war with a neighbouring nation, every man fit to bear arms enters the field, till the season requires they should return to their civil employments; then a certain number are detached to cultivate the ground and sell their prisoners, while the rest are employed in opposing the enemy. Those who are of a more turbulent warlike disposition, enter into the service of the neighbouring nations, who are at war with others, if their own country should happen to be at peace, which seldom is the case.
- b Among the fishermen on the coast, there are few warriors; for as they live under the protection of the *Europeans*, and are defended on the north by their more warlike countrymen, they are seldom attacked, or forced to change the hook and net for the sword and buckler².
- BESIDES the kingdoms we have described, *Artus* and *Barbot* speak of the countries of *Labadde*, *Ningo*, and *Soko*, all of which have ports on the sea coast; but as they are only divisions of the great kingdom of *Aquamboe*, we shall proceed to a short recital of the inland countries, as we imagine the reader's patience will be already tired with a tedious but necessary geographical description of the coast. It is true we are but little acquainted with those countries lying north of the sea; but as their names have frequently occurred in the above description of the coast, ^{Geographical account of the inland countries.} it may be proper to enumerate them, and lay down their situations. According to the testimony of the most intelligent negroes, and the few *Europeans* who have penetrated into the inland countries, the first is the kingdom of *Infoko*, five days journey from *Acra*, or the maritime part of *Aquamboe*, bounded by the river *Volta* on the east, by *Aquamboe* on the south, and on the north by the great desert of *Nigritia*. Its frontiers either way are but inaccurately marked, because the roads in this country are constantly pestered with robbers, which deter strangers from gratifying their curiosity. The natives are extremely expert in weaving beautiful stuffs and cloths, which they sell to great advantage to the neighbouring negroes. The *Akanese* assert, that the *Infokons* are intirely ignorant of the difference between gold and ivory, neither of these commodities being otherwise known to them than as curiosities, sometimes presented in small pieces by their neighbours. Happy would it be for more polished nations, were their knowledge less of a metal, that occasions the spilling rivers of human blood!
- d NEXT stands *Comanna*, bounded on the east by *Infoko*, on the south by *Labadde* and *Ningo*, ^{Comanna.} two provinces of *Aquamboe*, its northern limit being intirely unknown. All we know of this country is, that its natives bring great quantities of gold to the markets of *Akkaradi*, a kingdom touching it on the west, who afterwards carry it to *Aboni*, and thence to the negroes of the sea coast. Then follow, in a regular series from east to west, but with undetermined boundaries to the south and north, the kingdoms of *Latabi*, *Equea*, *Bonu*, standing far north; *Tafu*, ^{Latabi, Equea, &c.} particularly the kingdom of *Quaka*. Many of the negroes assert, that *Achem* extends itself ^{Achem.} all the way to the coast of *Barbary*, which is what we are unable to comprehend, by the assistance of any charts or maps we have yet seen. It is divided into *Great* and *Little Achem*, both being formerly united into one monarchy; now they are split into two republics, and their civil dissensions have made them less formidable to their neighbours than heretofore. Most of the gold exported from this country is brought to the *European* forts at *Acra*. The negroes of *Great Achem* and *Achani* are of a character extremely insolent and haughty, piquing themselves upon their wonted greatness, and assuming in their conversation the same superiority they once maintained in action over their neighbours. The most universal chanel of their trade turns to those countries bordering upon the *Niger*, to the northern kingdom of *Meezora*, and to the great empire of *Gago*, celebrated for the immense profusion of gold it sends by caravans to *Tombuto* and *Morocco*.
- f WEST of *Achem* stands the country of *Inta* or *Affiento*, which modern travellers look upon ^{Inta or Affiento.} as the same kingdom. It is bordered on the north by the unknown regions, on the east by *Achem*, and on the south by *Akanni*, or *Little Achem*. *Affiento* is but little known, as its inhabitants maintain little or no correspondence with the maritime negroes. This alone we are assured of, that it is rich in gold, which the *Achanese* sometimes bring to the coast. Its situation, which is near the source of *Rio Sacro de Costa*, is extremely advantageous for trade, were the natives more disposed to commerce, and better acquainted with their own interest.
- g STILL farther west lies the country of *Dinkira*, six days journey from *Axim*, and five from *Dinkira*. It has the country of *Affiento*, some say the intermediate kingdom of *Cabasterra*, on the east, *Adom* on the west, and on the north the unknown regions, extending to *Barbary*. The roads leading to it from *Axim* and *Elmina* are bad, rough, and filled with windings, which

² BARBOT, BOSMAN, PHILLIPS, & ATKINS, ubi supra;

greatly lengthen the journey and fatigue the traveller; an inconvenience which might be removed a with little trouble or expence, were the negroes disposed to it. Formerly this kingdom was confined within narrow limits, and these but thinly inhabited; but the natural valour of the natives soon rendered them formidable to all their neighbours, except those of *Achem* and *Affiento*, who always over-matched them by the great superiority of numbers. When the roads are free and open, the *Dinkiriese* merchants, and the *Achaneſe*, frequent the markets of *Axim*, *Elmina*, *Commendo*, and *Cape Coast*, according to their distance and conveniency. When they are shut up, they turn their commerce to the more distant parts of the coast, and there occasion a great afflux of wealth at the inferior factories. The gold of *Dinkira* is naturally fine, but artfully mixed with the *Fetiche* gold, of which we have spoken, and shall have farther opportunities of explaining. As to the *Achaneſe*, they have been long noted for the large trade they carry b on with the natives, both of the coast and the interior countries. Their reputation for honesty, good sense, and fair dealing, is so well established, that the merchants of *Commendo* and *Simpa*, give their gold the name of *Akkaney Ghienka*, on account of its purity and genuine qualities. The natives are naturally of a fierce, bold, and warlike disposition, which makes them either esteemed or feared by their neighbours, according to the occasions offered of loving or dreading them. Such weight and importance do they carry, that, in travelling through any of the adjacent countries, they are seldom at any expence, every one being desirous of shewing his respect for the nation, by the favours he bestows on the individual. Their arms are darts, scymitars, and bucklers; their language a mixture of those of all the neighbouring countries with whom they correspond; and they retain a great number of *Portuguese* words, which their c ancestors borrowed during their commerce with that nation. In a word, it is a *lingua Franca*, a mixture of all languages, without any peculiar principles or idiom of its own.

Quiforo.

Vanqui.

THE next kingdom mentioned by voyagers is *Quiforo*, the boundaries of which we are unable to ascertain, the natives having hardly any intercourse with the maritime parts. This country is also called *Juffer*. Next follows *Vanqui* or *Wamqui*, bordered on the west by *Quiforo*, and, according to some geographers, by *Incaffia-Iggina*, on the south by *Vassabs*, and on the north by *Bonu*. The natives have the art of weaving elegant gold stuffs, which they sell to the *Arabians* along the *Niger*, or to the surrounding countries. *Vassabs* or *Wassihabs*, as we find it in the *Dutch* charts, is bordered on the east by *Vanqui* and *Quiforo*, and on the north by unknown countries. It is famous for its prodigious wealth in gold; but as it has d scarce any rivers, most voyagers are of opinion, that it is imported from more distant countries, although we look upon this as a weak argument. The country is sterile, producing nothing remarkable, and the whole business of the natives consists in the gold trade. One would think that this barrenness of the country was sufficient to convince voyagers that gold is the real produce thereof; how else should a nation, that has nothing to give in exchange, obtain it? It is true, they dispose of it to the maritime kingdoms, and procure by way of barter several *European* commodities, but still they must have begun upon an original capital.

Monpa.

Adom.

THE *Dutch* and best charts place *Monpa* or *Manpa*, as the next province to the westward; but its boundaries are very imperfectly known. To the west of *Manpa* lies the famous kingdom e of *Adom*, bordered by *Guaffo* on the south, by *Vassabs* on the north, and by *Abrambo* east-north-east. The *Adomeſe* trade in general with *Axim* and *Bourtry*; but when the roads are infested, or shut up by robbers, then they turn the chanel of commerce towards *Little Commendo*. The country of *Adom* extends on a right line along the banks of the river *Schama*, having a great number of fine islands belonging to it, covered with beautiful and populous villages. Formerly the government was monarchical; at present the supreme authority is lodged in a council of six lords, so powerful, that, according to the proverb, “they are able “to bear the king of *Jabi* on their horns.” Were the *Adomeſe* unanimous, and free from civil wars, they would be the terror of all the surrounding nations. We have had occasion to speak of their prowess in reciting the wars with the *Anteſe*. As the inhabitants of more f northern regions are obliged to pass through *Adom* before they can trade with the negroes of the coast, the *Adomeſe* never fail to take advantage of this necessity, obliging them to pay a duty that raises the price upon the *Europeans*, and brings in a large revenue to the republick. *Adom* is populous, fertile, and rich; natural advantages, that have increased the pride of the natives, and rendered it difficult to trade with them. Here is great plenty of corn, roots, fruits, wild and tame animals, in a word, all that can make a people happy, were not their felicity destroyed by civil discord and arrogance. Next follow the countries of *Jaben*, *Grand Incaffen*, *Equira*, and *Avina*, differing but little from *Axim* and *Adom*, to which they are contiguous, either in trade, produce, laws, or customs”. Having finished this short view of the interior country, we now proceed to the general manners, laws, religion, and natural history, and other g

Jaben, Incallen, &c.

^a Vid. PREVOST, t. v. l. ix. c. 6. & atlas géographique, par M. ROBERTS.

- a particulars relating to the *Gold Coast*. Should the preceding geographical description appear unentertaining and barren to the reader, he will please to consider it as absolutely necessary to our design; and that those countries are but very imperfectly known, consequently not very interesting to those who read for amusement, and who regard books useful only, as they serve to fill up a vacant hour.

S E C T. II.

Containing the methods which the negroes search after, and purify the gold; the European methods used for trying this metal; the general manners, laws, religion, and government, &c. of the negroes of the Gold Coast.

- b **B**EFORE we enter upon the proposed history, we shall beg leave to extract from *Bosman* ^{The method the negroes search after gold, and purify it from the earth.} a short account of the method the negroes search for gold, the several kinds of this metal, the manner in which they adulterate it, the different sorts of weights used in the country, and some other particulars relating to the precious metal, which are not generally known, and deserve attention.

- THERE are numbers of otherwise intelligent persons in this country, who imagine that the gold mines of *Africa* are in the power of the *Europeans*, in the same manner as the *Spaniards* possess those of *America*, where they work them by their slaves. The circumstances, however, are widely different; no *Europeans* have access to the mines of *Africa*, few have ever seen any, and all the gold is brought them from the interior lands; though we have upon the best authority, that some parts of the coast afford mines, if the negroes would permit them to be opened.
- c The negroes esteem their gold mines sacred, and of consequence cut off the *Europeans* from all immediate communication; a maxim founded upon true policy and self defence, knowing how short a time they would enjoy them, if once the *Europeans* got footing.

- THE precious metal is generally found in three different kinds of places; the first and best is in vallies, situated between mountains. Here the negroes, knowing by certain marks where the gold is, dig pits, and separate it from the adhering earth. The second is in, at, and about rivers and falls of water, which rushing down from the mountains, wash away large quantities of earth, and with it the precious metal. The third method of finding gold is on the sea coast, and at the mouth of rivers and rivulets, as at *Axim*. No sooner a heavy shower of rain falls, than those places are visited by hundreds of negro women naked. Each of them is furnished with a small tray, which they fill with earth, and wash repeatedly till the gold is freed from the earth, and falls by its specific weight to the bottom. Some in a whole day find perhaps not the value of six-pence, while others are so successful as to make pounds. The gold thus dug or found is of two sorts. The one is called *gold dust*, which is as fine as flour, and most valued both in *Africa* and *Europe*. The other kind consists of pieces of different sizes, some weighing not two pence: others perhaps thirty guineas; but these last are scarce. However, the negroes affirm, that, in the inland countries, pieces weighing 200 guineas are found. These solid lumps go by the name of *mountain gold*, and when melted touch better than the dust, if pure, which it seldom is. The negroes have a variety of methods to sophisticate the precious metal.
- d One is the casting it into *fetiches*, mixed with half or a third part silver and copper (A). These *fetiches* are cut into small bits by the negroes, to the value of three farthings each, which serves for the current coin of the country. It is a common proverb among them, "that you cannot purchase much gold for a farthing," but even with that value in gold, you may here go to market and furnish yourself with bread, fruits and other necessaries. The negro females know the exact value of each bit at sight; they are seldom mistaken, generally giving you the exact value, with the same accuracy as if it had been weighed; and yet the difference is so small as to escape the eyes of the *Europeans*. These pieces go by the name of *kakeraas*, or little worth, which is true in a literal sense, for in *Europe* it is valued only at forty shillings per ounce; yet it is current all over the coast, and accepted by *European* garrisons in pay.
- e ^{Methods of sophisticating gold.}

(A) These *fetiches* are a sort of artificial and base gold, strangely shaped in moulds of a black ponderous earth. The negroes have also *fetiches* of unalloyed mountain gold, which they keep for ornaments, and seldom pass into trade. Nothing can exceed the address of those barbarians, first in counterfeiting the precious metal, and then in passing it off for

genuine gold. If the *Europeans* refuse, they are no less peremptory in denying the cheat, than artful in concealing it. So great is their obstinacy in this particular, that the *Europeans* are often forced to accept of what they know to be false gold, and strangers are frequently deceived by the warmth and seeming integrity of their professions (1).

(1) *Bosman*, epist. 6. *Barbot*, p. 225.

ANOTHER neat manner of adulteration they have, which sometimes deceives very experienced traders, who have not weighed it in water. They cast pieces of gold so artificially, that the external crust about a line thick shall be pure, while the inside consists wholly of copper, perhaps of iron. This is a new invented cheat; but the most common false *mountain gold*, is a mixture of silver, copper, and a proportion of gold, extremely high coloured, which much facilitates the deceit; for the *Europeans* being obliged in trade to receive two or three pounds weight at a time, it would be intolerably tedious to touch every piece, so that they frequently trust to appearances and are deceived. A third method which they sometimes practise to deceive the *Europeans*, is the most barefaced and palpable. This is by a powder of coral or copper filings, tinged so exactly like gold, that only scales can discover the counterfeit.

Methods of
trying gold.

THE usual method taken by the *European* factors for the detection of those frauds, is to cut the large pieces through the middle, which immediately discovers whether the mass be pure and homogeneous. The small bits they lay upon a stone, and beat with a hammer. If they are composed of coral, they will crumble and fly off; if metal, they will prove malleable; after which, to know if the metal be gold, it is tried by the knife or by the touch. To try durst, they put the gold in a basin, and winnow it with their blowing it as it descends. The base will fly away, and the genuine by its weight fall to the bottom. Upon repeating this experiment, the false is separated from the true, and only the pure is found in the basin. Strange, that where the trade is of such consequence, and frauds so frequent and important, the methods of trial should be so gross, imperfect, and liable to deception! How easily might the intrinsic value of every parcel be known by the proportional scales! And as for the current coin, that is of little consequence to traders, who leave it all behind.

Of the gold
weights used
on this coast.

THE gold weights used here are either pounds, marks, ounces, or angels. In *Europe* 20 angels make an ounce; in *Africa*, at least on the *Gold Coast*, only 16 are allowed. They have also *pesos* and *bendos*, the former of which contain four angels, and the latter two ounces. Thus four *bendos* make one mark, and two marks one pound of gold, equal to 660 guilders. This standard however varies, its value depending on the fineness of the gold, and the price it bears in *Europe*. In general, one pound of good gold is worth a thousand guilders in *Africa*, and the baser judged by their variation from this standard. There is also another kind of weights, as *Bosman* terms it, or rather currency, used on the *Gold Coast*; these are white and black beans; red beans according to *Barbot*. The red beans, spotted with black, are called *danbays*, twenty-four of them being valued at an angel, and passed in payments for such. Each of these beans is equal to a *Dutch stiver*. The white beans, with black spots, are called *jacoës*, and pass often for four *stivers*, but they are less current than the others. The negroes have tin and copper scales, of the same model with those used in *Europe*, but divided and adjusted after a different manner. To conclude this article; it is obvious, that a great quantity of gold must be lost with the earth for want of skill in separating them. It is even probable, that large portions of pure gold must be left behind, through the ignorance of the negroes in metallurgy. We are told by some of the intelligent natives, that their manner is to dig at random, without having any idea of pursuing a vein. Were the mines in the possession of the *Europeans*, it is almost certain, that much greater profits would arise from their superior skill in the arts; how advantageous they might prove in a political sense, we shall leave politicians to debate. In *Bosman's* time, the exports of gold were as follow.

Yearly exports
by Europeans.

	Marks, yearly.
The <i>Dutch West-India</i> company	1500
The <i>English African</i> company	1200
The <i>Zealand</i> interlopers	1500
The <i>English</i> interlopers	1000 often 2000
The <i>Danes</i> , when their trade is good	1000
The <i>Portuguese</i> and <i>French</i>	800

The *Portuguese*, though they have at present no settlements, yet frequent the coasts, selling *Brazil* tobacco, brandy, and rum, and carry off the greater share of what is stated to theirs and the *French* account. Thus, upon the whole, in *Bosman's* time, the *Europeans* carried off yearly about 23 tons of gold, or 230,000 *l.* allowing three marks to 100 *l.* How much the export of the precious metal may at present vary from this calculation, we cannot take it upon us to determine. The opinion of most people is, that, with regard to this nation, it falls greatly short ^a.

^a BOSMAN, epist. 6.

Of the figure, character, dress, manners, and customs, of the negroes of the Gold Coast.

^a **T**HE natives of the *Gold Coast* are in general tall, strait, and well proportioned, their faces oval, their eyes sparkling, their teeth regular and white, their eye-brows thick, and their ears small. As to their mouth it is not very large, and their lips are tinged with a better colour, and thinner, than those of the negroes of *Angola*. But it would be unnecessary to dwell upon their figure; every man who has ever stepped beyond the place of his birth, has seen them ^b. As to the qualities of their mind, they have a quick apprehension and ready memory, together with a surprizing presence of mind upon the most sudden and alarming occasions: but such is their indolence, that only necessity can oblige them to use those talents given them by nature. Neither prosperity nor adversity make any impression upon them; and although they are greedy in amassing wealth, yet are they perfectly indifferent to the loss of it. In general they are crafty, fraudulent, and villainous, seldom to be confided in; and no opportunity is ^c passed over of cheating an *European*, or indeed of cozening each other. They are dissemblers, flatterers, thieves, gluttons, and drunkards; equally incontinent and covetous, to gratify either of which passions they stumble at nothing. An instance of their insensibility is, that, if they obtain a victory over their enemies, they return home dancing and singing: if they are defeated they do the same, round the graves of their friends and fellow soldiers. The same joy appears on either occasion, and a stranger cannot distinguish a victory from a defeat, but by their shaven pates after the latter. *M. Foequenbourg* says of them, that they rejoice at funerals; and were they to see their country in flames, they would cry out, "let it burn," not permitting the misfortune for a moment to suspend their riotous mirth and drunkenness. Like the old philosopher, every negro has his maxim, *omnia mea mecum porto*; their whole care is concentrated in their own persons. In a word, they are perfectly insensible of grief and joy; for those fallies of animal spirits scarcely deserve the name of joy: they sing till they die, and dance into the grave ^d.

Description of the natives of the Gold Coast in general.

Their indolence and insensibility.

THE women are proportionably handsomer than the men, strait, slender, and well limbed; their chests high, their mouths small, and their eyes full of spirit and vivacity. They are quick, cheerful, and loquacious; gay in their disposition, and loose in their principles as to gallantry, but temperate in their diet. Yet after all, both males and females, when necessity surmounts their natural indolence, are laborious, industrious, and ingenious; applying themselves with great diligence to agriculture and fishing, so far as they are excited either by avarice or poverty. In a word, to sum up their character, they are, like the rest of mankind, a composition of virtues and vices, only that here the latter are greatly predominant, and the former the result of necessity, if in such a case they can be called virtues. The natural talents are good, but their passions are strong, their ignorance great, and they abandon themselves totally to the calls of nature, without dread of *shame*, that shield of decorum, decency, and human virtue itself. Be the actions of the day what they will, those negroes go to rest at night undisturbed by reflection, free from care, and true disciples of that doctrine, "take no thought for to-morrow." *Artus* proceeds in their character; they, he says, are of so ready a conception, that they easily apprehend whatever is shewn them; nor are the eyes of the body less piercing than those of the mind; for it has been observed, that they are able to distinguish objects at sea, incomparably farther than *Europeans*, and even to describe faces, where the very men are invisible to *Dutchmen*. But it would be tedious to repeat all that author has said of them; a miniature describes the features with as much strength, as a picture as large as the life ^e.

Description of the women.

As to their dress, it is various, depending upon fancy and circumstances: some wear long hair curled, plaited, or tied upon the crown of the head in the form of a rose, which they moisten with oil, and tinge with different colours. Others again wear it short for conveniency, or loose, either for ornament or through neglect. In whatever manner the hair is done, it is generally adorned with gold *fetiches*; a sort of coral, called *conte de terra*, four times the value of gold; or with a blue coral, which they call *accori*, esteemed of equal value with the precious metal. They are so fond of hats, that they purchase them at any price, never imagining they can pay too dear for the gratification of so agreeable a vanity. Their arms, legs, and waists are likewise set off with gold, *conte de terra*, and *accori*. The usual dress is a ^f

Their dress.

^b ARTUS, p. 11. VILLAVLT, p. 48. BOSMAN, epist. 9. apud de Bruy. p. 11.

^c BARBOT, p. 117.

^d ARTUS,

petticoat

petticoat of velvet, silk, cloth, *perpetuana*, or some stuff; and some who pretend to a taste a superior to the vulgar, make their *paans* of a mixture of fifty different kinds of cloth. This *paan* they plait so artfully that it fits neat round the middle, hanging half-way down the leg. Round their necks they wear strings of gold and coral, amounting sometimes to an hundred pounds in value. By these worth is estimated, and those who want them are excluded the company of those who possess them. The *manceroes*, or youth, are less gorgeous in their dress, and the *caboceroes*, or chief council, so meanly habited, that one would imagine they chose to pass for the poorest instead of the richest men of the nation. They wear only a coarse *paan*, a cap made of hart's skin, a string of coral round their temples, and a staff in their hands, the ensign of their authority. The common people, as wine-drawers, fishermen, &c. b are very poorly equipped, some with a yard or two of a sorry stuff formed into a petticoat, others with a sort of a girdle only drawn through between their legs, to hide those parts nature dictates to conceal; to which they frequently add a cap made of rushes, or, if they can obtain it by stealth or interest, a sailor's old hat, which they wear in hot as well as cold weather c.

The rage of
dress chiefly
prevalent
among the
women.

EVEN in savage countries pride seems to have reared his throne chiefly among the females, who in *Guiney* have more expence, whim, and caprice in their dress than the males. The ladies are loaded with gold, coral, and ivory trinkets, which they dispose with infinitely more genius and variety than the other sex. No part of the body is left unadorned with those jewels; the head, waist, legs, and arms, sweat under the weight of their finery; yet does vanity make them disregard conveniency, and a lady had rather appear amiable than easy, fine than healthy, convenient, and natural. From the waist downwards they wear a *paan* four times the length c of the mens, which they wind round their bodies, and bind it on with a fillet of red cloth, half yard wide, the ends suspended over their *paans*, and among persons of wealth, vanity, or fashion, it is laced with gold or adorned with fringe. Over the upper part of their bodies they throw a veil of silk or fine stuff, in a manner they believe the most tempting and alluring, in which intention they frequently succeed with the *Europeans*, beyond what the difference of manners and complexion renders credible. Before the arrival of the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* they had no idea of this rage for dress: both males and females went naked to the age of maturity; but, finding this simplicity disgusting to the *Europeans*, they assisted their charms d by all the embellishments of art and the ornaments we have described, passing from one extreme to another; nothing being so natural as too eager a desire of being agreeable. In proof of this we may instance their manner of scarifying their faces and painting the cicatrices with various colours, which they have a notion adds greatly to their beauty. *Villault* mentions certain necklaces, bracelets, and ear-rings of glass set in gold, which they wear in honour of the *Fetiche*, after they have been consecrated by some mysterious words spoken over them. Such is the force of superstition, that the more incomprehensible and remote from human understanding is the craft of religion, the more implicit and blind is our obedience f.

THERE is in the manners of all negroes, male and female, a neatness peculiar to warm climates, and indeed most necessary there, we mean the practice of washing their bodies e twice every day, either in salt or fresh water. This is the reason why they constantly chuse the sea-coast or banks of rivers to build on; and where these are wanting they make *tanks*, or baths, with infinite pains and trouble, habit rendering cleanliness as essential to them as food. They teach their children to swim very young; whence they become expert divers, continuing incredibly long under water. In a word, they are so fond of this element, that half their time is spent in it, and they may with truth be termed amphibious.

Of the mu-
lattoes.

BESIDES the natural inhabitants of the *Gold Coast*, there is a great number of *mulattoes*, a mixed progeny, arising from the commerce of *Europeans* with the black women. This spurious race forms gangs of thieves and robbers, void of decency, honour, honesty, or principle in their dealings with each other, with the negroes or *Europeans*. They call themselves f Christians, although of all idolaters they are the grossest; and the greater part of their women prostitute their bodies publicly to *Europeans*, and privately to the negroes. In a word, the *mulattoes* are a composition of all the vices and bad qualities of *whites* and *blacks*, equally deformed in body and mind, and growing in both as years increase. At first their complexion is a tawny yellow, as different from the colour of the *Europeans* as negroes; but as they grow old, their skin appears spotted with white, yellow, and brown spots, resembling a leopard, and rendering them the most hideous of all mortals. In general, the males are employed in the service of the *Dutch*, and dress after the same fashion; but the women in a way peculiar to themselves, which we shall not attempt to describe g.

g ARTUS apud De Bruy, p. 11.

f Bos. ubi sup. lid. ibid. BARB. p. 119.

e Bosm. Epist. 10.

a THE towns and villages of this coast consist of a multitude of little huts or cabins, dispersed in groupes, without order or design, and communicating with each other by narrow crooked roads, which terminate in the center of the town, or market-place. The farther you remove from the sea coast, the more civilized do the natives appear, at least so far as relates to their building and living. All the towns and villages on the coast are situated in dry, barren, and sandy lands, or upon rocks and precipices; those in the interior countries, upon the most delicious spots that can be chosen. In the latter the houses are not only better built, and of a more ingenious contrivance, but more neat in the furniture, and better peopled. But what chiefly renders the maritime places inferior to the inland towns is, the loads of filth, and insupportable stench which perpetually attends them; for the negroes leave their ordure round their habitations, which, with the smell of putrid fish, of which they are fond, salutes the nose with an unfavorable welcome at the distance of a league. This it is that makes their kings chuse some inland situation for their residence, their example being followed by every man whose occupation or poverty does not prevent his following his inclinations. Another inconvenience is, that, except the market-places of *Elmina* and *Cape Coast*, none of their streets are paved, which makes them absolutely impassable after heavy rains. They are likewise less curious in planting round the villages than their inland neighbours; and *Axim* alone affords pleasant shades against the sultry heat of the sun. In building their houses they have not the smallest regard to beauty or conveniency of situation, nor the faintest idea of perspective walks, or any kind of police about their villages: every one builds where and in the manner his fancy or rather his laziness dictates; and, in spite of all the remonstrances of the *Europeans*, and the facility with which they might effect certain reparations, they remain perfectly insensible to their interest, with a stupid indolence which nothing can surpass or conquer ^b.

The method of building peculiar to the negroes.

As to their diet, it is by no means delicate or expensive. Their common food is a pot of millet boiled to the consistence of bread, yamms, and potatoes, over which they pour some palm oil, and garnish the dish with herbs and putrid fish; the whole dinner not exceeding two pence in value. This they esteem an excellent dish for common days; for on holidays they feast upon beef, mutton, and fowls. The better sort of people compose a dish of fish, corn, dough, palm oil, and herbs, which they boil in water, seasoned with salt and pepper, and eat hot or cold. This dish they call *mallaguet*, pleasant enough to those who are accustomed to it, and perfectly wholesome and innocent. But however temperate the negroes may be in eating, they are not so in drinking. The morning is ushered in with brandy, and the evening concludes with palm wine, mirth, riot, and tobacco, of which they are extravagantly fond. They are temperate in eating, that they may be profuse in drinking; and where their money is insufficient to supply their desires, they have recourse to their natural talent for stealing. This vice the women have in common with the men; and even children are taught it from their cradle, as if it were the first of virtues ^c.

Diet of the negroes.

THEIR marriages differ but little from what we have described under particular kingdoms of *Guinea*. They are not incumbered with ceremonies, nor have they any notion of previous courtship; and no disputes about marriage-settlements are known. If a negro fixes his regard upon a young woman, nothing more is requisite than to apply to her father, mother, or nearest relation, who never deny their request, provided the aversion of the girl be not insuperable. If she be marriageable, he immediately carries her home with him; but if otherwise she is left with her parents. She brings no other fortune than her youth and beauty; nor does the man require much; 'tis sufficient if he have enough to defray the expence of his nuptial dinner, clothes for the bride, a small present of gold to the father, and a sheep to the other relations. Those expences are proportioned to his ability, and an exact account kept of the last farthing laid out, that the relations may indemnify the bridegroom, should the bride ever after desert him for another. If he repudiates her, the account is cleared, and every pretext for a demand on the relations taken away, unless he can give incontestable proofs of her infidelity, or natural defects; in which case the whole disbursements must be refunded. The wedding-day is not spent in any extraordinary acts of mirth and jollity; it is the following day, when the parties can give a satisfactory account of the choice they have made. Upon this occasion the bride appears with all the pomp of dress, the greater part of which she makes no scruple of borrowing, if the circumstances of the bridegroom be unequal to the gratification of her vanity; and she continues to appear in the same attire for several days after ^d.

Marriages.

A MAN is permitted to marry as many women as his humour directs and his circumstances can maintain, though they seldom exceed twenty, and generally content themselves with any number from two to ten. Those however who would make an appearance of grandeur make up the full complement of twenty. In general the women are the laborious part of the country, though many exceptions occur in different provinces and kingdoms of the coast. They are ^e

Polygamy permitted.

The industry of the women.

^b BARBOT, p. 120. VILLAUT, ubi supra.

^c BOSM. ubi supra.

^d ARTUS apud De Bruy,

p. 14.

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obliged to cultivate the ground, sow millet, plant yamms, and provide subsistence for the husband, who is idly spending his time in gossiping (the province of the women in *Europe*), drinking, and smoking. His expences the woman is forced to support by her labour, and her obedience is measured by her industry, and the indolence in which the husband is permitted to live. This however is not the case in many towns and villages on the coast, where the men toil and labour for the weaker sex, and preserve their superiority by the only natural means, the rendering themselves useful and necessary.

Of the muliere grande and bossum, their privileges.

THE rich have two wives, exempted from labour and all servile employments, to whom the management of the house is intrusted, and a sort of authority over all the other women given. The one is called *muliere grande*, and she is first in rank; the other is called *bossum*, and is consecrated to the household god, or that deity particularly worshipped by the master of the family. Of this last the husband is particularly jealous, it being highly criminal for her to use the most innocent freedom with another man; and a kiss is deemed capital, though he seldom has the power of inflicting this punishment. As to the rest of his wives he is less regardful of their honour, especially if he can profit by their incontinence. Those *bossums* are slaves, bought with intention of being consecrated to the *Fetiche*, and their beauty it is that qualifies them for this elevation. In right of their profession they are intitled to the husband's embraces, every night dedicated to the god, and as this occurs once at least every week, they enjoy one considerable prerogative over the other women, even the *muliere grande* herself. This is the reason why women are so ambitious of being *bossums*, and will run all the hazards from the husband's jealousy, provided they are secure of those substantial proofs of his affection. The wives of rich merchants and tradesmen enjoy the greatest happiness of any women, as their husbands, industrious in accumulating wealth, are less observant of those little actions, the usual sources of domestic strife and jealousy. They are likewise handsomely provided for without labour, and their conduct generally left to their own discretion; whence it is remarked, that, for the most part, they are the most dutiful to their husbands, and repay with gratitude and constancy his kindness and confidence¹.

Many of the negroes support themselves by the prostitution of their wives.

IT is no uncommon expedient among negroes to marry for a livelihood by the dishonour of their wives. These husbands are a set of voluntary cuckolds, who not only permit, but excite their women to spread all their snares for lovers, the husband often executing the office of pimp. It is inconceivable with what address those women counterfeit the genuine passion of love, and persuade the cull that they are only gratifying their own desires while they are fleecing him. The usual way is either to pretend they are not married, or else artfully to insinuate to their gallants their dislike of their husbands, on account of their inhumanity or impotence; and it is remarkable, that this last plea is generally the strongest with the *Europeans*; as if it were a pleasure to rob another of his property, or an indirect compliment to them that the husband is unworthy. It is frequently so contrived between the husband and his wife, that he should surprize the gallant in the act of love; in which case he recovers about six pounds sterling damages; that being the price at which female honour is rated^m.

The duties of the husband.

ARTUS relates, that the husband has a right to chuse which of his women should pass the night with him; yet his preference to one over another is shewn with the utmost caution, to prevent jealousy and contention. *Bosman* says, that the emulation for the conjugal favour is carried to the highest pitch of rancour among the women; and the choice depending on the husband's will, they employ every artifice and display every charm to attract him. In general, to preserve good order and peace, a prudent husband dispenses his favours equally, and takes the women to his bed in their turns, all besides the *muliere grande* and *bossum*, who enjoy peculiar privileges which are not contested by the others; but this is no longer than while their beauty remains; for when they grow old, they are dismissed from their authority, and reduced to menials, where but lately they were mistresses.

Of the fertility of the negro women.

As the wealth of the negroes consists chiefly in the number of their family, and as this is the possession that gives them the greatest consideration with strangers, they apply their chief attention to the multiplying their children. In general their women are neither barren nor remarkably fruitful. They pass frequently two or three years after marriage, before they become mothers, probably owing to the pernicious practice of marrying while they are children. *Villault* indeed ascribes this regularity to their natural constitution; and adds, that few of them ever have more than four or five children. *Des Marchais* accounts for the small number of births from a practice among them of suckling a child four years, and never under three; a custom highly prejudicial to the natural interest of the propagation of the species, and the health and strength of the motherⁿ.

¹ BOSM. Epist. 12. VILLAULT, p. 157. DES MARCH, t. iv. p. 284.

ⁿ ARTUS & BOSM. ubi supra.

^m VILLAULT, ibid.

- a In *Guiney* a pregnant woman is treated with the highest respect and tenderness, as well by strangers as by her husband. No sooner is she delivered of her child than rich offerings are made to the *Fetiche*, for the recovery of the mother and health of the infant; but the most extraordinary ceremony is before delivery. Immediately before the pains of labour seize her, she is conducted to the sea side or the banks of a river, followed by a number of little children, who throw all manner of ordure and excrement at her in the way, after which she is washed with the utmost care. Without this cleanly ceremony the negroes are fully persuaded, that either the mother, the child, or one of the parents, will die during the period of lying-in. All voyagers agree in asserting, that the negro women are delivered with the greatest ease to themselves, and the least trouble to those about them, of any of their sex in the world. "Here is no lying-in, no gossiping or expensive groaning entertainments," says *Bosman*, "as in *Europe*; a woman brings forth her child in a quarter of an hour, goes the same day to the sea and washes herself, without ever thinking of confining herself for a month to her bed or chamber." He says, that he has seen women bring forth twins without a shriek or scream, and it is seldom they are ever confined above two or three days. Here is no provision of childbed linen for the new born infant, no swaddling stays and rollers, and yet all its limbs grow strait, vigorous, and well-proportioned.
- As soon as the child sees the light, it is consecrated by the priest, and, if above the common rank, hath three names bestowed upon it, though always called by one only. The first is that of the day on which it was born; the next, that of the grandfather or grandmother, according to the sex of the infant, and the third, that of its parents. After this the number of his names increases with his years, every remarkable action of his life, as the killing the chief of the enemy, a wild beast, or some such feat of prowess, giving occasion for an additional name. It would be unnecessary to enlarge upon the ridiculous excess to which they carry this practice; the best memory being unable to retain the names of a man who has been much in action. The most respectable and honourable name is that which a man obtains in the social hour, and at a palm wine feast in the market-place: a presumptive argument that the social virtues are here preferred to all others. Some have their names given according to the number of children their mother has born, as the eighth, ninth, or tenth child of such a woman; but this is only when the mother has brought forth at least six or seven children.
- d In *Anta*, a woman who has borne ten children is separated from her husband, and banished for a certain time to a solitary hut, remote from all mankind, where she is carefully supplied with every necessary of life; at the expiration of which, and the due performance of all customary ceremonies, she returns to her husband, and lives with him as before. It is pity no writers have informed themselves as to reasons for so peculiar a custom; probable indeed it is, that, like most of their other peculiarities, it is founded upon superstition and ignorance. In all the countries in *Guiney*, without exception, women are esteemed unclean during their *catamenia*, and not only deprived of their husband's bed, but banished the house during that term. *Artus* reports, that they circumcise their children of both sexes at a certain age with great solemnity: but *Bosman* and *Barbot* both affirm, that the operation is hardly known in any country on the *Gold Coast*, besides *Acra*, where it is done at the time of baptism or consecration. Many *Europeans* have thought that this custom was borrowed from the *Jews*, like some other usages among them, such as marrying the wife of a brother, doing honour to the moon at certain seasons, &c. but a very little reflection would have shewn them, that the rite of circumcision prevailed among almost all original and unmixed nations, and that it now prevails among the savages both in the islands and continent of the *Terra Australis*, or great *Southern Continent*.
- We have said, that the penalty of being taken in adultery is about six pounds sterling for a person of ordinary fortune, though the rich generally pay a larger sum, especially if he has debauched the wife of a man of consideration. In this case it requires an hundred pounds or two to atone for the crime; but first the case is elaborately pleaded before a court of judicature. *Bosman* has sat as judge frequently upon such tryals. The constant plea of the negro, even when he is detected by a number of credible witnesses, is *not guilty*. The woman, who is frequently the accuser, is then called into court, where she explains the whole process of the intrigue, with all its circumstances of time, place, attitude, and deportment of the accused, in colours so glowing and warm, as would make an *European* courtesan blush. Both sides adhere to their point with the utmost obstinacy; he in acknowledging that he was upon the point of perpetrating the fact, but asserting, that reflection on the consequences prevented his carrying his intentions into act; she on the other hand, laying open every particular, and

* *Iidem*, *ibid.*
ibid.

P VILLAUULT, *ibid.* PHILLIPS, p. 115.

3 BAREOT, p. 108. BOSMAN,

giving every possible proof of his having completed the fact, inasmuch that the judges are greatly a perplexed what judgment to give. In cases where the proofs are equal, the man purges himself by an oath; if he refuses to swear, it is deemed a proof of guilt, and sentence is accordingly given.

MARRIED persons have no community of goods, when the woman happens to possess a fortune; both have their particular proportions of the expences of the family, which they support out of their present funds, or supply by their industry; but the cloathing of the family is always at the charge of the husband. On the death of either, the respective relations seize upon all the effects, not leaving the survivor or children the smallest part, notwithstanding they are obliged to pay a certain share of the funeral expences.

BESIDES their lawful wives, the negroes often keep concubines, who are frequently preferred b and more tenderly treated than those women to whom they are yoked for life; but their children are reckoned illegitimate, and, if begotten upon a slave, are retained as such by the heir to the father's fortune. The usual method then for fathers who are fond of their bastard children is, to manumit them with the usual ceremonies; upon which they are incontestably free after his death, and enjoy every right of free-born persons.

The laws concerning inheritance.

ALTHOUGH the children by their wives be legitimate, yet do they never inherit their fortune in any kingdom on the *Gold Coast*, except at *Acra*. The eldest son, supposing the father to be a king or chieftain, succeeds him in his employment; but, besides his father's shield and sabre, he has no pretensions to any other part of his fortune. Here it is no advantage to be descended from rich parents, unless, what seldom happens, paternal love obliges them to make a settlement on the children before their death, which must be done with the utmost secrecy, otherwise the relations will compel the children to refund the last farthing. Nothing can be more perplexed than the right of inheritance. Bosman says, that from all he could learn or observe, the brothers and sisters are the lawful heirs, in the manner following. They do not jointly inherit, but the eldest son of his mother is heir to his mother's brother, or her son; as the eldest daughter is heiress of her mother's sister, or her daughter. Neither the father, his brothers, sisters, or other relations, have any claim upon the chattels or effects of the defunct; but for what reason, neither the law nor tradition explain. Bosman is of opinion, that the immorality and loose principles of the women first introduced a law seemingly so unnatural: at present it is customary in *Eastern* countries to educate the children of a sister as one's own, and appoint d them to succeed either to a throne or an estate; for they are assured that a sister's son must be of their own blood, but cannot be so of those called their own children; the truth of which must entirely depend upon a woman's veracity. In defect of these heirs, the brothers or sisters take place; but if the deceased have no near kin, then the relations of the mother succeed. Bosman says, that no *European* could ever yet attain a clear knowledge of the laws of inheritance, yet are they sufficiently distinct and well known to negroes. It is true, violent disputes and contentions frequently arise on these occasions, but they are never owing to their ignorance who ought, but who shall succeed, when the relations of the deceased are too powerful in men or arms, and thence are encouraged to disturb the course of law.

Masters responsible for the conduct of their slaves.

WE have said, that a negro values his riches by the number of his slaves, though they frequently bring on his ruin; because every master is obliged to repair the injury done by his slave, whether it be theft, robbery, adultery, or murder. Negroes are likewise responsible for their sons, nephews, and other relations; though in this case all the relations assist towards the fine, by a mutual contribution, each giving towards it according to his circumstances. Should they refuse to complete the fine, the delinquent must suffer corporal punishment, and often death, should his crime be of a heinous nature.

Laws concerning adultery in the inland countries.

In the interior countries the laws in criminal cases are generally more severe, as they are not softened or restrained by the influence of the milder manners of the *Europeans*. If a man debauches the wife of another man here, is not only ruined himself, but draws destruction f upon all those who are connected with him by blood. If the delinquent be a slave, the punishment is death, and that in the most cruel manner that can be devised; besides, a certain fine is imposed on his master. Here they despise the sordid villainy of selling a woman's virtue to sale, and profiting by her prostitution. If she be caught in adultery, her life is the price of her fault, unless it be purchased by her relations at a great expence; but the woman who indulges her passion for a slave infallibly dies, without possibility of redemption. The slave perishes with her, and her relations are obliged besides to pay a considerable sum of money to the injured husband. Every considerable negro is in this case his own judge; and, if he should be too weak alone to avenge himself, he calls in the g

^a SMITH, p. 222.

^b VILLAVULT, *ibid.*

^c BOSM. Epist. 12.

^d *Id.* *ibid.*

assistance

- a assistance of his friends, who readily offer their aid, being sure to be no losers amidst the plunder that ensues. The inland negroes are more wealthy than the inhabitants of the coast, and therefore persons convicted of adultery pay roundly for their incontinence, the fine sometimes amounting to 5000*l.* sterling. *Bosman* says, that he has lived in most parts of the coast, but cannot recollect one person whose fortune was equal to so heavy a burthen; yet is it by no means uncommon in the interior countries. Even the maritime kings, except those of *Aquambao* and *Acron*, would be hard pressed to raise such a sum by the sale of all they were worth. But the severity of the punishment by no means banishes the crime from society: a woman with strong passions is blind to all consequences; nor is it indeed to be wondered at in countries where polygamy is permitted, and where twenty
- b women are confined to one man, each in her turn to taste the frigid, cold, and languid joys of an enervated husband. Their wits are therefore continually employed on the means of procuring a lover; and because the men, terrified at the punishment, are less forward than the nature of the sex might admit, the women omit no stratagem to allure them. So unbridled are their passions, that if they meet a young fellow alone, they run into the most indecent excesses, and swear they will accuse him to their husbands of an attempt to violate their chastity, unless he gratifies their lust. The woman has no redress, should the husband prove unfaithful; her only remedy is to wean him from his vice by the gentlest, softest, and most engaging arts; for none besides the *muliere grande* dare presume to chide him. She indeed will check him severely, and even threaten to leave him, if he
- c persists in his irregularity; but this is all the punishment she is able to inflict. Hence it is that every woman is studious of pleasure, and of preserving to herself those marks of favour by her obliging conduct, which she cannot command by her authority *.
- BOSMAN relates, that all over *Guiney* several of each sex live unmarried, at least for some time, though commonly the number of single women exceeds that of single men; and yet few negroes die unmarried, unless it be at a very early period of life. *Barbot* confines this celibacy to the interior countries; and affirms, that on the sea-coast all the women marry young; and indeed the disproportion of men to women must be very extraordinary, if, where polygamy is tolerated, and the men restrained to no certain number of wives, the women should be allowed to live single for any time.
- d Nay, it is certain, that many families ally themselves by marriage as soon as their children are born, without any other ceremony than the consent of parents on both sides. The women would indeed frequently chuse to live a single life, because they are then free, and confined to the embraces of no particular man; but the demand for wives being so great, their parents seldom indulge them in their inclinations, and they are hardly ever refused when asked. Such however as have made free with the passion before marriage, are never the less respected for it by their husbands and the world; on the contrary, they are esteemed the better qualified to enter into matrimony, and are accordingly frequently preferred to absolute vestals y.
- In the countries of *Eguira*, *Axim*, *Ancobar*, *Anta*, and *Adom*, are certain women who
- e never marry, but are dedicated by profession to the public use, being initiated in their vocation in the following manner. When the *manceroes* perceive that a public courtesan is wanting, they petition the *caboceroes* that they will graciously please to buy one for the common benefit. Upon this the *caboceroes* either give a beautiful female slave for the purpose mentioned in the petition, or they permit the *manceroes* to buy one. She is immediately brought to the market-place, accompanied with a woman practised in the art, who instructs the novice in all the mysteries of the profession. As soon as she has gone through her noviciate, she performs a public probationary trial with a boy; by which is insinuated, that from the nature of her profession she must receive all persons indiscriminately who offer themselves to her, not even excepting little boys. A house
- f is built for her, in which she is obliged to confine herself for eight or ten days, denying no man access to her favours; and this term being expired, she obtains the reputable title of *abelore*, or *abelecra*, signifying "a common prostitute." She now has a more fashionable dwelling-house appointed her by one of her masters, in a particular part of the town, lives by her profession, and pays a certain proportion out of the profits to those who put her in a way of bread. The price is stated at a penny for each favour she grants; and the wretch is soon reduced to infamy, poverty, disease, and the lowest ebb of misery. While her beauty and health remain she is the idol of the place, and no misfortune is equal to the loss of the *abelore*: but no sooner is she attacked with disease, the infallible consequence of her calling, than she is despised, abandoned, and suffered to perish, the most loathsome and wretched of all human creatures. *Bosman* gives it as a proof of the high esteem in which they are held during

* Id. *ibid.*

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y ARTUS apud De Bruy, p. vi. p. 17.

c 14

the reign of beauty, that if the *European* factors have any dispute with the negro *Mercadores*, no method so effectually terminates it, as seizing on the person of the *abelore*, and confining her till satisfaction is made. The *manceroes*, or young men, are no sooner acquainted with the fatal tidings, than they hurry with a petition to the *caboceroes*, or elders, requesting, that they may have her set at liberty at any price, which they will pay by a general contribution. Of this *Bosman* says he has had frequent experience. Once in particular, upon some commercial dispute, he arrested three *caboceroes*, and as many of those courtezans; for the liberty of the former no interest was made, unless by a few of their relations; but the whole village were upon their knees to him, interceding for the latter, and offering to purchase her freedom by paying the sum in dispute. *Bosman* enlarges to an indecent length upon this subject: what we have said we hope is sufficient to gratify the chaste reader, and we have no pleasure in relating manners which disgrace the most barbarous and savage parts of humanity².

Politeness of
the negroes in
their salutations

HOWEVER indelicate and unpolished the negroes may be in some particular customs, yet are they by no means wanting in a certain exterior politeness in all their mutual intercourse. *Artus* informs us, that when they first meet in a morning, they clasp each other in their arms, and pray, that the day may be prosperous. They begin their compliments by seizing the two first fingers of the right hand and cracking them, after which they pull all the other joints, kiss the forehead, and repeat the word *auzi*, their mode of salutation. Upon an accidental meeting, after they had before seen each other, the form of compliment among the coast negroes is, pulling off the hat or cap; but the interior negroes do not esteem uncovering the head as any mark of respect. At *Elmina* the usual compliment after cracking the fingers is, to repeat the word *bere*, *bere*, "peace, peace;" and the first question is, "How did you sleep?" Whence, say *Bosman* and *Barbot*, we may infer, that the negroes conceive sound sleep to be the most essential preservative of good health. This is the ceremony of the first visit for the day; but if they have seen each other before, the master of the house expresses his welcome by telling him, "you went out, and are returned;" to which the visitor replies, "I am come again:" words which probably convey some compliment that we cannot readily discover. But their chief politeness is called forth when they are honoured with the visit of a stranger, the native of some other country³. The first compliments being passed, the wife, or female slaves, bring water, grease or ointment, to wash and anoint him: which office they perform with their own hands.

Of royal visits.

THE visits of kings and persons of superior rank are attended with several peculiar and extraordinary ceremonies. When one king proposes visiting another, before he approaches his palace, he dispatches a person of the first fashion in his train, to give notice of his intention to kiss his majesty's hands, those of all the nobility of the court, and to present his master's compliments. He is presently returned to his own king, attended by some person of distinction about court, to assure his majesty of a sincere and hearty welcome. While he is on his way the general ranges the soldiers in order of battle before the palace, or in the market-place, to do honour to the royal visitor, and also to shew the power and grandeur of his own master. The visiting king, marches at the head of his armed retinue, with all the solemnity and importance imaginable, and enters the city with his men drawn up to the best advantage, and in such a manner as to lengthen the ceremony and seem to increase their number, while the other is no less politic and artful on his side. When they pass each other, military compliments are made, which consist in skipping, leaping, and howling, in a manner intolerable to *European* ears, but highly pleasing to theirs. Having at last reached the palace, where the other king is seated at the gate expecting, he does not advance directly towards him, but, turning either to the right or left, all his attendants, throwing down their arms, present their hands, by way of salutation, to the court and guard of the king visited. After this the two monarchs approach each other, with a solemnity of pace that conveys more of the ridiculous than of the dignity of crowned heads. They are each armed with shields, and set off with their finest ornaments and attire. If the visitant should happen to be of higher rank and power, or that extraordinary honours are intended him, his three first fingers are pulled, then he is embraced and welcomed three several times; but should he be of inferior quality, then only his middle finger is cracked and one salute given. Those mutual compliments paid, they each retire to their several seats placed for them, and the lords of each retinue go through the same ceremonies. For the space of an hour nothing can present a more busy scene; ambassadors continually passing to and fro with mutual congratulations: at the end of which the visitant is desired to walk into the palace, where he is presented

² Bosm. Epist. 12, 13, & 11.

³ BARBOT & BOSM. *ibid.*

with

a with a collation of whatever the country affords. When they have feasted heartily, they take leave with a repetition of the same ceremonies, and the visit is ended^b.

Few families upon the coast keep any considerable number of domestic slaves, nor do they make any great parade of them at their festivals or visits. The exclusive right of selling slaves is vested in the rich, not so much by law, as from the necessities of the meaner rank, which render them unequal to their purchase and maintenance. Those who are employed in this capacity in almost all the maritime parts, consist of such as have bartered their freedom to the rich for sustenance, and are marked by them with certain signs that confirm them their property. If after this any attempt should be made to run away, they lose the left ear for the first trespass, the right ear for the next, and the third fault is punished either by death, or selling them as slaves to the *Europeans*. Hence it appears that the master does not originally enjoy the same authority over them as over born slaves; it is their vices and a repetition of their faults that increase his power. The children indeed are born to that servitude their father entailed upon them by his engagements; but still there is a degree of tenderness shewn, unknown in the inland countries, and as a kind of compensation for misfortunes, the result of their birth, not their crimes. They are employed chiefly in fishing, agriculture, and those arts necessary to the support of their masters and themselves. As to their kings, they have slaves of different degrees, among which they particularly distinguish those who have incurred servitude through inability of paying certain impositions or fines imposed either by the king or courts of judicature. These wear neither cap, hat, or bonnet, their distinction being to have the head always bare. Most of the natives, according to *Villault*, disavow the appellation of *negro*, which they allege is proper only to born slaves. This is the assertion of *Bosman*, who makes no distinction between *negroes* and *Moors*; though *Villault* rather thinks the terms *negro* and *Æthiopian* to be equivalent and synonymous^c.

Among the negroes there are a variety of mechanical arts, in which they have made a proficiency; such as wooden and earthen vessels and plates, chair-mattings, copper ornament-boxes, bracelets, necklaces, rings and ear-rings of gold, silver, or ivory. All sorts of weapons and instruments of war; in the making of which, and all kinds of smith's work, consists their chief excellency. Their tools are so rude and simple that one is amazed to find they can finish with any degree of exactness steel-ware, and materials of gold, brass, and copper. They consist only of a stone for an anvil, a pair of tongs, a pair of bellows, a file, a saw, and a hammer. They also manufacture gold and silver hat-bands, some of which they sell to the *Europeans*, of so fine a thread and exquisite workmanship, that *Bosman* greatly doubts whether they can be rivalled in this by the most polished nations^d.

In building canoes the negroes are also exceedingly ingenious. They have them of various sizes, from thirty to fourteen feet in length, and three or four feet in breadth. By the *Europeans* they are used in loading and unloading the shipping, and by the natives in trading from port to port, and fishing on the coasts. In proportion to their dimensions they are rowed by three, five, seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, or fifteen rowers, an odd man being necessary to steer, and the rest seated in pairs upon banks or beams laid across. The canoes of the smaller size are pushed forward by a sort of paddle, instead of oars, resembling a spade in shape and length. With this they strike the water by an underhand stroke, as our author calls it, and keep the canoe in a surprizingly rapid course. Their large canoes are seldom used in fishing, except in very stormy boisterous weather; and when they launch out at a distance from the shore, it is the small ones that are commonly used on this occasion, that may be conveniently navigated by one, two, or three men (A). Their fishing materials consist of great and small hooks, harping irons, which they use when they have hooked a large fish, together with casting, sweeping, and fixed nets; the latter remaining all night in the water, are drawn in the morning^e.

^b BOSM. & ARTUS, ubi supra.

^c VILLAUT, ubi supra.

^d BOSM. epist. 9.

^e Id. ibid.

(A) The places most celebrated for canoes, are, as we have said, *Axim*, *Acron*, *Bourtry*, *Tokary*, *Commen- do*, *Cormantin*, and *Wineba*, all of which drive a considerable trade with the *Europeans*, and the neighbouring states. We may form a judgment of the prodigious growth of the trees of this country, from those large canoes, which are formed out of one solid trunk, not of the coco tree, as some writers imagine, but of a tree called *capot*, which by mistake might be taken for the *coco*. It is difficult to conceive the toil and trouble the

negroes must undergo, to reduce to form those unwieldy logs of wood. When the tree is cut to the length of the intended canoe, they shape it with knives, with prodigious labour, then grate and rasp it on the out-side, to make it smooth and uniform. After this they dig it, making both edges incline inwards, and the middle part the widest. They pay the bottom on the outside with grease, to make the canoe slip easily through the water, and terminate both ends in a sharp point (2).

(2) *Proveft. t. v. l. ix. c. 7.*

Of their agri-
culture.

WITH regard to the husbandry of the negroes, they sow in the rainy season, the soil being a
incredibly hard at other times. At seed time they chuse a spot of ground either in the fields
or woods, which they think the most convenient; for here is no landed property; the
earth being the gift of nature, it is left in common to all those who have industry to
cultivate it. The king, indeed, assumes to himself the right of permitting particular
spots to be ploughed, and sometimes extends this jurisdiction all over his dominions;
but the request is no more than a matter of form, as it is never denied; and if it should,
the will of the monarch is but little regarded; and in this alone does his sovereignty fall
short of absolute despotism. Having turned up the earth with a spade, which they call
koldon, they suffer it to remain in this condition for eight or ten days, until all their
neighbours are as far advanced in their labours as themselves; after which they assemble b
on the first day of the *fetiche*, or their sabbath, to deliberate on the necessary regulations in
sowing the seed. First the king's lands are finished, after which every man returns to his
neighbour's ground. The only reward from his majesty consists in a present of goats-
flesh and palm-wine, proportioned to the number of labourers; and they conclude their
work by dances in honour of the *fetiche*, and songs, praying that he will bless them with a
fruitful harvest. It is incredible with what expedition their labour is recompensed, and the
grain sprung out into leaf. *Des Marchais* affirms, that in three days after it is sown, the
whole field is covered with a beautiful verdure, and the crop ready for sharing in less
than three months. He adds, that the negroes chuse an elevated ground for sowing their
maize in, that grain requiring a dry soil, not subject to inundations; on the contrary, rice c
and millet demand low marshy lands, and especially the former, which flourishes only
when it is covered with water. Their custom is, when they see the grain beginning to
form itself, then to build little huts in the middle of every field, where they lodge
their children to keep off the birds, and serve for scare-crows. The natives of the coast
find it so easy a matter to dispose of all their grain, that they have established corn markets
in every village, where the current coin is gold dust, *cowries* and *bujees* f. The price of
grain is rated by certain officers of police, appointed by the king; a wise institution,
that prevents fraud and extortion by forestalling the markets. To these all the men and
women resort early in the morning, some to buy, others to sell, and many to exchange one
sort of grain or fruits for another. The women are so indefatigably industrious, that d
they frequently travel six miles to market, laden with such burthens as would crush an
European female, a child on their backs, and a large hamper of grain or fruit on their
heads; nay, there have been instances of negro womens having carried burthens for an
hundred miles out of the interior countries, and sold them at the sea-port markets for *European*
commodities, looking-glasses, bracelets, ear-rings, glass beads, and other female trinkets;
so passionately fond are they of dress and finery. The markets are exempted from all
sorts of duties and imposts; but if the negroes in their way to market meet with any
object which they have deified, and raised to the rank of a *fetiche*, they will make it
a present out of their trading stock. At mid-day, the wine-merchants come with their
pots of palm-wine to market; then the affairs of the day are finished, and all the negroes e
and sailors find themselves equally disposed to rejoice and regale themselves; nor is there
any other commodity that has a quicker sale than the palm-wine. Market being ended,
whole droves of men and women are to be met on all the roads, singing and dancing with
a cheerfulness really to be envied, and not the smallest vestige of the care, the toil and
fatigue of the day remaining, their sole aim being now to lay aside all care g.

Of their corn-
markets.

Of their fairs
for *European*
commodities.

BESIDES those frequent markets, they have also great fairs, which they observe twice
every year, and regulate in such a manner, that they shall never fall twice upon the same
day. Thither the natives are assembled from all parts to purchase *European* wares, which
they send to the inland countries. Here it is, that their passion for dancing is seen in the
most conspicuous manner; and so general is it amongst the women in particular, that often f
without voice or instrument, after quitting the hardest labour, they will begin dancing.
It is a custom immemorial among them, to assemble in the evening in some appointed part
of the town or village, to dance, sing, and make merry for an hour before they go to
bed. They appear in their best habits, and the women in particular rival each other,
with all the emulation and jealousy of dress conspicuous among *European* females. The
usual hour for this rustic ball is at sun-set; and the music is composed of horns, trumpets,
flutes, and other instruments, rather inspiriting than pleasing to the ear. The men and
women dispose themselves into couples, face to face, as in our country dances, not leading
through in any particular figure, but dancing promiscuously, the pairs still keeping
by each other, with a number of ridiculous grimaces and contortions. They advance g

f BARBOT, p. 257. BOSMAN, epist. 19.

g BOSMAN & ARTUS, ubi sup.

and

a and retire, strike the ground with one foot, and, in passing, kiss each other's forehead, pronouncing certain words. Their movements are sometimes quick, sometimes slow, just as the music happens to strike into a shrill treble, or a deep base. In a word, the whole dance is a kind of regular confusion, that, with appearance of the greatest disorder, preserves a certain method and rule adjusted to the music. But it would not be possible to convey an exact idea of it in words ^h.

On their legs the women wear a number of small bells, that jingle as they move in their dance; and the men hold in their hands a kind of fan, made of horse-tail, or the extremity of an elephant's rump, with which they strike each other's shoulders as they pass. All their gambols and absurd gesticulations seem mightily to please themselves; but
b they are not fond of performing them before strangers. Their dances alter according to the occasions to be celebrated. Those performed in honour of the *fetiché* are more grave and solemn, carrying in them an air of religious devotion. At *Abramboe* are dances in honour of the king, which they keep for eight consecutive days, and call this term the *dancing season*. Hither resort a prodigious concourse of Negroes of both sexes: both men and women spend several weeks before in making preparations to figure at this annual carnival, and every thing is conducted with great pomp.

ARTUS relates, that they have schools for dancing and music, where the young people of either sex are taught at a small expence. It frequently happens, that, heated with the nature of those diversions, and the power of palm wine, the scholars sally forth armed
c into the streets, where they commit abundance of disorders and riot, till they are secured by the public magistrates; for although the Negroes are by no means quarrelsome, yet are they susceptible of great passion and violent rage when once embroiled, seldom parting without effusion of blood ⁱ.

ALL the diversions among the Negroes consist of those dances, music, and mock com-
bats, which frequently end tragically. In the year 1667, was celebrated, at *Cape Coast*, ^{Of their mock-}
under the direction of a prince, son-in-law to the king of *Fetu*, public games, in com-
memoration of a victory gained over the king of *Akari*, and lord of *Abramboe*. *Villault*
was told, by the *Danish* chief, that the mock-battle performed here cost on both sides no
less than five thousand livres. In 1682, *Barbot* was treated at the same place with a Negro
d battle, and a handsome entertainment; which, however, happily ended without blood.
He was greatly amazed at the dexterity and address with which they conducted themselves,
both in the field, and at the entertainment, where, says he, there was nothing wanting of
European politeness ^k.

THE musical instruments of the Negroes are various, and extremely numerous, but all
of them equally barbarous and unpleasing. The principal are the horns we have men-
tioned, which are made of ivory, and some of them weighing thirty pounds. For orna-
ment they carve upon these the pictures of men and beasts; but in a manner so extraor-
dinary, that they would seem carefully to avoid the breach of the second commandment;
for indeed they are the likeness of nothing, *in the heavens above, or on the earth below, or*
e *in the waters under the earth*. At the great end of the horn is a piece of rope, coloured
with hen's or sheep's blood, and at the small end a square hole, through which they blow
the instrument. The noise produced is really horrid, but varied and reduced to a sort of
tone and measure; sometimes they blow so tolerably, that, as *Foekenbroeg* has it, one does
not require a whole bale of cotton to stop his ears. The trumpet needs no description; it
is much of the fashion of that used in *Europe*, but without the winding and spiral pipe,
that gives sweetness and modulation to the sound. Of drums they have ten different sorts,
all of them formed of excavated trees, covered with sheep's-skin at one end, in shape re-
sembling a kettle-drum. Some are covered only at one end, the other being open; and
those, when played on, are placed on the ground, which serves to confine the sound.
f They beat with sticks shaped like a hammer, sometimes with strait sticks, and often with
only their hands. The drums are generally used as an accompaniment to the horns; and
to render the concert more full, they join in with trumpets, tabors, and a sound formed by
the striking a hollow piece of iron with a bit of wood, after the manner of the salt-box.
Of late years they have invented a sort of small drums, covered on both sides with sheep's-
skin, and extended to the shape of an hour-glass. The sound they make is by no means
disagreeable: but their best instrument is a kind of harp, with six or eight strings. This
is a hollow piece of strait wood, on which the strings are stretched, having for a back an-
other piece of wood joining it at each end, and forming a sort of triangle; upon this
they play with their fingers, and not unmusically; the instrument having a soft, grave,
g and melodious tone.

^h BARBOT, p. 258.ⁱ ARTUS, in col. De Bruy, part vi. p. 19.^k BARBOT, *ibid*.

An excellent
institution
among the
Negroes.

To conclude the customs and manners of the Negroes, we shall just mention one of an excellent nature: it is an institution by which there is not a common beggar to be seen on the coast. It is true, they have a number of poor, but not a single beggar by profession. When a Negro finds he cannot subsist by his labour, he binds himself over to a master for a certain sum of money, or his friends do it for him, who is obliged to find him in all the necessaries of life. In return, he engages to defend his master with all his power, to watch his affairs, and, in seed and harvest-time, to labour as a husbandman. Thus every man becomes usefully employed, and the infirm and aged are taken care of by their friends. In other respects, the whole people are beggars; and the king himself is not ashamed to beg of an *European* a trifle which he might purchase for a penny; but this is rather from a freedom and openness of temper, than from necessity: *Bosman*, indeed, attributes it to a shameless avarice¹.

S E C T. III.

Of the diseases, remedies, death, and manner of burying among the Negroes.

Of the fear of
death among
the Negroes.

Method of
treating the
sick.

WE shall speak particularly of the diseases peculiar to this country, when we come to treat of the air and climate. In general it is observed, that however unhealthy *Guinea* may prove to strangers and sailors, who live intemperately, the natives are subject but to two diseases. One writer tells us, that their constitutions are so strong, that whether wounded or sick, they pay very little attention to their recovery, but follow their usual employments, as if nothing had happened to them. *Bosman*, on the contrary, affirms, that their fear of death is so great, that the slightest accident is treated with the utmost care and fear: they know that to die but once, is for ever to be sunk in oblivion; a thought altogether insupportable to Negroes. Actuated by this principle, they leave no means untried to extend the thread of life. They first apply to medicines and natural remedies; but where the case is dangerous, believing them insufficient to preserve life and restore health, they have recourse to their superstitious religious worship, as the most effectual. What contributes to render this custom more general is, that the spiritual and bodily doctor are united in the same person, the priest always acting in both capacities. He finds it no difficult matter for him to persuade the patient, or his relations, that no hope remains, but from offerings made to please the *fetiché*; upon which he is desired to consult the god what presents will be the most agreeable to him. We may believe that the priest neglects not his own interest on this occasion; and as the choice depends on himself, he is sure to fix upon what he likes best, as a cock, hen, goat, sheep, hog, gold, cloth, wine, or something else the most useful and convenient. He is careful to proportion them to the ability of the patient, except where the disease is extremely dangerous, and his life valuable to the relations; in which case he raises his demands, and puts a higher price on his own services, under pretence of the great resentment of the *fetiché*, that must be appeased by liberal offerings². Whatever the priest requires, the patient freely grants, without once inquiring in what manner it is applied, whether to the god, or to his servant. If he recovers, either by virtue of nature's kindly assistance, or the efficacy of the medicines administered, the sacerdotal doctor is sure not to pass unrewarded. *Foekenbroeg* indeed pretends, that, after their recovery, the sight of the devil and the doctor is equally welcome to them; but *Bosman* affirms, that in general they are by no means ungrateful to the physician; they celebrate his skill to the skies, recommend him where-ever their influence extends, and liberally reward him themselves. Indeed, where the patient dies after expensive offerings, they attribute it to the ignorance or knavery of the doctor; a way of thinking not peculiar to Negroes. It frequently happens that one physician is discharged after being well paid, and another called, who begins the cure afresh, and knows well how to make his advantage of the credulity of the patient. His first business, like the physicians in *Europe*, is to condemn the practice of his predecessor, and decry him as an ignorant pretender. Upon this, new offerings are made; for the new doctor, dreading the fate of him whom he succeeded, determines to *make hay while the sun shines*. Thus they are changed alternately, perhaps twenty times; the expence always rising with the number of the physicians, and the danger of the patient, who probably dies under the hands of the last called, leaving the faculty heirs to his effects. So bigotted and attached to offerings are the Negroes, that where a physician of more conscience than the rest forbids them, they will discharge him, or at least force the presents upon him³.

¹ *Auct. citat. ibid. & BOSMAN, epist. 9. part vi. p. 90.*

² *BOSMAN, epist. 13. ARTUS, in collect. per de Bruy.*

³ *DES MARCH. vol. vi. p. 326. BARBOT, p. 277.*

a BOSMAN relates, that the boys and slaves of an *European*, who has treated them kindly, will, when he is seized with the slightest indisposition, go secretly to the priests to make offerings for his health and recovery. The *Europeans* have frequently found, in the bed or in the chamber of the principal persons, certain things consecrated and charmed by the priest, laid there by the slaves to defend their master from death and evil spirits. As the *Europeans* are generally displeased with their superstition, they do it so artfully, and conceal it so well, that it is not easy to discover them before the patient is dead, and they have had no time to remove those charms. The *mulattoe* women are particularly addicted to this superstition. If one of them is married, or kept by an *European* who uses her well, she never fails to make rich offerings for his recovery, with a warmer zeal and stronger confidence in their success, than is found among the Negroes themselves; and *Bosman* alleges, that even the *Europeans* are not wholly untainted with this absurd and ridiculous credulity; for they have been known not only to make presents to priests upon their illnesses, but to wear certain charms, given them by the Negroes, as preventive medicines ^c.

THE chief medicaments used by the Negroes are lime-juice, *malaguet* or cardamoms, the roots, branches, leaves, bark, and gums of trees, and about thirty different kinds of green herbs. These constitute the whole of their dispensatory; and the latter in particular have been found, from repeated experience, wonderfully powerful in many cases. Their practice, says *Bosman*, may to a philosopher appear absurd and irrational; but success is the test of its rectitude. He has seen them, in cholics, administer whole calabashes of lime-juice and cardamoms with surprising success: and affirms, that with green herbs he has known them effect cures, and conquer diseases, that have foiled all the art of the most experienced *European* surgeons: hence he greatly laments that no botanist has applied himself to this kind of practice, which he thinks more homogeneal to their constitutions in warm climates, than chemical medicines sent from *Europe*, and robbed of their virtues before they arrive in *Africa* ^d.

WHEN all the arts of the priest and doctor have proved ineffectual, and the patient dies, his relations are furnished with fresh business; they now are to enquire into his death, and why he should die: for though it is probable and apparent that he died a natural death, or of wounds, yet will not this satisfy them: it must certainly, in their opinion, proceed from some other cause. Immediately the priest and relations inquire, whether ever the deceased forswore himself, or was perjured? If he has, then the difficulty is solved, and the cause of his death discovered, which was no other than a punishment of his perjury. But should he be acquitted of this, then the next inquest is, whether he had any powerful enemies, who might have laid the *fetiché* under a promise by large offerings? This discovery being made, some of his enemies are immediately attacked, secured, and closely examined, and if they be found guilty, severely punished, either by a fine, or some corporal penalty; the latter being most common when the relations of the deceased are rich, and the former when they are poor, and the delinquent affluent. We cannot omit the following relation given by *Bosman*. When he resided at *Axim*, he was advised, in order to promote the company's affairs, to send an envoy to the king of *Dinkira*. In consequence he dispatched one of his servants with handsome presents to the monarch, who graciously received them. About the same time the *Brandenburghers* were soliciting his majesty by their president for similar favours. During the stay of both envoys at court the king died, and his relations secured both the *German* and *Hollander*, imagining they had been the instruments of his death. They were seized, bound, and closely examined whether the presents they had delivered were not poisoned or charmed; but, after a most scrupulous enquiry, the suspected ambassadors were found innocent, released, and dismissed with presents to their several constituents ^e.

WHEN the patient dies, and no room is found for attributing his death either to poison or incantation, then the wives, children, and slaves are examined, whether he has been attended with due care, and the necessary offerings made. As the priest always presides at those inquests, he has a fair opportunity of punishing those who have been frugal in their donation to him. Should no deficiency appear, either in care, attendance, or offerings, then, as the last resource, they resolve the difficulty by attributing his death to his neglect of religious duties, and the performance of those rites which alone can prolong life. Such are the customs among the Negroes; in many of which we see a rational end, although the means used be ridiculous and absurd ^f.

BEFORE we proceed to the last obsequies, we shall beg leave to relate some few extraordinary ceremonies that precede this solemn duty. After all the above methods have been found ineffectual to solve the cause of the patient's death, the priest goes to the body, and interrogates the defunct concerning the reason of his dying, and causing so much

Questions put to the deceased.

^c BOSMAN, epist. 13.

^d Idem ibid.

^e BOSMAN, ep. 13.

^f ARTUS, ubi sup. p. 102.

grief to his friends and relations. He returns to them, who are assembled in another apartment, with such an answer as best suits his interest; every syllable of which is believed, and matters adjusted accordingly. Some authors affirm, that the relations directly apply themselves for a solution of doubtful cases to the devil; but *Bosman* and *Barbot* assure us, that this is a false conjecture; all being referred to the priest, who is the mediator between their gods and them, and the interpreter of all oracles delivered by the former (A).

Modes of mourning, or ceremonies previous to the funeral.

No sooner the patient breathes his last, than all his relations, male and female, set up a dreadful howling and lamentation; by which it is soon known all over the town or village that some person is dead. They place the body upon a mat, made of the bark of trees, and wrapped in some old cotton cloths; under the head they set a block of wood, and cover the face with a goat's or sheep's-skin. Over the body they strew ashes, made from burnt wood; custom forbidding them to cast their eyes on the body, before it is set out in this manner. The defunct is brought in this situation into the open air, some of the women, of whom in his life-time he was the fondest, being placed at his head; if the deceased be a female, the husband, father, brother, or uncle, performs this office, shedding abundance of tears, and drawing forth dismal groans. All the relations assemble from every part of the country to attend at this last office; a severe punishment being annexed to their neglect. The town's-people and acquaintance of the deceased join their lamentations, each bringing his present of gold, cloth, brandy, wine, or animal food, which they pretend is buried with the corpse; and the larger the present is, the more honour redounds to the donor. The oldest female belonging to the family goes round the company, with a copper basin in her hand, to collect contributions towards the expence of the funeral. Here all the money is thrown in, while presents of another kind are put into baskets prepared for the occasion. A great part of these presents goes to the *fetichere* or priest, to obtain by his prayers and conjurations repose for the soul of the defunct, and the protection of the *fetiches* in his passage to the other world. Hence we may perceive the notions the Negroes entertain concerning a future state; but this we shall speak of elsewhere. *Villault* adds a circumstance which we find supported by no other authority, probably because it is provincial, or confined to some particular district. They place, says he, three household gods, or *fetiches*, in a corner of a chamber; they dress them with glass, coral, and gold necklaces, collars, and girdles; they present them with large offerings of pease, beans, rice, maize, and palm-wine, besprinkled with the blood of a pullet. After this, the priest pronouncing certain unintelligible words, takes a mouthful of palm-wine, which he spouts into the face of the most ancient of the *fetiches*. He then takes a quantity of tallow, or grease, which he beats with leaves into a poultice, and dividing the mass into proportions suited to the number of people present, he gives to each a piece, one bit being kept for the use of the deceased, to assist and nourish him in his flight to eternity^a. This is a ceremony of all others the most solemn, and attended with a greater number of pompous and awful rites^b.

A continuation of the funeral ceremonies.

DURING all the offices performed by this assembly, there is one that is never omitted; brandy in the morning, and palm-wine in the afternoon, are always remembered. Thus the last obsequies of a rich Negro become very expensive; for besides all that precedes, the body is richly clothed, and put into the coffin with a bag of gold *fetiches*, the finest corals, *conte de terra*, and several things of value, which it is supposed will be useful to him in the next world. The number of jewels, and all other expences, are proportioned to the wealth the deceased left to his heirs. After this assembly of relations and friends have continued to drink brandy and palm-wine for two or three days, and all the other requisite ceremonies are finished, then at last the corpse is carried to the grave, preceded by a number of young fellows, who are continually discharging volleys of small-arms, till the deceased is laid in the ground. A multitude of men and women follow, without preserving any order, some dancing, some singing, or crying, or laughing; the grief of those that cry and laugh being pretty equal. After the corpse is covered, and the grave filled, every one departs where he pleases; but the greater number usually adjourn to the house of the deceased, there to prolong their mirth and feasting for several days longer.

WHEN a king, chief governor, or any distinguished personage dies, his body is generally kept a year above-ground; and to preserve it from putrefaction, it is laid over a

^a BARBOT, p. 278. DES MARCH, *ibid.* VILLAULT, *ibid.*

^b BOSMAN, ep. 13.

(A) The questions are put to the deceased in a variety of different ways. In some cases the relations take the deceased upon their shoulders, in presence of the priest; and then he is interrogated whether he did not die for such a cause? If the answer is to be in the affirmative, the relations, by some secret impulse, bend the body towards the querist; if it be negative, the body stands unmoved; and either of these pafs for definitive decisions of the question (1).

(1) *Bosman*, epist. 13.

- a gentle fire, upon a wooden utensil, resembling a gridiron, to dry by slow degrees. Others inter their dead privately in their own houses, though they pretend that the body has undergone the above operation, and that in due time they will see the funeral obsequies performed with the necessary pomp. Public notice is given of the day appointed for a king's burial, not only to his own subjects, but to the neighbouring kingdoms, which occasions a concourse of all nations almost incredible. Every one is curious to see the solemnity; he appears in his richest dress, and more pomp and parade passes upon this occasion, than in whole centuries upon any other. Several slaves of the deceased monarch are sacrificed, in order to attend him to the next world, and especially his *boffum* and favourite woman. But the most abominable rite is, the practice of selling those, who through age and infirmity have been rendered incapable of labour, to become victims in those horrible solemnities. It is a spectacle the most deplorable, to see those puny feeble wretches pierced, hacked, and tormented in the most barbarous manner, from motives of religion and piety. *Bosman* relates, that it was not without horror he saw eleven persons killed in this manner. Among these was one who, after having endured the most keen and exquisite tortures, was delivered over to a child of six years of age to have his head cut off. Nothing could be more cruel and barbarous than to see this young savage hewing and mangling for an hour the body of the unhappy victim, with as little remorse as a butcher feels over his ordinary employment. These sacrifices are generally used in countries distant from the *European* forts, and where they have but little influence; though the natives of the coast will often remove at a distance, in order to perform unmolested this horrible ritual, to which they are so warmly attachedⁱ.
- b
- c

THE Negroes usually build a little hut, or else plant a little garden of rice or maize, upon the grave, into which they throw all the effects of the deceased, of the least value to his heirs; for *Bosman* denies that they fill it with household furniture, as some authors assert. At *Axim* they place several earthen images on the grave, which are washed the following year, and the whole funeral ceremony repeated with great expence. We have before mentioned the eager desire which the natives of *Benin* have to be buried in their own country; nor is this custom peculiar to them, it is the general way of thinking among all the Negroes. If they should happen to die in a distant country, where no opportunity offers of conveying the whole body home, their friends will cut off the head, leg, and arm, and cleanse, boil, and send it to their native country to be buried; and if no conveyance presents itself, they esteem it a duty to neglect their business, and go themselves on the pious errand^k.

- It sometimes happens that the funeral of a Negro is attended by an orator, who sets forth the virtues of the deceased in an harangue pronounced over the grave. *Barbot* was told by the governor of *Cape Coast*, that he was present at the burial of a woman of distinction, where the priest, after enumerating the virtues of the defunct, pathetically exhorted the assembly to imitate them, to live well, to avoid giving offence, to perform religiously their contracts and engagements, with a number of other moral topics. At the end of his discourse, laying hold of the jaw-bones of sheep, several of which were strung upon a cord, he leaped into the grave, saying, "Do as the deceased did; imitate her; she requires not many sacrifices now, having performed them so liberally in her life-time, as these cheek-bones testify." This exhortation produces the desired effect; every one throw in their offerings, and the priest seizes them as his own property.
- e

In some countries they do not bestow the honours of burial on slaves, but their bodies are thrown upon the fields, a prey to beasts and birds; in some other countries they cover them with earth, but without any ceremony. *Atkins* describes the funeral ceremonies at *Cape Coast* very concisely and distinctly. When a Negro dies, says he, his relations and friends set up plaints and lamentations that rend the skies, which they continue in the house of the defunct till the day appointed for his burial. Then the body is carried to the grave in a coffin; and on their way the relations are joined by the inhabitants of the village, who likewise join them in their mournings, and discharges of musquetry. As soon as they perceive that their lamentations have no effect, and that they cannot recall to life the deceased, they change their grief into music and festivity; they throw into the grave a part of their pipes, tobacco, and wine; and this practice they continue for several mornings after the burial. Such are the funeral ceremonies observed on the *Gold Coast*. In different kingdoms they admit of some variation; but as it would be tedious to mention every particular, we have only recited the most general, and those that are confirmed by the joint testimony of all the best authorities. We shall now proceed with all possible brevity to their religious tenets and superstitions.

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ⁱ Idem, *ibid*, etiam *BARBOT*, p. 287.

^k *ARTUS*, *ubi sup.* p. 105.

As to the religion of the *Gold Coast*, it is divided into a variety of sects, and branched a out into a variety of different opinions, proportioned to the number of nations, we may say families, on the coast; for there is hardly a person that has not his own peculiar mode of thinking on this subject. However, as it would be endless to recite every particular opinion, we shall speak only of those public forms in which all the Negroes agree.

The Negroes believe in the true God, the Creator of the world.

THEY almost all to a man believe in one true God, the creator of the world, and of every thing in it; his omnipotence being the only attribute of the deity of which they have a distinct idea. *Artus* reports, that if they are desired to explain their religion, their answer is fraught with absurdities and contradictions to the first principles of reason; and when one takes the trouble to refute their inconsistencies, their reply is, that they had their religion from the *feticheres*, or priests, who had it from the *fetiches*, and they b of the true God; and his reasons are, that they never make any offerings to him, or invoke him in their distress; which, in his opinion, is a presumptive proof that they had other gods before they acquired an idea of the true God, and that they believe their *fetiches* more interested in human affairs, as they apply to them in all their difficulties. He offers another reason, of which we must acknowledge we do not perceive the force; this is the variety of opinions maintained concerning the creation; some believing that the world was formed by *Anansei*, or a great spider; others attributing it, and particularly man's creation, to God^m (B).

To several questions which *Artus* proposed to them concerning the deity, they replied c that he was black, but mischievous, taking pleasure in afflicting them with a thousand evils, God is partial, they imagine, to the *Europeans*, and treats them as his own children. In particular, he is kinder to the *Dutch* than to them; else why does he give them fine cloaths, silks, ivory, and brandy? *Artus* told them, that it was plain the deity did not neglect them, by his bestowing on them gold, palm-wine, fruits, cows, goats, fowls, and fish; but he found it impossible to convince them that these were God's gifts. The earth, say they, gives gold, if we take the trouble of digging it; it likewise furnishes corn, wine, and fruits, if we cultivate them. The beasts of the field beget each other without God's assistance; and the sea produces fish; but before we can use any of them, we are forced to toil and labour, without which we might starve; consequently we owe no obligation to God. d However, they acknowledge that rain is sent by God, without which the earth would produce nothing: he is therefore the *means*, not the *cause*, of those good things. With all their advantages, they believe themselves very hardly treated, and not upon a footing with the *Europeans*, who abound in such a variety of merchandize, which, in their opinion, grow up without trouble or labour, as gold does in *Africa* ⁿ.

ACCORDING to *Des Marchais*, they believe not only that God is black; but their priests assure them that they frequently see him at the foot of a *fetiche* tree, in the shape of a large black dog: such is the ascendant those holy villains have acquired over the understandings of this ignorant, superstitious, and credulous people.

The ideas the Negroes entertain of the Supreme Being.

THERE are a number of Negroes who believe in two supreme deities, the one white, e whom they call *bossun*, the other black, and by them called *jangu man*, or the *good man*. *Des Marchais* and *Labat* scruple not to affirm, that the *devil* has established a real empire in the minds of the *Negroes*, and that his power is by no means owing either to their credulity or ignorance. "The *Negroes*," say they, "have not only affirmed that they have been beat in the night by some supernatural being, but they have often been heard to cry out dismally in the dark, and found trembling in their huts, with marks of violence upon them, when not a human vestige or footstep could be traced; insomuch that they have kept their beds for months after." Do we owe this account to the credulity of the historians, or to the imposture or villainy of the negro priests? It is probable, indeed, f that if there be any truth in this relation, this miracle is wrought by those pious rogues, to induce the unhappy sufferer to appease the dæmon by offerings ^o.

^l ARTUS, apud de Bruy, p. 41, & seq.

MARCHAIS, tom. i. p. 300. LABAT, tom. ii. p. 55.

^m BOSMAN, ep. 10.

ⁿ ARTUS, ubi supra.

^o DES

(B) Man's creation they assert to have happened in the following manner. In the beginning, black as well as white men were created; nay, if there was any difference in time, the blacks had the priority. To these, two sorts of favours were presented; to the blacks gold, and to the whites, the knowledge of arts and sciences. It was from choice that the blacks had gold for their share; and to punish their avarice, it was decreed they should ever be slaves to the white men; intimating by this, the superiority of genius over fortune. They

are fully persuaded that no country but *Africa* produces gold, and that blacks can never attain the knowledge of letters. Others again affirm, that man originally was of a different shape from what he appears now, the parts serving for the distinction of sexes being placed more in view for the convenience of propagation. If you enquire into the cause of this change, they reply, that God did it from a regard to modesty, as soon as the world became sufficiently populous, to preserve the species by the present shape (2).

(2) Bosman, epist. 19.

a DAPPER says, that the Negroes sacrifice and make offerings immediately to the *devil*; but Bosman affirms that all their devotion is paid to the priest, the mediator between them and their divinities. Nothing religious is undertaken without the priest. When they are inclined to make offerings to their idols, they cry "let us make *fetiche*:" by which they express as much as if they said, let us see or hear what our God saith through the mouth of his servant the *fetichere*, or priest. If they are injured, the *fetichere* is employed to procure vengeance, by exorcising certain victuals and drink, which they strew in the way of the enemy, firmly believing, that he who tastes of it shall surely die soon after. If the person for whom the snare is laid is by any means apprised of it, and under the necessity of passing that road, he orders himself to be carried over the food so exorcised, knowing that the charm loses its virtue by avoiding to touch it, and is quite innocent with respect to every other person. If a Negro is robbed, he makes use of similar means for the discovery, and condign punishment of the criminal; and so obstinately bigotted are they in the efficacy of this method, that an hundred instances produced of its impotence, would not alter their sentiments. Yet if any person is taken in the act of laying the charm, he is punished with death, whatever be the nature of the injury he has received. Thus we see a custom universally prevail in a country, though it be contrary to law, by which the civil and ecclesiastical constitution run counter to each other.

ALL promises of importance and obligatory oaths, are confirmed by *fetiches*; for on these occasions they always cry, "let us, in confirmation, make *fetiches*." When they drink this obligatory draught, it is usually accompanied with an imprecation that the *fetiche* may destroy them, if they fail in the performance of their promise, or the smallest tittle of their engagements: and every person entering into any obligation must go through the ceremony of swallowing the draught; the spectators judging by the facility with which it passes down, whether he is disposed or able to execute what he has undertaken. When one nation is hired or engaged by treaty to assist another, all the chiefs drink this liquor, which, we are told, is nothing more than the pure element of water, with an imprecation, that the *fetiche* may abandon them, if they do not assist with their utmost force to extirpate the enemy: but oaths of this nature have been so frequently violated by nations and individuals, that they are fallen into disrepute. Besides, the Negroes have contrived a subterfuge, and method of absolving themselves from the obligation, taking the money or effects of the opposite party, and acting diametrically contrary to their engagements. This they effect by means of the priest, their great instrument of all fraud and imposture: for having entered upon this obligation before him, they doubt not but he has the power of absolution, as well as punishment, in his hands. A bribe gains him over; and thus they make a traffic of honour, honesty, and conscience. To prevent the consequences of those frauds, some Negroes are so politic, that before the party takes his obligation, the priest is first sworn, and obliged to drink the *oath draught*, with the same imprecations, should he ever give absolution without the unanimous consent of all parties engaged in the contract. By this means, says Bosman, oaths are religiously kept, and punctually performed; yet we are told by Barbot, that the priest is not without his salvo even in this case, though he does not favour us with the mode of his equivocation, which must needs be curious.

If a Negro is interrogated about the consequence of falsifying such an oath, his reply is, that the perjured person shall be swelled with liquor till he bursts; or if he should escape that, a no less sure though slower punishment will follow, by means of some chronic, languishing, and wasting disease. The first generally happens to women, who purge themselves by a false oath of an accusation of adultery: the latter to men, in cases of thievery, robbery, and breach of trust; for in all these instances it is used by way of *purgation* as well as *obligation*. In a word, the methods of making religion subservient to the worst of purposes are so various and numerous, that a recital of them would equally shock and fatigue the reader: we shall therefore content ourselves with relating the following, affirmed the most sacred and solemn of all oaths. Every priest hath his peculiar idol, prepared and adjusted in a manner peculiar to himself, and agreeable to his own fancy; but this form is almost general. A large wooden pipe is filled with hair, blood, feathers, oil, earth, human and brute bones, as well as all kinds of filth, dirt, and excrements. Directly opposite to this pipe the Negro to be sworn is placed, who asks the name of the idol; for each has its appellation. When he is made acquainted with this particular, he recites at large the contents of the obligation he is to take upon him, calling the *fetiche* by its name, and making it his request that the idol may punish him with death if he does not fulfil his vow, or if he swears falsely. Then going round to the other extremity of the pipe, he repeats the oath; after which he returns to the place where he first stood, and recites it a third time. This done, the priest takes some of the above ingredients out of the pipe, with which he

F DAPPER apud Prevost, tom. v. p. 243.

9 BOSMAN, epist. 10.

besmeared

besmears the juror's head, arms, belly, and legs; and holding the remainder over his head, a he gives it three whirls round, taking the utmost care that not a particle shall fall. He then cuts off a bit of the nail of a finger of each hand, and a toe of each foot, together with a lock of hair from the head, all which he puts into the pipe, and closes the ceremony. Nothing could be more ridiculous to an *English* reader, if he had not seen rites nearly as absurd performed in neighbouring countries: a proof that however civilized human nature may be, it cannot intirely be purged of a mixture of weakness and folly.^s

The Negroes
consult the Fe-
tiche in all
cases of import-
ance.

WHEN the Negroes propose entering upon a war, a journey, a bargain, or any business of importance, they first consult their gods, by means of their common mediator the priest, concerning the event of their undertaking. Those oracles are generally wrapt up in great obscurity, and capable, like those of *Delphos*, of being interpreted according to the fancy b of the enquirer: but should they ever happen to be clear and explicit, then they never fail of being favourable. In this case the grateful votary can do no less than express his thanks by liberal presents to the priest; sheep, hogs, fowls, dogs, cats, and gold, are offered up to the idol, in trust with his minister the priest; who, like the ministers of earthly sovereigns, is sure of not failing to obey the first principle of nature, *self-interest*. If the priest be determined to oblige the querent in a particular manner, the questions are put to the idol in his presence, and usually in one of the two following methods. The first way is by a bundle of about twenty small bits of leather, in the middle of which are contained materials of the same nature with those they use in the pipes. Some of these ingredients indicate good, some bad fortune. This bundle the priest shuffles into a variety of forms; c and if the same ingredients occur frequently, then the querent's fate is clear, and he is perfectly assured of his future fortune. Here, however, the priest acts with his usual address; for by habit he acquires such a slight of hand, that he turns up which of the ingredients he has a mind; and if he ever gives a discouraging response, it is only with a view of extorting larger offerings to appease the incensed deity.^s

THE second method of consulting their deities is by a sort of wild chestnut, which they pretend to take up and let fall again by accident. Hence the priest draws his predictions by the number falling, whether even or odd. In a word, their clergy are the most crafty, sly, and insinuating sect in the world, and their cunning is to be exceeded only by the credulity, simplicity, and ignorance of the laity. Every view of the former is directed to- d wards their own interest, and the gratification of their avarice, ambition, and lust, by the grossest impositions; and of the latter, to a blind obedience and total subversion of every distinguishing principle of humanity. Should the event falsify the prediction, the crafty priest is never at a loss for an excuse to palliate his knavery; either the sacred rites were not duly performed; some part was carelessly hurried over, or wholly omitted; or the god is enraged, and the business crossed and unsuccessful. All this is believed with an astonishing credulity; the people themselves being ingenious in finding sufficient excuses for the priest. He is never accused of falsehood; and if the nation be ruined, his reputation remains secure, untouched, and in the highest credit: but should his prediction be verified by the event, then he is a holy and divine man, his character is raised to the highest pinnacle e of fame, and his veracity so far above the reach of malice, that he may lye his whole life after.^t

Public religi-
ous ceremonies.

PUBLIC religious exercises of a whole nation are usual upon account of droughts, floods, and barren and unhealthy seasons; on which occasions the governors and chief men repair to their idols with offerings, either for the public good, or their own particular affairs. Those ceremonies are performed in groves, which are held so sacred, that to defile them by any natural office of the body, to cut, pluck, or injure the smallest twig, is highly criminal, and punished with, at least, a malediction, and the censure of the priests, which in its effects is not less severe than a popish anathema. When the chiefs of a town or nation assemble, they consult the priests what measures are the most likely to remove the public calamities; squaring their conduct scrupulously by their counsel, and publishing their decrees f by a crier sent over the place. Whoever presumes to act contrary to this order is punished without mercy; it being even capital on some occasions to disobey the ecclesiastical power. When their fisheries are on the decline, about *August* and *September*, the priests injoin offerings to be made to the sea; this being the time when great shoals of fish arrive on the coast: and yet, so absurdly blind is superstition, that the whole is attributed to the pious endeavours of the priest.^u

Every Negro
has his pecu-
liar fetiche.

EVERY individual in *Guiney* hath his peculiar *fetiche*, which they worship in their manner on that day of the week they happened to be born. This day they call their *bossom*, or, in *Portuguese*, their *sancte day*, on which they drink no palm-wine till sun-set. On this day they are dressed in white; and, as an emblem of their purity, besmear their bodies and g

^r BOSMAN, epist. 10.
& BARBOT, p. 302. 307.

^s BARBOT, p. 304.

^t Auct. citat. ibid.

^u VILLAULT

- a cloaths with a kind of white loam or clay. Those of the better fashion, and especially the chiefs of the people, have besides this birth-day another weekly festival, dedicated to their *fetiches*, on which they kill a cock or a sheep; a sacrifice merely nominal with respect to the gods, for it is consumed by the priests. *Bosman* says indeed that it is made a public feast, of which the priest enjoys no more than he can eat at that meal. The whole sheep is put down to the fire, and every man eats as he thinks proper, little regard being had to cleanliness or ceremony. The guts in particular, cleansed only by squeezing out the excrements with their fingers, are esteemed a delicious regale, when boiled in water with a little salt and *Guiney* pepper. This they call *ejutjeba*, and look upon as the highest luxury in eating, and the most exquisite dainty that can be offered to the palate. The following observation of *Bosman's*, who was a rigid *Calvinist*, we shall beg leave to transcribe :
- b " If it were possible to convert the Negroes to the Christian religion, the Roman-catholics would probably succeed much better than we should; because they agree in several particulars, especially in their ridiculous ceremonies. For do the Romanists abstain one or two days weekly from flesh? the Negroes have their days when they refrain from wine; which, considering how great lovers they are of it, is somewhat severe. The Romanists have three allotted times for eating peculiar sorts of food, or perhaps wholly abstaining from it, in which the Negroes outdo them; for each person here is forbidden the eating of one sort of flesh or other. One eats no mutton; another no goat's flesh, pork, wild fowl, cocks with white feathers, &c. This restraint is not laid on them for a limited term, but for their whole lives: and if the Romanists brag of the antiquity of their ecclesiastical commands, so if you ask the Negroes why they do this or that, their answer is, because their forefathers did the same, and it had been handed down from one age to another by tradition. The son never eats what has been prohibited to the father; as the daughter copies after the mother: and this rule is so inviolably observed, that it would be impossible to persuade them to the breach of it *."
- THE word *fetiche* in a strict sense signifies whatever represents their divinities; but the precise idea of the Negroes concerning their lesser gods, their *dii minores*, is not well adjusted by authors, or even among the most sensible of themselves. *Atkins*, speaking of the religion of the country, gives the following account of one *Tour*, a shrewd Negro, with whom he had made an acquaintance. " *Tour*," says he, " was always able to satisfy my curiosity about the *fetiche*: he believed it able to protect from dangers, or recover from sickness; so that in travail, or in any disease, they are never without the *fetiche* about them, whom they constantly apply to for health and safety. *Tour* wore his about the leg; and as constantly as he had a dram, a glass of wine, or victuals, he dipped his finger and gave the *fetiche* a taste. It is the general belief that it both speaks and sees: therefore when they are about to perform any action that ought not to be done, they wrap the *fetiche* in a rag, to prevent tales. Every man has two, three, or more *fetiches*, as fancy directs; one worn about him, or in his canoe, the rest at home; bequeathing them, as they prove serviceable, from father to son." They not only believe those material substances endued with intelligence, and the power of doing them good or evil, but also that the priest or *fetichere*, being of their council, is privy to all that those divinities know, and thence acquainted with the most secret thoughts and hidden actions of men. The household or family *fetiche* narrowly inspects the conduct of every individual of the house, and rewards or punishes according to their deserts. Their rewards consist in the multiplication of their wives and slaves, and their punishments in the want of these; though the most terrible of all punishments is death. It is this indeed that inflames their zeal in religious rites, and occasions their rigid abstinence from every sort of food prohibited by superstition; believing they should die in the act. Murder, adultery, stealth, and robbery, are comparatively but venial slips; nay, they are in a manner no sins at all, since they can be expiated by money; but the eating a species of food forbidden in the family, is a crime of so black a complexion, as admits of no atonement or compensation².
- f ATKINS relates, that at *Cape Coast* there is a public guardian *fetiche*, the highest in power and dignity. This exalted *fetiche* is a peninsular rock, that projects into the sea from the bottom of the cliff on which the castle is built, making a sort of cover for landing, but unsafe. Some years before the author wrote, a fleet of fishing canoes had been cast away by a strong southerly wind near this point, and the Negroes religiously attributed the calamity to some omission of the fleet to this divinity, called *Tabra*. The accident happening upon *Tuesday*, that day has ever since been kept holy, and set apart for idleness, singing, dancing, and riot. To this rock the priest sacrifices yearly a goat and some rum, eating and drinking a part of the sacrifice, and throwing the rest into the sea, with ridiculous gestures and strange invocations, assuring the spectators that he receives verbal answers

* BOSM. epist. 10,

† P. 62.

2 BOSM. epist. 10.

from *Tabra*, what times and seasons will be propitious; and for this intelligence every fisherman presents him with an acknowledgment suited to his ability.^a

National
fetiches.

BESIDES this superior *fetiche*, every separate canton or district has its peculiar *fetiche*, inferior to the *Tabra* of *Cape Coast*, but of a higher quality than the *Lares*, or domestic gods. A mountain, a tree, a large rock, fish, or peculiar fowl, is raised to this high distinction, and the honour of being the national divinity. A Negro, who accidentally kills a *fetiche*, fowl or fish, is thought sufficiently punished by the horrid act; but an *European* who should do the same, would be supposed to have done it with design, and thence would be in great danger of his life. *Petro de Diagro* relates in his *Natural History*, that he had seen at *Fredericksburgh* the *fetiche* bird of that country, a little bird, the size of a wren, with the bill of a linnet, the ground of the plumage of a dark brown, but the external feathers speckled with black and white (C). An *European* had the misfortune to kill one of these birds, and it was with the utmost difficulty the governor could save his life, or prevent an insurrection of the natives. Should this sacred bird chance to fly round or over any particular house, the omen is deemed auspicious, and every person belonging to the family presses to have a sight of him, and to feed him. Those Negroes who meet with it on a journey believe themselves destined to good fortune; nor can even experience cure them of their superstition. They look upon this favour as a singular mark of the *fetiche's* protection; and, in expectation of meeting with it, constantly carry about them a little pot of water, a few grains of corn, and blades of grass for its nourishment. Every field and wood presents numberless instances of this respect for their national *fetiche*; but this is peculiar to the country round *Fredericksburgh*.^b

AMONG trees the palm has the pre-eminence, this being always deified, and in particular the species of it called *assooanam*; because it is the most beautiful and numerous. One shall meet in every place a variety of those trees, which bear the marks of their divinity; for every Negro that passes cuts off a small portion of the bark, which he forms into a bracelet or girdle, as an infallible preservative. They are persuaded, that cutting down an *assooanam*-tree would be attended with a dearth of fruit for that season, and immediate bad consequences to themselves; and in 1589, ten *Dutchmen* were massacred for an action of this nature (D). Nothing can be more profound than the adoration which they pay to these *fetiches*, and the confidence they have in their power: but these modes of worship vary in different cantons, and the *fetiche* of one province is wholly despised in another (E).^c

The notions the
Negroes have
of a future
state.

THE ideas the Negroes entertain of a future state are various. Some hold, that immediately upon the death of any one, he is removed into another world, where he assumes the very same character in which he lived in this, and supports himself by the offerings and sacrifices his friends make after his departure. *Bosman* affirms, that the greater number of Negroes have no idea of future rewards and punishments annexed to the good or evil actions of this life. A few, however, he allows have some gross notions of future judgments, which consist in being waisted away to a famous river, situated in a distant inland country, called *Bosmanque*. Here their god interrogates them concerning the life they have led, whether they have religiously kept the holy days dedicated to the *fetiche*, abstained from all meats, and inviolably kept their oaths? If they answer truly in the affirmative, they are conveyed over the river to a land abounding in every felicity, luxury, and human delight. If, on the contrary, the departed hath sinned against any of the above capital pillars of their religion, then the god plunges him into the river, where he is buried in eternal oblivion. Others again believe in a kind of *metempsychosis*; that they shall be transported to the land of *white* men, altered to that complexion, and endowed with a soul similar to theirs: but this is the doctrine only of those who think highly of the intellectual faculties of the white men.^c

^a ATKINS, ubi supra.

^b ATKINS apud Prevost, tom. v. l. ix. c. 7.

^c BOSMAN, epist. 10.

(C) *Barbot* calls this bird the *bittern* (3), others call it the *bull bird*, from some resemblance its note bears to the bellowing of a bull (4).

(D) This is a fact different from what we have related to have happened at *Commendo*; for there the *Dutch* cut down the trees in contempt, here out of ignorance.

(E) When *Villault* was at *Fredericksburgh*, he saw at the door of a Negro cottage a man and woman busied in killing a fowl, and sprinkling the blood upon certain leaves which they had ranged along the ground, crying out, *Me cusa, me cusa!* "May it prove pro-

"pitious!" *Villault* did not interrupt them during the ceremony; but as soon as it was finished, he enquired into the occasion of the sacrifice, and was told it was offered to appease their *fetiche*, who had been beaten. His curiosity leading him to examine the leaves, which seemed to be of the aquatic kind, he was going to touch them, when starting with surprise, the Negro told him, that touching any part of the fowl or leaves would be attended with immediate death; upon which *Villault* ordered his servant to take up both, to boil them and eat them; notwithstanding which he lived, but did not convince the Negroes (5).

(3) *Barbot*, p. 309.

(4) *Prevost*, tom. v. l. ix. c. 7.

(5) *Villault*, p. 109.

a THE inland Negroes tell the maritime Negroes, that, in a distant interior country, there lives a great *fetichere*, in a splendid house, a worker of extraordinary miracles, having even the elements at his command, changing the winds and weather as he pleases, living in a house uncovered, yet always sheltered from the rain and night-dews, perfectly acquainted not only with all past occurrences, but foretelling future events with as much certainty as if they were before his eyes, and lastly, curing all manner of diseases. All persons in his vicinity are examined before him after death. Should their conduct appear unsatisfactory, he kills them a second time, with a large club that always lies before his door; but if their lives and conversations have been devout, pious and exemplary, then he furnishes them with a passport to a state of true and perfect felicity. Hence proceeds b the deep veneration in which they hold this priest, esteeming him little inferior to a god. So sily indeed had this arch-impostor insinuated a notion of his power into the minds of those simple wretches, that he lives in the pomp and affluence of royalty, and finds constant resources in the ample faith and blind ignorance of his simple votaries^d. Thus in *Guiney* a priest may be a conjurer from his own natural powers, and that portion of extraordinary talent given him by the deity; in *Europe* miracles are wrought only by a contrivance with the devil; at least this is the opinion of the lower class of people.

HOWEVER, the Negroes are not ignorant of the *devil*, whom they believe a malicious, Their idea of the devil. ill-natured, deceitful being, resembling a white man. *Bosman* denies that they pray or sacrifice to him, as most other authors have affirmed. *Dapper* in particular relates, that c a Negro never drinks nor eats, but a portion of each is spit on the ground, for the use of this invisible being: and *Bosman* allows the practice; but asserts that the purpose of it is an offering to the *fetiche*, or some deceased relation. Instead of having any kind of worship paid him, the devil is exorcised out of all their towns at stated festivals, and with abundance of ceremony. *Barbot*, *Bosman*, and *Villault* had seen this ridiculous farce acted at *Axim*, where it is performed with the greatest ceremony. The procession is preceded by a feast of eight days, accompanied with singing, dancing, mirth, and all manner of festivity; pasquinades, lampoons, and satires, are now permitted; and the actions of their superiors laid open with all freedom and exemption from punishment. They sing their failings, frauds, and villainies with the same liberty, as upon other occasions they do their virtues; but with a higher relish, as if viewing the weaker side of human nature were the more pleasing office: nor have the great any other method of stopping the torrent of abuse, than by plying them heartily with liquor, which has the extraordinary quality of turning instantaneously the blackest vices into the purest virtues, satire into panegyric; the one as disgusting, as the other was odious. On the eighth day, in the morning, the devil is hunted out of the town or village, all running after each other, and the whole body of inhabitants employed in throwing stakes, stones, dirt, and excrements at the fiend. After this they return, and conclude the day with the same festivity with which they began. Hence it appears, that the Negroes believe there are more than one *devil*, or at least admit of the ubiquity and divisibility of the evil spirit; for he is driven out of some hundreds of places on the same hour and day; and, as a preventative to insure them against his return, d the women scour all the houses, wooden plates, vessels, and other furniture, to purge them of all uncleanness and the devil^e.

THE Negroes of *Ante* likewise carry this ceremony to a great length; though they, A gigantic idol worshipped by the Negroes. miserable wretches! are harrassed with a worse fiend, whom they have raised to the dignity of a god. This god is a prodigious giant, having one side of his body sound, the other putrid and rotten, which if any person chance to touch, he immediately falls down dead: an opinion the natives as firmly believe as they do their own existence. To appease him they are continually making him offerings; to which purpose thousands of vessels, filled with the best food the country affords, are daily presented to him, and the fetid god wallows in profusion and luxury, while half his votaries starve, to enable them f to perform their religious rites, and shew their gratitude to the god for doing nothing.

THEY are well assured of the reality of ghosts, spirits, and apparitions; that they walk up Their opinion of ghosts and spirits. and down the earth, and terrify, disturb, and beat people, especially the unbelievers. Thus, when a neighbour dies, the whole village is under the utmost dread and terrible apprehension, proceeding from an opinion that the deceased appears for several nights successively about his late dwelling. Here the priest is likewise of importance; for he is supposed to have the power of appeasing the spirit, by means of certain rites and exorcisms, which, like all the others, conclude in his own emolument. *Artus* gives the following account of a ceremony peculiar to this occasion, although *Barbot* speaks of it as a rite in honour of the *fetiche*. On the day after the decease of any person of distinction, a square table, supported g by pillars seven feet high, is erected near the house of the defunct. Upon this is placed

^d Idem ibid. Etiam BARBOT, p. 302.^e Auct. ult. citat. ibid.

the *fetiche* of the family, surrounded with the best provisions the heirs can afford, and attended by the priest. As soon as the company have satisfied themselves as to the quality of provisions laid down, they retire for the day, and returning at night, find all the victuals removed, which they attribute to the spirit, who having provided himself with his *viaticum*, has now taken his flight to the other world. Other writers say, that most of the Negroes believe the *fetiche* has swept clean the table, doing honour to the feast by an extraordinary appetite which he procures for the occasion^f. Atkins says, that the Negroes use circumcision, prayers, and ablutions, and seem to have an indistinct idea of futurity. They believe, that good men shall, after death, enjoy happiness, and bad men misery; that the former shall live with fine women upon luxurious diet; and the latter stroll vagrants round the earth, always in motion, always unhappy, never tasting repose or felicity.

Of the distinctions of time among the Negroes.

WE shall conclude this article with some observations from *Bosman* concerning their equation of time, as they properly belong to the subject of religion. The Negroes in general, though this cannot be applied to particular countries, have no solemn festivals, besides one at the conclusion of their harvest, which they call a *fair*, and that we have just related of exorcising the *devil*; nor have they any distinction or division of time, except what they have been taught by *Europeans*. Months and weeks were entirely unknown to them, their method of reckoning being by the shining of the moon, no matter whether in the change, or in the quarters. Hence they determined their seasons for sowing the different kinds of grain. However, it is probable that the division of time into weeks and days cannot be of very late date, as each have their peculiar names, which are perfectly familiar even to children. Their sabbath falls upon the *Tuesday*, except at *Ante*, where it happens on *Friday*, and differs from other days in nothing but that they abstain from fish; all other kinds of food and employment being permitted without any restraint^g.

THE Negroes of the interior countries divide time into fortunate and unfortunate days. In some countries the *great* unfortunate days are nineteen; and the *lesser*, which differ from the other, seven. Between these intervene seven unfortunate days, which is a sort of vacation from all occupations and bodily labour. At *Aquamboe* these periods are observed with more superstition than in any other kingdom; for, besides ceasing from labour, they will even refuse to accept of presents made to them on these days, and look upon it as an affront upon them to make any proposition, however advantageous to their interest. They are entirely ignorant of the origin of these customs; but it is probable that, like other superstitions, they arose from observing that some leading persons had been fortunate or unfortunate on such days, whence it came to be established into a rule, for the conduct of his future life, which others, induced by his example, copied. The inhabitants of different countries vary greatly in this particular. In some the lucky days are observed, while the unlucky ones are no less religiously kept in the next neighbouring country; but the maritime negroes disregard all distinctions, and esteem one day the same with another^h.

THIS we think sufficient on the article of religion, which is so fraught with absurdity, that to relate every particular would swell to an enormous volume.

S E C T. IV.

Of the government, nobility, inferior classes of men, laws of succession, royal feasts, &c. &c. among the Negroes.

AS religion is more interwoven with the peculiar manners of the people than the civil laws of the country, we have given it the first place in our account. In fact, it is the ground of all their manners, there being scarce a particular custom that is not in some measure occasioned, tinged, or connected with some religious ceremony or ridiculous superstition.

Of the government of the Negroes.

As to the government of the Negroes, it is in general loose, licentious, and irregular, which proceeds from the little and confined authority of the *caboceroes*, and the frequent wars and revolutions among them. Their forms of government are divided into five different kinds, each having something distinct from the rest, and peculiar to itself (A). The first is that of pure monarchy, where the king is despotic; the second, a kind of aristocracy, the chief power being lodged in the hands of the *caboceroes*, or chiefs; but their office consists in governing the little towns and villages where they reside, suppressing tumults

^f BOSMAN, epist. 10. BARBOT, p. 303.

^g BOSMAN, *ibid.*

^h BARBOT, *ibid.* VILLAUT, p. 170.

(A) When we gave the history of *Axim*, we had occasion to speak of three kinds of government peculiar to that country, whence may be deduced a great part of the constitutional history of the whole coast.

- a and riots, preserving peace and good order, and executing the part rather of magistrates of police than of the supreme legislature; which indeed is wholly unknown to many nations, where no general laws are established, except religious ones, and a few in cases of adultery. The third form of government, or rather class of people, consists of those who have acquired weight and influence from their great wealth; and this body some have represented as the nobility. The fourth is an absolute democracy, where every individual has a share in the government, and all are upon an equality in respect of dignity and power, however they may differ in wealth. And lastly, the fifth consists of the slaves, those who have been sold by their parents, those who were born slaves, or those who have been reduced through poverty to this unhappy condition. What reasons might determine
- b authors to call these different classes of men so many different forms of government, we know not: since it is certain, that in some kingdoms they all subsist together. It is possible that observing in different places sometimes one class, sometimes another prevail, they were led to imagine the supreme authority was lodged in the hands of those who appeared to be the most powerful. The truth is, we know but little of this subject, so contradictory, unconnected and absurd, are the relations of all our voyagers.

In general, through all the monarchies of *Guiney*, particularly of the *Gold Coast*, the crown descends from father to son by right of inheritance; and, in default of heirs male, it passes to the nearest of blood; although sometimes a man's wealth in gold and slaves procures him this honour, in prejudice to the lawful heir. The inauguration of kings is in few countries attended with many pompous ceremonies. They are seldom crowned in form, or required to take the coronation-oath usual in other countries; a king is presented to his people, he is seated in the best apartment of the palace, and one day's festivity concludes the whole ceremony. However, when a king is elected who has no claim by birthright, then an oath is administered to him, obliging him to govern according to the custom of their kings, and he receives the homage of all the great men in the realm: as to the lineal descent, it passes on quietly, without din, pomp, or tumult, except when solemn religious offerings are made to the tutelary *fetiche*.

THE *caboceroes*, which we will venture to call the second class of the people, are usually composed of a certain number, limited only by custom. When the number is diminished by the death of one of the members, all the rest assemble for the election of a successor out of the *elders* of the nation; for young men are seldom admitted (B). The candidates make a present to the electors of a cow, or bullock, and a jar of palm-wine, if they have succeeded; otherwise their gratitude is proportioned to their ill fortunes. At *Axim* in particular, strangers are excluded from this dignity; and it is necessary not only that the candidate shall be a native of the country, but an inhabitant of the particular town for which he is chosen; at least that he have a house in it, where some of his women reside constantly, and himself occasionally. Here the *Dutch* assume a power of approving or disapproving elections; of which we have already given some account; but it is our business here to speak of general, not particular and local laws.

THE third class of Negroes consists of the rich, those who have acquired fortunes by their industry, or possessed them by inheritance. Those who find themselves elevated to this rank, purchase seven small elephants teeth, which they form into a wind instrument, resembling a trumpet, obliging their children and slaves to learn the common tunes of the country upon these instruments. When they are tolerable proficient in music, the master gives notice to all his friends and relations, that he intends giving a public entertainment, and this message passes for an invitation. Himself, his children, women, and slaves are dressed out with all the magnificence which his fortune will support, or vanity require; and if the latter should exceed the former, they borrow gold and coral ornaments from all their friends to help out the parade. They distribute presents, and the rejoicings continue for several days at a great expence; for which those wise masters believe themselves fully compensated, by the extraordinary privilege of blowing their trumpets whenever they have a mind: a right so exclusive, that Negroes of inferior rank are obliged to ask their permission before they enjoy the supreme felicity of making a disagreeable noise. This is the ceremony of instalment, previous to which he must qualify himself, either by buying the honour, or by the following method. He must make a study of the science of arms, offensive and defensive, and pass a knight armed at all points, remote from all society, as a proof that

^a BOSMAN, epist. 11.

(B) Upon this occasion it is that large jars, filled with water, are placed in the council-chamber for the electors; each leaps into his jar, and with his face over the brim, deliberates, chin-deep in water, upon the affairs of their meeting. *Villault* has falsely ascribed this custom to the natives of *Whidab* (1).

(1) *Vid. L'Esprit, par M. Helvetius, tom. i. p. 72.*

he fears no danger, and can support all manner of fatigue. After the instalment he gives a second entertainment, where he exhibits several astonishing proofs of his activity and prowess, amidst the applauses of those who are feasting upon his folly. His women, children, and slaves appear in the same pomp as at the first festival; all his wealth is exposed to public view, and transported into a variety of forms and situations, to excite the greater admiration. One piece of prudence attends this ostentatious exhibition; for here, instead of making presents, the master receives handsome returns for those he had formerly made, each of his friends striving who shall contribute the most towards making him the richest man of his quality. After all those proofs of his ability, he is honoured with the permission of wearing two shields in battle; a glorious and envied privilege, that belongs only to Negroes of the highest rank. In a word, there are different degrees of this set of nobility, distinguished by the different proofs they have given of their valour and address (C). A new-made nobleman is presented to the king by some of the ancient nobility, attended by his friends, and the officers of the king's household: he prostrates himself at the feet of the monarch, remaining in that posture till the king has graciously condescended to bid him rise. After which, his majesty, in a short speech, explains to him the nature of his elevation, and the duties annexed to his rank; he presents him with a drum, an ivory trumpet, and the privilege of trading with white men; a right peculiar to persons of rank and fashion^b. Hence we see, that, by different forms of government, authors really meant no more than the degrees of subordination in the same government.

AFTER his creation has been approved and confirmed by the king, he is carried all over the town upon the shoulders of his slaves, attended by the music of drums and other instruments. His women go before him singing and dancing, attended by their parents, relations, friends, neighbours, and in short the whole town, who have also their music; the whole so wretchedly loud a concert, as were sufficient to rob the new peer of the sense of hearing, had not nature happily formed his organs not over-delicate. This procession ends at his own house, into which he enters, attended by his family and a few friends, while the mob remain about the doors. A repast is ordered in a shady bower erected for the occasion, where the nobility and gentlemen of the king's household, who assisted at the ceremony, are entertained. The diversions continue for four hours, the people are regaled with palm-wine and beef, and every ceremony of the instalment is finished at an expence of near two hundred marks of gold^c; or 6,400*l.* sterling (D).

DURING a war, the nobility are always the principal officers in the army, according to their seniority, except where the king's favour has raised any particular person. It is seldom they are without employment; for the Negroes never remain long in peace; their avarice and dispositions find a thousand occasions for quarrelling, and every nation wishes for war, in order to increase their slave trade with the *Europeans*. All these are modes but little known to nations on the coast; they are almost peculiar to the interior countries. We had almost forgot to mention a kind of escutcheon, or arms, the nobility have granted them upon their creation. It is a painting of a bull's head, done in the slovenly manner of the country, on which are drawn emblems of the different privileges they enjoy, in consequence of their being ennobled. The chief of these are, the right of carrying two bucklers into the field, of selling slaves, and trading with the *Europeans*. Nothing can equal the pride of one of those upstart peers; he is continually boasting of his rank to strangers, and insulting his inferiors, although it frequently happens, that the expence attending the profuse entertainments which he sacrificed to his vanity, has reduced him to his primitive poverty, and obliged him for sustenance to apply to some servile employment^d.

THE nobility of the *Gold Coast* are united into a kind of society, and keep an annual feast, to which every nobleman invites his friend, among which are frequently some of the inland nobility. Here the bull's-head escutcheon is sure not to be forgot, the utmost ostentation of their grandeur is set forth, new *fetiches* and new ornaments are prepared, and nothing omitted that can recall the remembrance of their promotion, or shew how well they

^b BOS. & BARBOT, *ibid.*

^c VILLAUT, p. 236.

^d ARTUS, apud De Bruy, p. 42.

(C) Villault distinguishes the nobility into four classes; the first consisting of those who are so by birth; the second, of such as are rendered noble by their employments; the third, of those who have purchased the dignity or office to which it is annexed; and the fourth, of those who have risen solely by their merit (6). Bosman indeed says, that on the coast

he could never distinguish any other difference than that of master and slave (7).

(D) Artus and some other writers greatly reduce this sum, and indeed with great appearance of truth. According to them the expence amounts to 8 *bandas*, or a pound of gold; and if the presents they receive are deducted, and discretion observed, it seldom exceeds five pounds sterling (8).

(6) P. 250.

(7) P. 135.

(8) Artus apud De Bruy, P. 6. p. 86.

a support their dignity. On this day they paint their bodies red and white, and wear about their necks collars made of leaves, as emblems of their quality, and they conclude the evening at the viceroy's or governor's, who gives them a splendid entertainment.

As to the two remaining classes of the people, nothing characteristical remains to be observed, we have had occasion to mention them so frequently in the preceding sections. However, it must be observed in favour of the *Guiney* government, that though no country in the world has a greater number of poor, yet hardly a beggar is to be met with from one end of the coast to the other. The old and lame are employed in occupations suited to their powers, in blowing forge bellows, pressing palm-oil, grinding the materials used in painting their mats, and in selling provisions in the markets: as to young vagrants, b they are immediately seized, and enrolled in the military list; an excellent police, well deserving the imitation of *Great Britain*. *Bosman*, however, seems to be ignorant of this custom, and assigns a different reason for the small number of beggars: we have, notwithstanding, ventured to relate it on the authority of *Villault*, *Barbot*, *Artus*, and *Des Marchais*, all of whom concur in asserting it^e (E).

To return to their kings. *Bosman* relates, that the royal government is supported rather by force than authority; the respect of the people being proportioned to the number of the king's slaves, and the greatness of his wealth. Without those two essential appendages of royalty, they find but little submission from their subjects, and are forced to pay them for their smallest services. On the contrary, when their kings are rich and powerful, no people on earth pay a more servile homage to their governors, whom they elevate above all law and controul. Their wealth they increase by the most rapacious exactions and tyrannical oppressions, while the people quietly submit to every imposition and violence. The smallest crimes, the least offence given to majesty, are punished by an extraordinary fine, and many Negroes of rank have been chastised so severely for venial trespasses, that to the end of their lives they maintained the strongest resentment against their kings^f.

THE account *Artus* gives differs so widely from this, that we imagine the writers must each have borrowed their notions from some particular nation, totally different in their government. He affirms, that affection and duty are the only ties upon king or people, the former measuring his authority, and the latter their obedience, by these. If a young king, d says he, would engage the love and esteem of his subjects, he must begin by a liberal distribution of provisions and palm-wine; for they are passionately enamoured of and inviolably attached to a sovereign whose generosity they have once tasted: but if the monarch prove avaritious, they never fail of seizing the first opportunity to depose him; they abhor and detest him, panting eagerly after an occasion of choosing a successor more agreeable to their inclinations. What can be determined from accounts so contradictory? *Artus*, indeed, illustrates his assertion by an instance that confirms us in our conjecture that he drew his notions from a particular nation. When he resided upon the coast, the king of *Sabu* was deposed. This prince, by birth a *Fantin*, had been elected king of *Sabu* by the unanimous voice of the people. His avarice was soon discovered, and became e disgusting; for it was not confined to hoarding, but launched out into the most grievous oppression. First, the people limited his authority, and at length a universal disaffection prevailing, they dethroned him, obliging him to retire ignominiously into a private station at *Fantin*, after they had plundered him of all those riches which had brought on his ruin^g. Liberality is therefore a virtue greatly esteemed in Negro sovereigns, and they generally exercise it with so little moderation, that the first entertainments they give amount to a year's revenue. All the officers, counsellors, and nobility of the kingdom are invited; and the king buys up all the palm-wine, beef, and mutton that the markets can supply, to treat the people. Joy and festivity reign in every village, the whole kingdom is filled with riotous mirth, and the meanest cottage, on this occasion, overflows with f plenty. After this solemnity, the heads of all the sheep and oxen slaughtered for the festival are deposited in a certain apartment of the palace, and drawings are made from them, which are presented to the nobility and gentry, as monuments of the king's wealth and generosity. The sovereigns have likewise an annual festival, which they call the *coronation* feast, to which they invite not only the great men of their own dominions, but the kings and nobility of neighbouring countries. No expence is regarded; dancing, music, wine, and good cheer, are the amusements of every nation that chuses to partake of the feast. Each of the kings give the entertainment in their turns, taking care that the

^e Ubi supra in locis ult. citatis.

^f BOSMAN, epist. 11.

^g Apud De Bruy, p. 43.

(E) It must indeed be observed, that however authentic *Bosman's* relations may be, they are too general to afford materials for an explicit and full history of this coast. His way is to dwell upon those par-

ticulars which fall under the notice of every common observer; while the peculiar customs which mark the character of the people have wholly escaped him.

The simplicity
in which the
negro kings
live.

festival shall not happen upon the same day in any two kingdoms; and upon this occasion a it is that the king sacrifices to the *great fetiche*^b. Yet, whatever their state and grandeur may be on these occasions, nothing can equal the simplicity of their private lives. Here no guards are placed at their gates, no women forced into their embraces; if they appear abroad, it is without any other attendants than two or three slaves, one of which carries his sword, and the others his stool or chair, which always follows him. Those who meet them pay them no marks of respect, and the meanest slave would not move a foot out of his way to give the king a free passage. But when their visits are made out of the towns where they reside, and to any person of distinction, then they put on majesty, and appear with the dignity of kings, and all the splendor of crowned heads. They are then attended by a grand retinue and strong body of troops; they carry shields, swords, and all manner b of weapons to defend them from insults, to inspire awe, and strike the people with high notions of their power; but in their own towns they are so meanly clothed, as scarce to be distinguishable from their meanest slaves. Nor is this simplicity surprising, if we consider the expences attending their donations, public exhibitions, and the narrow limits of their dominions. Bread, oil, and a little stinking fish make up the bill of fare of a prince, as well as a peasant. Water is their common drink; but, if the royal cellars afford it, they regale themselves with a dram of *aqua vite* in the morning, and palm-wine at night¹.

Their familiarity
with
their subjects.

WHEN the palm-wine comes in first from the interior countries, all the Negroes, kings, masters, and slaves meet together in the market-place, where they sit down upon the ground, or on little stools they bring along with them, in the most social and familiar manner. Every man that pleases joins himself to the company, and as they advance in their cups, their good humour increases. They delight in drinking full bumpers, and quaffing at one draught a pint of palm-wine, which they esteem a manly action. Bosman compares the confused noise and tumult that succeeds, to the *Jewish* synagogue at *Amsterdam*; all kinds of subjects being debated on at one time, and every mouth in the company open. In general, however, the topics of conversation are not of the most grave or serious nature; obscenity, coarse raillery, and lewd wit, constitute the chief part of the entertainment, even before the women, who are by no means delicate or deficient in their jokes; nor is it even thought unbecoming in a lady of the first fashion to display this talent. "In d "short," says Bosman, "this is a perfect babbling and scolding-school, where each person "freely canvasses the faults of his neighbour, but in a more liberal and generous manner than in *Europe*, where it is always done in the absence of the parties; whereas here "the accused is present, and can vindicate himself, or retort upon his neighbours^k." Such is the happy society, intimacy, and familiarity in which the sovereign and the subject live, where majesty falls not into contempt by affability, nor liberty degenerates into undue licentiousness by the toleration and the mildness of government. Some writers, however, allege, that they have seen a prince beat his subjects upon trivial occasions, and a subject grown so potent, as to despise the authority of his sovereign; but those instances are rare; and in general a king may lay aside or assume his dignity just as he pleases, e without in the least diminishing the respect due to him.

The kings hire
out their
troops.

A NEGRO king is always ready to turn out his troops in the service of a neighbouring king, as the greater part of the subsidy goes into his own pockets. It is true, after the money is paid, he is not very scrupulous about the performance of his engagements; his only care is not to hurt his credit so far as to prevent their entering upon future bargains with him; in which respect he is no less alert than an *European* minister, his excuses being always ingenious and probable. Nor is a king less desirous of being chosen umpire between two contending powers; for here he receives bribes from both parties, at the same time that he is serving neither; for his business is to keep the breach open, to protract the negotiations, and put money in his coffers. Hence arise their chief finances, the national f revenue being in general small; and Bosman has known a king so poor, that he could not raise the price of a bottle of rum or arrack¹.

The education
of princes.

As to the education of the royal family, it differs but little, according to the above author, from that of the poorest subjects. When a prince arrives at a proper age, he makes choice of some profession for his support, such as husbandry, or fishing, or making wine, nor are they ashamed themselves to carry to market the produce of their labour: yet are they respected as the king's children, and the heirs apparent to the throne. It is common here to see a man taken from the plough-tail to wield a sceptre; and he who yesterday was driving a flock of sheep, shall be to-day at the head of an army. As for the princesses, they are bred to the same employments as the princes; with this difference, that they seldom take to fishing. In general they are bred to husbandry, unless the pride of their g

^b BOSMAN, *ibid.*

¹ BARBOT, p. 309, 310.

^k Epist. II.

¹ BARBOT, *ibid.*

- a birth makes them desirous of a profession better suited to their rank : and if they are less rich than ladies of the same quality in *Europe*, they are not less happy, the small number of their wants being a full compensation for the less degree of wealth. They marry without regard to birth or family ; nor is a match between a princess and a slave esteemed at all unnatural or extraordinary. One circumstance that renders those matches of less consequence is, because the children inherit by the mother, and enjoy freedom, though the father be a slave. *Artus* affirms, that kings dare make no provision for their children, and that for two reasons ; the first is, that having no family to aggrandize, he is the less likely to be covetous ; and the second arises from the policy of the nobles, who find it their interest to oppress the royal children, in order that themselves may approach nearer the throne ^m.
- b Each of them has his designs upon the crown ; and hence proceed their endeavours to render themselves popular. In marrying their daughters, the kings demand no other terms, than that they have a slave or two to attend them, in order to distinguish their being of royal birth : however, as this is the only advantage of which those ladies can boast, they generally fall into contempt when their beauty is faded, unless they have had industry enough to increase their fortunes in their youth. In a word, the only method the king has to provide for his younger children, is by sending them upon ambassies, or giving them up as hostages on the conclusion of a war, in hopes that chance may call them to a foreign crown, when their birth is known. At *Commendo*, indeed, they procure the most lucrative and honourable posts of the realm, such as *fatyra*, or captain of the guard, which often
- c paves the way for their mounting the throne upon the death of the king ⁿ.

We shall now proceed to the grand officers of the court, who hold their employments during the king's pleasure ; as the *brasso*, the ensign or sword-bearer, the *tie ti*, or the public crier of the court, king's herald, the governor of the king's women, the horn-blower, or drummer and trumpeter. *Barbot* however observes, that some courts have officers of a higher rank and authority, different from any of these ; such is the *di* at *Fetu*, who is the king's lieutenant and assistant when present, and his representative when absent. He has, besides, a grand treasurer, and a *fatyra*, or captain of the guard. As to the proper employments of each, we do not find them very correctly described by authors : the *brasso*, they say, is a kind of mareschal, who leads the van of the army, and always begins the charge. The *fatyra*, or captain of the guard, is intrusted with the care of the king's person : he accompanies him upon all his expeditions, parties, and excursions ; and being thus constantly in his presence, he acquires a consideration and consequence that often enables him to succeed to his master. The office of sword-bearer is usually divided among four great persons, who not only carry the sword, but all his majesty's armour, to public festivals and warlike expeditions. This is a post by no means contemptible ; and what adds to its importance is, that from this office the king generally chooses his ambassadors. The guardians of the king's women are represented by *Bosman* as the highest officers of the household. Their proper office is, to watch over the virtue and chastity of the women, to be careful that their affections wander not from his majesty's person. They are also keepers of the king's privy purse, and are the only persons who can give an account of his wealth, when the king dies. The *tie ti*, or herald's office, is to publish all the king's edicts and ordinances, to make proclamation of all things stolen or lost, to defend the king from flies by a kind of flapper, made of an elephant's tail and rushes, and to prevent all tumults and mobs in the roads through which his majesty is to pass. They wear a cap of a black ape's skin, the hair of which is about the length of one's finger ; so that they might be mistaken for the king's jesters, rather than his heralds. Nor is the office of herald less lucrative than honourable, because he constantly attends the king, and receives his commands from his own mouth. The trumpeters are the lowest officers of the court ^o.

- f THE judges, or the supreme officers of the courts of justice, are chosen, both in monarchies and republics, out of the most considerable persons in the nation for wealth and influence ; from the *brassos*, the *caboceroes*, the governors of towns and villages, assisted by the priests, who are a kind of substitutes. To these officers of justice belongs the decision of all causes, civil and criminal ; however, their verdict is not unalterable ; but that party who thinks himself aggrieved may appeal to the king, as the *derniere resort*. Those appeals are not common ; but when they happen, his majesty appoints commissioners for the revival of the suit, who take the appellation of *enes*, are invested with all the authority the king is able to communicate, make circuits to appease and heal differences, and give final decisions in all causes. In a word, their office greatly resembles the consultation of our twelve judges. *Artus* relates the process of civil and criminal suits in monarchies.
- g If they cannot be terminated by gentle means, the parties present themselves to the vice-

^m Apud De Bruy, p. 45, 46.
183. BARBOT, p. 311.

ⁿ ARTUS, *ibid.* BOSMAN, *epist.* 11.

^o VILLAULT, p. 179.

roy or governor of the town, and submit to his arbitration. If the plaintiff only appears, the governor summons the defendant by a slave, in order that he may answer the charge: each pleads his own cause; during which the other is not permitted to interrupt him. After the cause has been deliberately debated on both sides, and the governor has thoroughly entered into the merits of the case, he proceeds to pass sentence with great gravity. But if it be an affair *læsæ majestatis*, or petty treason, then a fine is adjudged, and the offender obliged to pay it before he leaves the court, or otherwise be committed to prison. In difficult cases, and where the animosity of the parties runs high, the governor, not caring to determine upon it, leaves the whole to the decision of a single combat. Each party is attended to the field by a body of friends, who are spectators of the fight, which generally ends in the death of one of the combatants; and then the friends of the deceased unite together to procure revenge. Nothing can exceed the rancour they shew on this occasion; no submissions, no acknowledgements will be accepted; blood must answer for blood; and the smallest satisfaction they expect is, that the party offending shall go into voluntary banishment or slavery: nay it has been known, when they have persecuted them in foreign countries, and purchased them from masters to whom they have enslaved themselves, only to have the satisfaction of putting them to the most excruciating torments. Those duels but seldom occur; for though the hatred and rancour of the parties be mortal, yet their courage is generally faint; and the friends, who know that they must necessarily be involved in the quarrel, if one of the combatants be killed, take every possible precaution to prevent bloodshed.

SUCH as have violated the king's edicts, must pay a certain fine, or banish themselves out of the kingdom. A Negro who has discovered his neighbour guilty of this crime, often dissembles the fact for intire years, till he has received some injury or affront from him. He then immediately goes to the governor, and makes deposition of the action; in consequence of which, notice is given by the beat of a drum, that an important cause is to be tried. All the inhabitants assemble, the women taking their seats in a part of the court distinct from the men. The governor appears guarded by a body of troops, and takes his seat. If the accused be present, he is immediately arrested, sent to the governor's house, and loaded with chains, if the proofs turn out clear against him; otherwise he is given in charge to a slave, who never loses sight of him till sentence is passed. The governor, after examining all the circumstances, and weighing them duly, assisted by the advice of all the nobles and elders of the town, goes and lays before the prisoner all the proofs. Should his reply be unsatisfactory, he is convicted, and adjudged to pay a fine in court; but if he prove insolvent, he becomes the king's slave, and is immediately sold to make up the fine^p. We have had so many occasions to mention the subject of crimes and punishments, that the reader will probably excuse brevity on this article, that we may treat of their method of waging war, and military weapons.

Causes of entering upon war.

WAR, we have said, is declared by the Negroes either from views of revenge, ambition, or plunder, or as auxiliaries to some injured neighbouring state, or, what is the most common, for a subsidy; in which the auxiliaries, as well as the principals, declare war in form. Many wars are entered upon for the recovery of private debts; an insolvent having taken refuge in a foreign state, or a foreign merchant refusing to pay a just debt, or at least making payment tedious. In this case, the creditor seizes as many goods, freemen, or slaves, in the country of the debtor, as will amount upon sale to his demand. If the debtor be a man of integrity, he will endeavour to buy the liberty of his countrymen so unjustly seized; otherwise the friends of the sufferers are left to retaliate, which they never fail of doing; and thus a war is brought on from the quarrel of two private individuals; and nations, that but a little before lived in the strictest amity, now engage in the most bitter enmity, which continues till one of them is subdued and destroyed: or if their strength be equal, till peace is brought about by the more moderate leading men of both countries. This frequently happens either in the spring or autumn, when the seed or harvest requires that the warriors should turn their attention to the affairs of husbandry. As the soldiers serve without pay, they soon grow weary of a rupture that produces nothing but glory; and plunder alone it is that can induce them to keep the field for any continuance.

WHEN war is projected in the king's council, a general assembly of the nobility is summoned, and matters debated with great deliberation; a list of the men fit to bear arms is made out, and a scrupulous inquiry into the state of the national treasure. An army is instantly raised, and a sudden incursion made into the enemy's country, where, after some advantage gained, war is proclaimed; for it is a constant maxim with the Negroes, that the first blow is more than half the battle. Their wars, indeed, are carried on

^p VILLAVLT, BOSMAN, & BARBOT, in loc. citat.

a at a small expence: the most powerful ally may be purchased at the expence of two thousand pounds; and when once he is engaged, he soon acts as a principal, except where a very politic prince sits at the helm.

In their engagements no order or discipline is observed. Each commander is incircled by his troops in a kind of mob, so that they push on one heap of men opposed to another. Sometimes, indeed, they are drawn up in lines; but this order the fury of some, and the cowardice of others, soon disconcerts. They do not stand erect in the field, but load and discharge stooping low, that the enemy's shot may fly over their heads; and indeed, so bad levellers and marksmen are the Negro soldiers, that few of their balls take place. Others again creep close to the enemy, discharge their pieces, and then fly off with incredible velocity, so quick indeed, says *Barbot*, that a ball or arrow cannot overtake them⁹. And *Bosman* affirms, that their ridiculous gestures and grimaces, occasioned by resentment and fear, give them more the appearance of a flock of monkeys playing together, than of an army raised for the support and honour of a nation^r. The booty which the soldiers chiefly aim at, are, the fine cloaths, the coral, and jewels of the slain and prisoners: as for the slaves, they want none; they become the property of their officers. When a maritime state is at war with an inland kingdom, the soldiers plunder is very considerable; for all the officers and soldiers of the latter dress out in their richest attire before they enter the field of battle. Such prisoners as cannot ransom themselves are sold for slaves; and prisoners of quality have generally a high price put on their liberty: but if the person who occasioned the war be taken, no sum whatever will procure his release, lest he should excite fresh commotions; and he is either sold, kept prisoner for life, or put to death, according to the nature of his offence. The Negro of the highest quality and influence is not secure against slavery, if he have the misfortune to be made a captive; for the price of his ransom is frequently raised higher than the value of his estate, or all he can draw from friendship: nay, some are so barbarous, that they revenge their disappointment of a ransom, by murdering the prisoner.

Wars between two despotic sovereigns, who hold their subjects in abject slavery, are generally tedious and bloody. They fight with armies headed by their generals; and as they share none of the danger, so they feel no emotions either of pity or terror; the commanders are obliged to return with victory, cost what it will, or they endanger their heads: plunder and glory, not the happiness of their people, are their aims; but the means of acquiring these never costs them a penny; and upon the ruin of the enemy they build their own greatness, even should their dominions be depopulated^s.

Barbot gives the following hideous description of some nations when they enter the field of battle. "The figure," says he, "of those warriors is so terrible, that one would think they were determined to devour whatever came in their way. They grind their teeth, distort all their features, and resemble tyrants upon canvas. Their faces are coloured with streaks of red, white, and green, and the rest of their body covered with such figures as they believe will render them frightful and terrible to their enemies; nor do they forget to cover their necks and shoulders with glass ornaments and *fetiches* innumerable, to protect them in the day of battle. On their head stands a high casque or helmet, made of the skin of a leopard or crocodile; and a sort of short cloak, or rather shield, of the same materials, surrounds the rest of the body. At their waist hangs a poignard; on their left arm a buckler; and in the same hand two or three darts: while the common soldiers have no other weapons than bows and arrows, which they use with great skill and address^t." Such are the customs of the inland countries; as for the maritime nations, *Bosman* and *Des Marchais* describe their weapons in the following manner:

The principal of their arms are musquets or carabins, which the Negroes manage with great dexterity on the parade, and where no danger is to be apprehended. No people on earth pass better at a review; so adroitly do they exercise their arms, discharging them in a variety of postures, sitting, stooping, and standing. Fire-arms are only used by the natives of the coast, who purchase them of the *Europeans*, yet are they constantly defeated by the armies of the interior countries, their courage and resolution supplying the defects of arms and discipline.

Next to their fuses are a kind of swords shaped like chopping-knives, about three hands broad at the extremity, and one at the hilt, which is of wood, ornamented with round knobs covered with leopard's skin. Amongst persons of condition, the sword-hilt is plated with gold or silver, whilst many of the meaner sort content themselves with a cord-basket-hilt, coloured with blood, and set off with a bunch of horse-hair, to which they suspend, by way of sword-knot, a tyger's head, or a particular sort of red shell, highly prized by them. This weapon is girt on the left hip, if it hangs on a belt; but when they stick it in their *paans*, then it comes between their legs, in which situation they think it impedes

⁹ *Barbot*, p. 314.^r *Epist.* II.^s *Barbot*, p. 115.^t *Idem* *ibid.*

their walking lefs. The coast negro foldiers alfo wear crocodile-skin caps, adorned on each a
 fide with a red fhell, and at the top with a bunch of horfe-hair, the borders being fet off
 with an iron chain, that fixes it to the head. Some of the coast Negroes, as the *Aquam-*
boans and natives of *Awinee*, ufe bows and arrows; in the ufe of which they are fo expert,
 that they hit a hare at a great diftance in any part of the body they are defired. The
 latter poison their arrows.

BESIDES the mufquet and gun, the Negroes ufe a kind of dart, which they call *affagay*,
 or *baffagay*, with a ftrong aspirate. Thefe are of two kinds, differing only in fize: the
 fmalleft is about a *Flemifh* ell in length; and this they throw with as great dexterity as a
 dart: the others are about twice as long, pointed and barbed with iron, which they ufe
 rather to push than to throw. Men of diftinction have armour-bearers, who follow them b
 with their *affagays*, and fupply them in battle with as many as they want.

LAST of all comes the fhield, made by the coast Negroes of twigs and ofiers, covered
 over with leather, and fometimes plated in the infide with copper, to ward off the *affagays*
 as well as the blows of the fword. Thefe fhields are about five feet long, and three in
 breadth, and the Negroes play them fo artfully, that there is no touching their body, but
 by piercing through the fhield". Some few Negroes have cannon; but their engineers are
 fo ignorant, and the damage done by the artillery fo fmall, that the fubject is not worth
 dwelling upon. We fhall conclude this article with relating, from *Des Marchais*, the
 formalities ufually obferved in treaties of peace. When both nations are exhausted with
 war, they begin to think of terms of accommodation; they demand of the aggreffor an c
 affignation of time and place to negotiate articles of peace. The place chofen is gene-
 rally a large plain, on the frontiers of both kingdoms, whither both fovereigns march,
 armed at all points, as if they intended to give battle, and followed by a crowd of *fetiches*,
 the emblems and mediators of peace. Here the priefts of both nations fwear mutually to
 ceafe from hoftilities, to forget injuries, to live in perfect accord and friendship, and to
 give pledges of their faith; but no mention is made of the prifoners on either fide, or
 cartel fettled for exchanging them, each looking upon them as his property and the rights
 of conqueft. As foon as thefe obligations are taken, then a loud peal of warlike mufic
 publifhes the general tidings; both fides throw down their arms, embrace with all the ap-
 pearance of a fincere cordiality; the day is fpent in feftivity, commerce revives and flou- d
 rifhes as if nothing had happened to ftop the current of friendship, and both nations are
 united by the firmeft ties, till fome new frivolous accident arifes, that turns all into frefh
 confufion. Our author concludes with obferving, that the hoftages are compofed of the
 king's children, and the chief of the nobility".

S E C T. V.

*Containing a full account of the air, climate, and difeafes of the Gold Coast; an ex-
 plication of the tides and currents obferved here, upon the principles of Sir Ifaac
 Newton; an account of the different feafons of the year, and the dreadful effects
 of the tornadoes, or whirlwinds, that are frequent here; of the trade-winds, and
 fea and land-breezes; together with a description of the animals, &c. &c. on the
 fame coast.*

Of the air
 and climate of
 the Gold
 Coast.

THE Gold Coast being fituated in the fifth degree of north latitude, one may eafily e
 judge that the heat of the climate muft be extreme; yet it is more healthy than
 many of the voyagers have reprefented it. The cuftom with fuch writers is to place every
 thing in the moft ftriking view, to relate circumftances in extremes, and to judge in this
 particular rather by their feelings, after coming from a cold climate, than according to
 truth. Thofe who have lived for fome time in the country acknowledge indeed, that the
 months of *October*, *November*, *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March* are fcorchingly
 hot; but the fix fubfequent months tolerable enough: and *Bosman* has known the weather
 fo cold, that he could very well fupport a fire, had it been cuftomary in the country; it
 has even been as cold as in *Holland*, in *September*^a. Befides, the whole year is refreshed
 with delightful cool evening and morning fea and land breezes, that greatly qualify the f
 extreme heat of the day. To this perhaps is owing the unwholefomenefs of which ftran-
 gers complain; thofe fudden changes occafioning feveral oppofite effects in the human
 body, checking perfpiration fuddenly, after the finer parts of the blood have been drawn
 off, and thence producing ardent fevers, catarrhs, and coughs. But to fuch as have lived
 years in the country, whofe bodies are feafoned, and pores opened, the effects are lefs

^a BOSMAN, *ibid*, DES MARCH, p. 321.

^w DES MARCHAIS, p. 312.

^a BOSMAN, *epist.* 8.

fenfible,

a sensible, if any degree of care is taken to guard against the cool night air, and the damp exhalations, especially after rain.

ARTUS relates, that the most natural cause of any peculiar unhealthiness on the *Gold Coast* which he could assign was, in the number of the high mountains with which every part of it abounds, and the deep valleys that separate them. From these arise a thick, foetid, and sulphureous damp or exhalation, particularly in marshy grounds, and near rivers, that cannot possibly be congenial to the human system, and is in fact perceived to have a bad effect upon foreigners, especially if the stomach be empty. During their winter, that is, from *March* to *October*, these fogs occur most frequently, and in the months of *July* and *August*, scarce a day passes without them; this, therefore, is the most sickly season of the

b year, we mean to strangers only. These natural causes our author imagines are greatly augmented by the beastly nastiness of the Negroes, who exonerate their bodies every-where round the villages; and have a still more pernicious custom, of laying heaps of fish to rot and putrify in the open air, their method of seasoning it for the palate. Hence arise gross and malignant vapours, and a stench perceivable at the distance of several miles, not only disagreeable, but extremely noxious to new-comers. Many have been known to drop down as soon as they came within its influence; and others, who have enjoyed uninterrupted health among more cleanly neighbours, have here lingered and pined away in atrophies and consumptions.

It must be acknowledged, that even in the south of *France* the climate is so different from this, that *Frenchmen*, who never knew an hour's illness, have been seized with violent inflammatory disorders immediately after their arrival in *Guiney*; yet still authors have greatly exaggerated, and frequently attributed to the climate, what proceeded from debauchery and intemperance; to which may be added the ignorance of the practitioners in physic in this country. The picture which *Bosman* draws of the *English* soldiers is sufficient to evince this; we have already mentioned it, and shall not here repeat a truth so little to the credit of our nation^b.

With all the disadvantages of climate and manners, it is observable, that no people on earth enjoy better health, or arrive at a happier old age than the Negroes. They have indeed endemial diseases; but nothing besides their total ignorance of physic ever renders these fatal. The *yaws*, the *Guiney* worm, or *dracunculus*, and some other indigenous diseases, carry off but a small proportion of the people; it is the small-pox, and epidemic fevers that make prodigious ravages among children and strangers. Agues and intermitting disorders are likewise frequent, but seldom fatal. Some writers mention the *boulimia*, *fames canina*, or a continually craving appetite, as indigenous to this country; though others assure us, that this disorder arises from a flux of sharp humours upon the coats of the stomach, occasioned by the excessive quaffing of a kind of palm-wine they call *crissa*^c. But we shall pass over their diseases, which are but little understood by any voyagers we have met with, to speak of those circumstances of their natural history that are more distinctly related, as they require but little philosophy, and fall within common observation.

THE great *Sir Isaac Newton* was the first philosopher who applied astronomy successfully to the solution of several natural phenomena, and by the principle of gravity gave a probable and easy account of tides, currents, and the ebbing and flowing of the sea. The sun, moon, earth, and all the celestial bodies, have, according to this exalted philosopher, a gravitation towards their centers, proportioned to the quality of matter they contain. The earth being within the influence of the sun and moon's attractions, the fluid part of this globe, the ocean, feels their activity, and necessarily swells. It would be unnecessary here to enlarge upon this beautiful theory; sufficient it is, that on much the same principles the tides and currents on the coast of *Guiney* may be accounted for. From the river *Gambia* to the streights and chanel of *Benin*, the ebbings and flowings are regular on the shores, with this difference, that in the rivers or chanel where two shores contract the water into a narrow compass, the tides are strong and high, as well as regular; but on the dead coast, as the seamen express it, they are slow, and rise to no height, not above two or three feet, increasing as you approach the bay or chanel of *Benin*. This is further evident at *Cape Coast*, *Soccondo*, and *Commendo*; and indeed, where-ever the coast projects in points and peninsulas into the sea, the flowing there will be a foot or two higher than on the even coast, though but a few miles distant from each other^d.

ON the *Gold Coast* the current sets sometimes at the rate of two miles an hour, frequently against the wind, more commonly with it, when it is rapid; but almost always to leeward, sometimes off, sometimes on, dimpling like a tide; at other times with a smooth glassy surface for days together, and imperceptible at ten leagues distance from the shore. The current sets in on both sides from the bay of *Benin*; from the southward about and

Negroes enjoy a sound state of health.

Of the tides and currents on the coast of Guiney, and particularly on the Gold Coast.

^b Epist. 5.

^c BARBOT, p. 317. BOSMAN, epist. 8.

^d ATKINS, p. 135.

beyond *Cape Lopez*, and from the westward along the *Gold Coast*, that is to leeward; for the winds are as commonly bent or deflected along the shore as the currents. *Phillips* observes, that all ships steering to *Angola* experience this, if they hold the land on board, as he calls it, or if they endeavour getting westward on the *Gold Coast*^a. It is probable that this diversity may arise from the formation of the land, as well as from the weather and winds. Thus the land running in a right line, without gulphs or bays, except the remarkably large one of *Benin* and *Callabar*, the flux of the sea, when it is bounded by the shores, has a natural tendency to press in at every inlet, growing stronger as they advance towards it on both sides. Such gulphs therefore, in a contraction of the waters, bear some resemblance to chanel, which, in proportion to their breadth and depth, and the sea into which they open, have more or less current or tide along their shores inward. These are assisted partly by the winds, which are in a similar manner deflected, and tend also on both sides towards the bay; and partly by the weather, the intense hot sunshine exhaling more vapours near shores and in shoal water, which are again expended in mists, fogs, and rains. The last in particular, by being incessant for a month or six weeks together, and in rotation upon different parts of the coast, may probably contribute to some little diversity of the tides; but it would be writing a philosophical essay, to dwell minutely upon explications.

We may likewise assign another reason why the currents tend mostly to the leeward. The flood being propagated from a vast southern ocean, takes its course along the shore; but the ebbs revert easily and equally from all parts to the ocean, and therefore make so small an alteration of the stream, as to be scarce perceivable at a very inconsiderable distance. Mariners who have left *Whidah* in *July*, when the currents in the road were strong to leeward, and the winds altogether south-west, could notwithstanding safely have weathered any of the islands; a circumstance altogether impossible, had the same current in the road extended across the whole bay: and indeed the getting so far southward will be a phenomenon difficult to explain, unless we admit that the waters received into the bay by the currents reverberate in the middle space, though insensibly, towards the main ocean. The same may be said of the *Streights of Gibraltar*^f.

From these observations of seamen we may venture to conclude, that in all places currents and tides have a near affinity. That it is chiefly the formation of the land that draws them either into the one or the other. If contracted between two shores, so as to form a chanel, the diurnal elevation of the ocean, by the attraction of the moon, will make there a tide rapid in proportion to its breadth, depth, and the sea to which it lies open; but if the coast be open, as happens along the *Gold Coast*, then those tides become currents. This corollary is perfectly correspondent with all the observations made by the most judicious seamen on the coast of *Guiney*, and by the *French East-India* company on the eastern side of the continent and the island of *Madagascar*; for there the chanel being too deep and broad for the direction of a tide, there are southern and northern currents, as the sea elevated runs round the north or south end of the island; and what is still more to our purpose, they are strongest where the chanel is narrowest, weaker and varying to different points of the compass, as the sea spreads more in the passage across the line^g. Another corollary for our premises is, that all currents and tides are found only on shores, and indiscernible at ten leagues distance from a coast, or at the mouth of a chanel; they are also variable from the same influence of the moon, and change of weather. This general theory of currents we imagined would be more satisfactory to our philosophical readers, than if we had given a dry recital of inconclusive remarks, which however form a part of the natural history of which we are to give an account.

Of the seasons
on the Gold
Coast.

BOSMAN divides the seasons on the *Gold Coast* into summer and winter; the latter admitting of three subdivisions, viz. two rainy, two foggy and hazy, and two windy months; but the variations are so great in different years, that those lesser divisions have no great certainty. The summer frequently begins a month earlier in one year than in another, and the misty weather often takes the place of the rainy, and is itself supplanted by the windy weather. In a word, they are so various, confused, and indeterminate, that no certain calculation can be made. On his first arrival on the coast, the succession of summer and winter were regular; each season appeared at its proper time, and every kind of weather had its peculiar months, when the inhabitants might certainly expect it. The winter was then much more severe than at present, and the rains so violent, that a second deluge might be apprehended, continuing so for several successive days^h. Now they are both less violent and frequent; a phenomenon that might perhaps be explained from the nutation of the poles, and a variation in the obliquity of the eclipticⁱ. *Axim* is but twenty

^a PHILLIPS, p. 29.
^b BOSMAN, epist. 8.

^f ATKINS, ubi sup.

^g Mem. d'Acad. royal. des scien. tom. xv. p. 217.
ⁱ Vide a paper in a late vol. of the Phil. Transact. by the ingenious Dr. Bradley.

- a miles distant from *Elmina*; yet it is more subject to rains than any other parts of the *Gold Coast*. *Bosman* was extremely surpris'd at its duration, and asked one of the officers how long that kind of weather usually continued? The reply was but little to his satisfaction; for he was told, that at *Axim* the rains continued for eleven months and twenty-eight days of the year; an account which he afterwards found exaggerated, although he affirms that it rains there at least half the year; for which reason the country is only fertile in rice and trees, the fruits, roots, and other kinds of grain being destroyed by the wet. *Atkins* affirms, that there is a regular return of vernal and continual rains all over the coast; the former on both sides of the equator are the longest and most incessant. They begin on the north side of the line, at *Sierra Leona* in *May*; on the *Gold Coast* in *April*, preceded by south-south-east winds; whereas, south of the equator, the vernal rains fall at *Cape Lopez* in *October*, and in *Angola* in *November*. The efficient causes of those periodical returns it is not our business to examine, though we may venture to conjecture, that the final cause is to imbrue the land, and cover it with verdure and fertility, where the inhabitants have understanding and industry enough to co-operate with the wisdom and goodness of providence. When our author was at *Cape Coast* in 1721, the rains began about the middle of *April*, and continued till the end of *May* without intermission; but generally much heavier at night, accompanied with continued thunder, lightning, and calms. Whenever they felt a breeze, it was southerly, directly upon the land, while the clouds that contained the rain followed in a regular succession from the ocean. If the horizon ever brightened, as it sometimes did for a few minutes, then the sun's heat was felt with redoubled fervour¹ (A).
- b THE Negroes avoid the rain with extreme anxiety, believing it to be exceedingly pernicious to their health; and indeed the observations of the *Dutch*, in particular seasons, seem to confirm their conjecture. During those storms, which they call *travados*, the rain which falls near the line and within the tropics is perfectly red, and of so pernicious a quality, that if the sailors sleep in their wet cloaths, as they frequently do upon other occasions, they are certain not to escape dangerous maladies. *Artus* asserts, that the cloaths they throw off after these rains rot and mould in an incredibly short time, if they be not perfectly dried. So dreadful is rain to the Negroes, that if they are caught in the smallest shower, they cross their arms over their heads to defend them, run with all their speed to the first retreat, and seem to groan at every drop that falls upon them. For this reason it is, that, when they sleep at night upon their mats, they lie as close as possible to the fire, and anoint their bodies with oil, as a defence against wet, by shutting up their pores, and denying admission to the rain, the remote cause of all their diseases. Those terrible *tornadoes*, or as the *Portuguese* call them, *travados*, usually follow the course of the sun, which would seem to draw them by its influence. They are vortices, or whirlwinds, which are raised in the east-south-east, and sometimes in the north, or some points to the west, accompanied with terrible claps of thunder, dreadful flashes of lightning, showers that seem to fall in one united body of water, and a darkness so total, that day is turned into night. They last for about an hour and a half, sometimes more; but as soon as they are over, the sky immediately returns to its former serenity and brightness, the change being as sudden, as the effects of the storm are violent. When they happen in the good seasons, or the summer, they are less terrible than in the winter; but they are more inconvenient, as they are followed for some days by cold rains, and heavy beyond description. In the winter, the ships in the road are in the utmost danger, and mariners have every thing to dread from the fury and impetuosity of those hurricanes; but nature has wisely provided for their security, by giving notice of their approach, by infallible signs. A thick black cloud is perceived at a distance, and experience has taught the seamen whether they are to expect wind or rain; for if the cloud be marked with white spots, the former is the sure consequence; but if it appear uniformly black, then heavy rains may be expected².
- c BOSMAN affirms that they are less frequent on the coast of *Guiney* than he has known them, and always less violent. He relates from the papers of the director *Valkenburg*, that at *Elmina*, in the year 1651, there happened so dreadful a *tornadoe*, as persuaded the inhabitants that all nature was convulsed, and the tremendous day approaching, when the world should be annihilated. Gold and silver were melted in their bags, swords in the

The Negroes
esteem rain
unwholesome.

Of tornadoes,

¹ ATKINS, p. 139.

² Idem, ibid. ARTUS, p. 70. apud De Bruy.

(A) We cannot avoid observing, that Dr. *Halley's* remark seems to be confirmed by the experience of those persons who have resided in *Guiney*. He affirms that the exhalations or vapours supplying rains, snow, hail, mists, fogs, and dews, are raised from coasts and shallows more abundantly than from the main ocean. In *Guiney*, that haziness of the horizon, and those

great dews which fall out of the rainy seasons on the coast, are rarely felt two miles from the shore, not even in the roads where the ships anchor. Were it otherwise, those damps would be most felt over a great body of water; yet experience proves, on the contrary, that exhalations of every kind diminish in proportion as we advance into the ocean, and retire from land.

scabbards, ships were driven by the force of the wind out at a great distance from the sea, a large trees torn up by the roots, and houses carried off their foundations; the elements of fire, air, and water all contending which should act with the greatest violence, and produce effects the most astonishing. *Bosman* has himself known hurricanes very little short of the fury of this; but they gradually declined every year: and now, says he, they are scarcely at all dangerous¹; a fact which we must beg leave to dispute, as the contrary is but too often experienced by fleets in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*.

ALL writers agree in affirming, that no quarter of the globe produces those *tornadoes* so frequently as the coast of *Africa*, which probably arises from the great abundance of nitrous and sulphureous exhalations in the atmosphere, the intense heat of the sun, and the continual rains. If the clouds containing these materials be compact, and the heterogeneous contents strong, various, and unequal, then the explosion is proportionably violent, and astonishingly loud, if it be near. It is remarked, that neither thunder nor lightning are ever perceived at a great distance from shore; corruscations of the sky have sometimes been mistaken for lightning; but we have never read that thunder had ever been heard a hundred leagues from land; and from this principle may the whole phenomenon be explained, which however we shall leave to philosophers. Certain it is, that those hurricanes are limited to a very small space; for ships have been shattered to pieces at *Cape Coast*, when they have had fine serene weather at *Anamaboa*, not three leagues distant (B).

Of the terreno, or land cloud.

THE *Portuguese* have given the appellation of *terreno* to a violent land wind, which the natives call *harmattan*, blowing from the east about *Christmas* and *Midsummer*. These all of a sudden rise with such fury, as immediately to suppress the sea-breezes, the storm continuing for two or three, frequently four or five days, as *Bosman* has experienced at *Bourtry*, in the year 1682. *Atkins* says, that they continue only a few hours; but his short residence on the coast could not furnish so many instances, or such accurate observations, as the preceding author has made. The sun is totally obscured, the sky dark, the air piercing cold, thick, and so sharp, as to affect the eyes during the continuance of the storm. The nakedness of the Negroes renders them extremely sensible of this change; and our author has seen them tremble with cold, as if the shivering paroxysm of an ague had seized them; even the *Europeans*, who easily endure northern climates, support this sudden change with great difficulty; they are forced to keep themselves close shut up in their apartments, kindle large fires, and drink strong spirits, to defend them against the rigour of the air, which, though intensely cold, is so suffocating and close, that few are able to breathe in it freely. Nor are those *harmattans* less pernicious to the brute animals; and the Negroes who know the consequence, shut their cattle up in their houses upon those occasions. The goats, which, by way of experiment, the governor of *Cape Coast* exposed to the open air, were found dead in less than four hours. Boards are warped, paper and parchment shrivelled by this wind, as if they had been exposed to the meridian heat of the sun, or held over a fire; and *Barbot* relates, that so contracted were the wainscotings of the chambers, and the boards of their chests, drawers, and escritores, that large chinks appeared in all the grooves, which closed up as soon as the *harmattans* ceased. These are extraordinary and contradictory effects, which we will not pretend to question, as they are attested by so many authentic writers, nor to explain from any of the known principles of nature^m.

Of the trade-winds.

THE trade-winds blow fresh and equal here, as in other parts of the globe within 30 degrees of the equator. On the *Gold Coast*, the two trade-winds are westerly, keeping a tract with the shore, where it stretches eastward. Again from the river *Gabon*, under the line, the land deflects southward, the winds likewise keep nearly in a parallel with it, and veering from south-east to south-by-east; in both the shore seems to deflect the true trade-winds, in the same manner as capes do tides or currents. If at particular seasons, as is remarked in the rainy season, the winds become more southerly, they are weak; and as the sun is at this time north of the equinoctial, the final cause is, probably to restore an equilibrium to that air at land, which is more rarefied by a stronger reflected heat.

Land and sea-breezes.

LASTLY, the natives of this coast enjoy the benefit of the land and sea-breezes, which are gales of no great strength or extent, but extremely refreshing and necessary, where the sun-beams beat with such an insupportable power. The sea-breeze comes on about ten in the morning, fresh, sweet, and enlivening; but the land-breeze which succeeds at night,

¹ Epist. 8.

^m BARBOT, p. 193, & seq. ATKINS, p. 149.

(B) Some writers speak of what they call a material thunder-bolt; such a one is said to have fallen on the *Turkish* mosque at *Adrianople* in 1693, and such are shewn in the cabinets of the curious, particularly at

Copenhagen, where a large metallic substance is shewn for a thunderbolt: yet it is probable that this is no more than some mineral melted by the heat of the lightning, or an union of metals.

a is faint, fultry, and foetid, especially when it blows from rivers, where banks are marshy, and covered with rotten *mangrove*-trees, a thing frequent in this country ^a.

We have already spoken of the gold and salt of the *Gold Coast*, in our description of the different kingdoms; it is now time we should proceed to a short account of the quadrupeds, ^{Of the quadrupeds of the Gold Coast.} fowls, fish, grains, fruits, and roots of the country. Among their tame animals, the first in rank, on account of their utility, are horned cattle, as bulls, cows, sheep, and goats, with which *Dinkira*, *Affiento*, *Axim*, and all the inland countries abound, though only a few black cattle are brought to the coast. At *Axim*, indeed, *Pockeson*, *Elmina*, and *Aora*, they are pretty numerous, as these countries have an easy means of conveying them from *Aquamboe* and *Lampi*. At *Axim* the pasture is good, the cattle thrive well, breed fast, and b fatten; but at *Elmina*, and the adjacent countries, they are always lean, dry, furnishing but little milk, and bad beef. *Bosman* observes, that in this country only, the cows are ever milked, the Negroes being intirely ignorant both of the use and manner of that operation; and here twenty or thirty cows are scarcely sufficient to furnish the director-general's table with milk. The cattle are so light and small, that the largest bull doth not weigh above 250 pounds; however, their size and weight are by no means proportionable; and it is the observation of writers, that all the animals are specifically lighter on the *Gold Coast*, than in any other part of the globe, which they imagine proceeds from the nature of their aliment, that instead of firm and solid, produces only a spongy, loose, and tough flesh. Hence it is, that all the beef killed for their markets, is of an ungrateful and really nauseous taste: notwithstanding which, a cow sells at so high a price as twelve pounds sterling: c a proof that black cattle are not very plentiful ^o. *Artus*, after observing the diminutive growth of the cattle, adds, that their scarcity arises from the difficulty of rearing the calves with so small a quantity of milk as is produced by the dam: and hence their veal is still worse than the beef, having a peculiarly offensive taste, as well as a softness extremely disagreeable ^p.

SHEEP are plentiful all over the country, of the shape of our *European* sheep, but smaller by half, and covered with hair instead of wool: "so that here," says *Bosman*, "nature is inverted, men wear wool, and sheep hair." Their flesh does not in the least resemble mutton in the taste; it is dry, lean, and hard; so that persons of delicate appetites seldom eat it, and yet it is above the price which the common people can afford. A sheep is d sold at thirty shillings; an extraordinary price for an animal so small, so useless, and so abundant as writers describe them (C).

GOATS are innumerable; every field and hill is covered with them. Their shape differs in nothing from those we every day see, but their size is infinitely smaller; though this is sufficiently compensated by the quality of their flesh, which is sweet, fat, and delicate, especially that of a he-goat which has been castrated when young, and turned out to the mountains; yet are they sold at so small price as seven or eight shillings each. We could wish that authors had given us the reasons why a sheep, whose flesh is contemptible, should bear an extravagant price, while goats, that are eaten by all degrees of men with pleasure, sell at so trifling a sum. The Negroes assign a very ridiculous cause e of the smell peculiar to this animal. They say, that in the early ages of mankind there was a goddess who used to anoint her body with a fragrant ointment, which excited the emulation of the goats, and made them resolve to petition this deity, that she would grant them the receipt for making the ointment. The goddess, incensed at their presumption, thought of a method to revenge herself, at the same time that she obliged them, by seeming to grant their request. Initead of the sweet ointment, she gave them a box of a foetid mixture, with which they bedaubed their bodies, the offensive smell communicating itself to all their posterity. To this day they remain ignorant of the deceit put upon them; they imagine it the true unguent used by the goddess, pride themselves upon it, and are so careful to preserve it, that they industriously avoid the rain, wet, and every thing that can possibly f diminish or wash off the delicious flavour ^p.

THE *Gold Coast* produces horses of a small size, like those of the north and extremely cold climates. They are scarce in the maritime kingdoms, but plentiful enough in the interior countries. Their shape is bad, the head like that of an ass, and always hanging down; nor is their mettle much higher, it requiring violent blows to put them on a trot, which is their quickest pace. According to *Bosman*, they are so low, that a tall man mounted on their backs may easily touch the ground with his feet. The country likewise produces a few asses, taller and handsomer than the horses, and generally preferred for riding; for neither are much used in carrying burdens. It is remarked that they

^a ATKINS, *ibid.*

^o BOSMAN, *epist.* 14.

^p P. 198. *apud* De Bruy.

^p BOSM. *epist.* 14.

(C) *Smith* remarks, that the *Guiney* sheep so little resemble the *European*, that they can hardly be termed the same genus, but from their shape and bleating; so different is the quality of their flesh and wool. "One

"is amazed," says he, "to hear an animal bleat like a sheep, that is covered with black and white hair like a dog (1)."

(1) P. 147.

thrive badly near the sea; and *Bosman* relates, that three or four asses, which they procure from the interior countries, soon died at *Elmina*. Hogs are in great plenty; but, like the rest of their quadrupeds, of little value, and their flesh lean and hard. Those, however, which the *Europeans* fatten are tolerable, though greatly inferior to the pork of *Whidab*, the best, according to our writers of voyages, in the known world^a. One may judge of the scarcity of good pork by the price of a fat hog, which is seldom sold for less than three pounds ten shillings sterling.

BUT of all animal food dog's flesh is in the highest repute among the Negroes. Those of the country are a peculiar species, distinct from any known in *Europe*: they neither bite nor bark; they are of all colours, black, red, white, and yellow; and even the *European* dogs degenerate surprisingly in a few years; their ears growing long, stiff, and erect, like those of a fox. The Negroes give a great price for a dog; they build kennels for them, breed up the young with great care, and drive them to market like flocks of sheep, where they sell at an exorbitant price. *Barbot* says, that their tails are long, pointed, and without hair; sometimes, says he, their whole skins are bare and speckled; but this kind of animal is not frequent, nor is it much coveted, being equally offensive to the sight and the touch. The Negroes, borrowing the name from the *Portuguese*, call dogs *cabre de matto*, because they love their flesh, and prefer it to beef or mutton.

A CAT is an animal much esteemed by Negroes, especially such of them as are expert in killing rats and mice, creatures with which the whole coast is greatly infested. Some of them eat their flesh; but this is a kind of food in little request, except among the poorest Negroes and slaves, who sometimes steal them from the *Europeans* for that purpose, and to satisfy the cravings of nature^c.

WE come now to the wild quadrupeds, among which the elephant claims the first place, on account of his prodigious bulk and great sagacity. This noble animal has been already described, but the writers of voyages observe some peculiar properties in the elephant of the *Gold Coast*; and indeed a creature of so immense stature, and so extraordinary qualities, will always afford room for new observations. No part of *Africa*, or perhaps of the known world, has a greater number of elephants than the *Ivory Coast*; but they are not so numerous on the *Gold Coast*. The countries of *Ancobar* and *Axim* produce indeed a great number; but as these places form the frontiers of both coasts, they are probably the elephants of the *Ivory Coast* that are met with and every day killed here. A good many are likewise found in the kingdom of *Fetu*; and it may serve for a general observation, that the less populous a country is, the more it abounds with wild animals of all kinds. All the interior kingdoms have them, from whence they come down to the coasts, within musquet-shot of the *European* settlements, and commit abundance of mischief, carrying terror and desolation where-ever they go. In the year 1697, an elephant of an uncommon magnitude was killed near the *Dutch* fort of *Acra*, his two great teeth or tusks weighing 220 pounds. In 1700, a Negro at *Axim*, who was accustomed to elephant-hunting, and had killed several, took aim at one that came near his hut; but the musquet missing fire, the elephant gave him chase, overtook him, and broke the gun in pieces, disdaining to hurt the man. The same year an elephant came to *Elmina*, walking gravely along the shore, when he was first discovered by the Negroes, who boldly surrounded him unfurnished with weapons. The elephant suffered them to encompass him, going gravely along with them to mount *St. Jago*, where one of the officers of the fort fired at him with a musquet-ball, which hit him above the eye, but did not irritate or seem in the least to offend him. Neither this nor several other shots poured in upon him made him in the smallest degree mend his pace: the only effect they had was to make him now-and-then toss his head in a menacing manner, and prick up his ears, which were of a prodigious size. At last he entered the company's garden, pushing before him the gate, as if no impediment at all were in the way, and breaking down large coco-trees; in doing which, says our author, the force he exerted may aptly be compared to the strength a man applies in beating a child. While he was in the garden above an hundred shot were fired at him, which made him bleed exceedingly, but did not raise his indignation; nor would his fury have at all broke forth, if a Negro had not been hardy enough to lay hold of his tail, and attempt to cut it off; a piece of imprudence of which he had reason to repent. The elephant turned swiftly round, hit him with his proboscis, which overturned him, then trampled and tore him in pieces with his tusks and feet; after which he moved a little aside, and suffered the body to be taken away without offering the least resistance. At length through loss of blood he became faint, and retiring under the shade of a tree, laid himself quietly down and breathed his last: a circumstance that confirms *Bosman* in the notion the Negroes have, that as soon as an elephant perceives death approaching, he retires out of decency under a tree, or into a thicket, and there expires. He had seen four instances of this, and was told of a number of others from unquestionable authority^g.

^a Bosm. epist. 14.^c ARTUS & BOSM. in locis citatis.^g Bosm. epist. 14.

- a THE elephants of this coast are rather of a smaller size than those of the *East Indies*, but similar in shape and disposition. *Bosman* is at great pains to refute the assertions of naturalists concerning this animal, which he thinks absurd and impossible. He denies that we know any thing of their manner of ingendering, in which they are extremely shy and modest: he ridicules the common notions of their long pregnancy, extraordinary age, shedding their teeth, and a number of other circumstances related for truth by *Pliny*, and from him adopted by succeeding naturalists; but the last particular is asserted by *Smith*, and corroborated with such arguments as one would think sufficient to confirm it. *Atkins* joins in the same opinion; but then he confines it to the young ones, believing that they change the old for young teeth, like children, and some brute animals. To this may be added the testimony of the Negroes from experience, who never find but a single tooth at a time, and that frequently where no dead elephant or skeleton had ever been found. *Barbot* assures us, that an elephant swims with the swiftness of a galley with six oars, and will outrun a horse for a short distance; qualities which one would not expect in an animal of so prodigious a bulk. The Negroes distinguish them into three kinds, the river, the mountain, and the wood elephant. The river elephant takes its name from its delighting in marshy grounds and the borders of rivers that overflow their banks. The teeth of this animal have a bluish cast, are spongy, and difficult to draw and work, on account of roots and knobs, which change the course of the grain. The mountain elephant is fierce, outrageous, and difficult to break; the teeth small, but hard and much esteemed. As for the elephant that is found in woods, it is of all the largest and gentlest: the teeth large, white, and in quality the nearest to those of the mountain elephant. Hunting them is a common but dangerous diversion, and several of the Negroes lose their lives every year in this sport. The most common and surest method is to fire at them with iron bullets; for lead is found too soft to penetrate those thick hard scales, that serve to shield his body like a coat of mail. No white elephants are ever met with on the coast, although travellers relate that they are common enough in the interior countries along the *Niger* in *Abissinia*, and in the province of *Zanzibar*. Notwithstanding the monstrous size of this animal, the parts serving for generation are small, and by no means proportioned to the bulk of the body. They are concealed within the reins, as *Bosman* expresses it; which may perhaps have given rise to the notion of their ingendering backwards. But this is sufficient concerning an animal not peculiar to this country, that has so frequently been described by the most accurate naturalists.
- b
- c
- d

TIGERS are very numerous in almost every part of the coast. The Negroes call them *Boben*, and they are usually of the size of a calf, large and strong in the fore feet and shoulders, and the skin beautifully spotted with black and yellow. They are more destructive in *Guinea* than all the other beasts of prey; and a man that enters a wood unarmed, runs the greatest hazard of his life; however, nothing besides hunger will oblige them to attack a man. *Bosman* has seen young ones so tame, that they might be fondled and played with as familiarly as a cat; but the fierceness of their nature recurs as they grow up. The Negroes distinguish them into five different species, and affix proper names to each; but no author has either ventured to translate those terms, or describe the characteristic marks (D).

In size the buffaloe comes nearest to the elephant of any quadruped found on the *Gold Coast*; but they are so scarce, as hardly to merit a rank among the animals of that country. The jackall is always found on the *Gold Coast*, particularly in *Aquamboe* and *Acra*. It is a bold and fierce animal, that attacks whatever comes in the way. This is a species of wild dog, of the size of a mastiff, long in the limbs, with large strong claws, their hair short and spotted, their head large and flat, and their teeth surprisingly sharp and pointed. It is probable, from some circumstances which voyagers relate, that he has frequently been mistaken for the wolf; and indeed the description which most writers give of either may very well serve for both. Notwithstanding *Bosman* and *Smith* describe the head of the jackall in the preceding manner, we have reason to believe, from good authority, that his head more resembles that of a fox than of a mastiff; a great space between the eyes, the upper part of the face broad, terminating like a wedge at the mouth.

On the *Gold Coast* is a species of wild boar, but not so fierce as in northern and cold countries. As they are not numerous, and the flesh tender, fat, and delicious, they sell at a great price, and are always preferred to tame hogs. Deer of all kinds and sizes are

¹ *Auct. ult. citat. ibid. & BARBOT, p. 207.*

² *BARB. ibid.*

(D) *Bosman* relates the following method the *Dutch* have of killing the tigers, without either the danger or fatigue of hunting them. "They lay several loaded musquets near the sheepfold, the lock well covered with a box (as a notion prevails, that a tiger dreads

"the sight of fire-arms), to which a piece of mutton is fastened by a cord. The musquet and mutton are so disposed, that he cannot touch the latter without being opposite to the muzzle of the former; and the smallest touch makes it go off like a trap (2).

found in every part of the country, and in such abundance, that they are seen in flocks of ^a an hundred together. *Bosman* mentions twenty different kinds of deer, some as large as a small cow, and others not exceeding a cat in size. The most beautiful is a small red deer, with short black horns, and legs as slender as a tobacco-pipe. Nothing can exceed this little delicate animal in swiftness and activity, which *Bosman* says he has seen leap over a wall fourteen feet high with the utmost facility (E). Another kind of deer he describes of a fine orange colour, beautifully speckled and streaked with white, his head, ears, and legs long, and the latter delicately slender. Several *Europeans* have attempted to import both these animals; but they were of so delicate a nature, that, though they were inclosed in boxes ^{*} filled with cotton, they died as soon as they entered a cold climate.

ARTUS relates, that some countries on the *Gold Coast* abound with incredible numbers of ^b hares, rabbits, does, and foxes; in taking of which, the Negroes have several ingenious contrivances ^γ. *Bosman* mentions four different sorts of wild cats, among which he reckons the civet-cat, which the Negroes have the art of catching young, and sell to the *Europeans* for nine or ten shillings each. Great care and trouble are required to rear them: the food is pap, panada of boiled millet, flesh, and fish; the two last to be given with caution. They produce civet even when very young, of which that of the male is the best, the urine of the female spoiling the quality of the civet. According to *Barbot*, the civet-cat, which the Negroes call *kankan*, and the *Portuguese*, *gatos de aglalia*, resembles a fox in size and shape; but the feet somewhat longer, and the tail exactly like a cat's, if not longer in proportion to the body. The hair is grey, spotted with black. It prefers entrails of animals to mil- ^c let or any other food; and living upon flesh, it is supposed, increases the quantity of civet ^z. *Barbot* makes directly the same observation with *Bosman* concerning the musk of the female; and both relate, that it is customary to torment, tease, and irritate her before the musk is taken from the bag, which it is supposed heightens the flavour: and *Bosman* recommends a smooth wooden spoon to be used in emptying the sac or bag, for fear of wounding the tender coats ^z.

HERE likewise are found a few porcupines, which *Bosman* describes about two feet and a half high, and with teeth so keen, that it will gnaw through the hardest wood. He once put one of them in an oak hoghead, by way of cage, imagining that he had sufficiently guarded against its escape; but in the space of one night it had almost eat through. He ^d is so bold, that he ventures to attack the largest snake, and fierce battles frequently happen between them. The Negroes and some *Europeans* esteem their flesh very delicious. *Bosman* speaks also of a kind of hedge-hog; but without the quality of rolling itself as our *European* hedge-hogs do ^b. And *Artus* mentions a number of wild quadrupeds peculiar to the coast; but as no writer has described them all, we must be satisfied with the imperfect accounts they afford ^c.

ON the *Gold Coast* is found a quadruped which the Negroes call *potto*, the sluggard; a name probably given from its sluggish and heavy nature, a few yards being a long day's journey. Some writers affirm, that when this animal has made his way up a tree, remembering the fatigue he underwent, he does not remove his quarters till he has intirely ^e consumed the leaves, after which he descends sleek and fat; but is so tedious in his progress to another tree, that he loses all the benefit of his last situation, becoming poor, lean, and feeble before he can fix in a new habitation. It is an animal so hideously ugly, that *Bosman* believes nature produces nothing equal to it in this particular. Its fore-feet greatly resemble hands; it is cloathed with a coarse red hair, and its head is large beyond all proportion to the size of the body. This is the whole of his description, which he concludes with affirming, that it was not possible to look upon it without horror, its ugliness constituting all that is peculiar to it. Besides this, *Bosman* slightly mentions three or four other quadrupeds almost peculiar to *Guiney*. Among these is a little animal to which the Negroes give the name of *berbe*, and the *Europeans* of *wine-bibber*, from its fondness ^f of palm-wine, which it sucks up with greediness. He calls it a species of cat; but with a longer head, and more pointed snout or jaws; spotted like the civet-cat; active and fierce when enraged, but otherwise tame and familiar, after it has been accustomed to be handled. The next animal is about the size of a rat, of a mixed colour of brown and grey hair with white spots; the tail is long, and furnished with a fine smooth brush, with which it covers the whole back, like a squirrel, of which it seems to be a species. The third sort, when full grown, are about twice the bulk of the former; mischievous, fierce,

^{*} Epist. 14. ^γ Apud De Bruy, p. 52. ^z Ubi supra. ^a P. 209. ^b Epist. 14. ^c ARTUS, ibid.

(E) *Smith* calls this animal a beautiful sort of antelope, about the size of a rabbit; but so swift, that it seems to fly among the bushes: however, the Negroes sometimes catch them, and bring them as presents to the *European* factors, by whom they are highly valued, both for their beauty and the deliciousness of their flesh (3).

a and dangerous in the bite. The Negroes call it *kokebo*. It is a cruel enemy to the feathered kind, especially fowls, which it catches by speed of foot, and carries off by its strength, though but a small animal. This *Bosman* has seen it do; though he questions the veracity of many stories related of it by *Foquenbourg*^d.

In the woods is found a long slender animal, something resembling a weazel in shape, with a long tail, and large brush at the extremity. His colour is pale, inclining to brown, and his hair long and thin. The Negroes call this animal *arampo*, or *man-eater*; because it digs up graves, and prefers human flesh to all other. The Negroes relate, that as soon as it uncovers a body, and perfectly removes the earth from it, it goes round the grave; as if they intimated, say the Negroes, that a bad action cannot be committed without feeling a sensation of repugnance, agreeable to the poet's maxim^e:

*Exemplo quodcunque malo committitur ipse
Displicet auctori. Prima est hæc ultio, quod se
Judice, nemo nocens absolvitur* -----

But however natural and ingenious this reflection may be, we are inclined to believe, that these rounds are rather taken to examine the ground; the animal dreading, through a natural instinct, the loss of its prey; and the same is remarked of cats and dogs, who seize upon any thing clandestinely, and before leave has been granted by their masters.

But of all the quadrupeds on the *Gold Coast*, rats and mice are the most numerous and destructive. One species of the former is large and fierce, committing prodigious havoc among the grain. The *Dutch* call it a wild rat, it resembling that animal in shape and nature, though it often exceeds the size of a cat. The flesh of it is eaten with luxury by the Negroes, and thought delicious by such *Europeans* as could overcome their prejudices, and prevail on themselves to eat a rat. At *Axim* is seen another kind of rat, which the Negroes call *boutre*, of much the same size with the former, but more slender. It is inconceivable the damage this little animal does in the magazines of corn, one of them destroying in a night more than a hundred common rats; for after having eat all it can, then it falls to work to spoil all it cannot carry off. Among the mice of the country *Bosman* speaks of one which he calls the mink-mouse, on account of its strong civet flavour; d which he believes proceeds from the skin, and not from any particular sac in which the perfume is contained. Both he and *Smith* distinguish above fifty different sorts of mice, all of them agreeing in one quality, of being as mischievous as possible. The same they affirm of the monkey, an animal extremely abundant here, and as various in their kinds as they are numerous. The most common sort are those the *Dutch* call *smitten*, of a pale mouse-colour, and extraordinary size, some of them above five feet high. *Bosman* saw one as large as an ordinary man, but less corpulent. An *English* gentleman related to him, that at *Wimbaw* they are so bold and strong, as to attack a man; and two soldiers belonging to the factory were once in great danger of being cuffed to death by a company of apes, had they not been seasonably rescued. The Negroes are fully convinced that policy e only prevents their speaking, which they decline to avoid work, and to live in indolence. He speaks of a beautiful jet-black small monkey, with long hair, and a white beard, which *Europeans* greatly prize, and purchase for about eighteen shillings sterling. Besides these, they are fond of three other kinds, all of them exceeding small, of a mixed colour, with breasts and faces, and a disposition beyond imagination docile and tractable. But it would be endless to recite all the various kinds of which voyagers speak, especially as they may all be ranged under two general classes, the wild and tame: the former large, bold, and of a fierceness that cannot be subdued; and the other smaller, gentle, and familiar in its nature; but full of sport, tricks, and wantonness^f. There is one, however, which we cannot help describing from *Smith*, *Atkins*, and *Barbot*, on account of its near f resemblance in figure, features, natural and imitative qualities to the human species. It had a regular and well-framed face, exactly resembling a child's, thinly covered with hair; it had no tail, and would eat nothing but milk, and boiled millet or barley. When hungry, it cried so like a child, that it was not possible to distinguish their voices. The arms and hands were perfectly well proportioned, and the animal used them with all the address of a human creature. *Barbot* observes, that the face is perfectly white, but wrinkled, more strongly resembling a little old woman than a child. The teeth are regular, but yellow, and the palms of the hands and fingers exceeding white and smooth, the rest of the body being clothed with a natural coat of hair. They are reported to be extremely fond of women; and that the Negro women frequently admit of their beastly embraces. In a word, from their description, this animal, which the Negroes call g *baggo*, appears to be the same we find mentioned by naturalists under the appellation of mandrill. *Atkins* reports, that he frequently met with that species of ape called *ouran outang* in the woods of the *Gold Coast*. In the year 1733, captain *Flower* brought one to

^d BOSMAN, epist. 14.^e SMITH, p. 147.^f BOSMAN, epist. 14.

London, in his return from *Angola*. It died by the way; but he preserved the body so carefully in spirits, that he perfectly kept his natural appearance, which in every respect resembled the human figure. His face and organs of generation, his hands, legs, and feet, were altogether human: and captain *Flower* affirmed, that he used to walk erect, sit upon a chair on his buttocks, with his legs hanging down, eat and drink like a man. However, as this animal is mentioned by no other author as a native of *Guiney*, we will not dwell on the description^a.

Among the quadrupeds of the *Gold Coast* the lizard deserves notice; of which there are various kinds. One called *quoggele*, is of a monstrous size, approaching rather to that of an allegator than a lizard. *Artus*, *Dapper*, and *Barbot* affirm, that it measures eight feet in length, the tail alone being one-fourth. Its scales are compared to the leaves of an artichoke, but less pointed, and so stiff, that they protect it against the bite of any animal. Its chief enemies are the tyger and the leopard, who pursue it, and with great difficulty overtake it. As soon as the lizard perceives that she can no longer depend upon her swiftness, she wraps herself in her coat of mail, and becomes invulnerable. The Negroes kill it by striking the head: they sell the skin to the Europeans, and eat the flesh, which is white and relishing. It lives upon ants; to catch which it puts out its long tongue, covered with a glutinous saliva. *Des Marchais* speaks of it as a gentle, inoffensive animal; but *Dapper* calls it a beast of prey, that greatly resembles the crocodile^b.

The *ceyman*, crocodile, or allegator, which is a smaller kind of the same animal, is so plenty in *Guiney*, that every river on the coast is filled with them, especially about *Bourtry*, where *Bosman* has seen fifty of them in a day, each twenty feet long. In hot weather they lie basking themselves in the sun in crowds along the shore, and as soon as they perceive a man approaching, plunge into the river; though they seldom fly from any other animal. The crocodile is so well known, that it would be unnecessary to describe it. Another amphibious animal found on the *Gold Coast* is the *guana*, which in particular resembles the crocodile; but is no more than four feet in length. It is scaly, of a black ground, spotted with different colours; the eyes are round, and the flesh tender. *Villault* assures us, that dragons are found on the *Gold Coast*: however, as he does not favour us with a description, we may reasonably question the truth of his assertion. Cameleons are found in great abundance; and *Bosman* asserts, with *Le Brun*, the truth of their changing colour with whatever comes near them, red only excepted. It is about the length of a lizard, and much like it; but the tongue is as long as the whole body, which it uses in catching flies, the only food it delights in. This, it is probable, has given many naturalists the opinion that it lives upon air. As the gentlemen of the royal academy at *Paris* have so accurately described this animal, we shall refer the reader to their memoirs, in which he will find a very satisfactory account both of the cameleon and salamander, another animal said to be a native of the *Gold Coast*. We must only observe, that *Smith* had seen a salamander basking in the meridian sun, upon a stone so hot, that the hand could not bear it; and yet, when he went to the animal, it felt as cold as ice: however, the *French* philosophers seem to have justly exploded the notion of its being able to live in the fire^c.

Of the birds
and feathered
animals of the
Gold Coast.

We proceed now to the feathered kind, of which, besides almost all the birds known to *Europe*, *Guiney*, and especially the *Gold Coast*, affords a great number peculiar to the country. The pheasants of the *Gold Coast* are the most beautiful in the world, the plumage consisting of a bright white and blue, the mixture forming a sort of charming colour; the neck is encircled with a shining sky-coloured ring, about two fingers broad, and the head adorned with a fine black tuft, soft as an ostrich's feathers. The *Whidah* pheasant is also found here. The feathers of this bird are grey and white, and much inferior in beauty to the plumage of the former. His head is bald, and covered only with a hard, callous, knotty, uneven skin, like a turkey, and the bill yellow. *Artus* and *Bosman* had both seen a particular species of water-fowl, in shape resembling a duck, but incomparably more beautiful in the feathers, which were an elegant lively green, and the feet and bill red as coral. In the year 1700, a *Dutchman* brought the latter a duck, which he had just shot. His feet and bill were yellow, and the plumage a mixture of grey and green feathers: very beautiful, but inferior to the former. Both are so scarce, that they are seldom seen in an age^d.

Bosman and *Villault* mention a great variety of turtle-doves, each of them distinct in colour and some other peculiarities from the others; but this bird is so various in *Europe*, that it would be tedious to characterize them all. The crown-bird, which we mentioned before, is here found in greater plenty than in any part of *Guiney*, except *Whidah*. The legs of this bird are long, like those of a stork: its body is chiefly covered with black feathers, and the wings with large red, white, and black quills. The head is beautified with black shining spots, as large as a six-pence, and the fore part of the head cloathed with a

^a PREVOST collect. des voy. tom. v. c. 8. ART. ibid.

^b DES MARCH. vol. i. p. 52. ARTUS, p. 43.

^c P. 52.

^d BOSM. epist. 15.

a. thick black down, soft as velvet, over which rises a beautiful tuft of yellow and speckled feathers, something resembling a crown, in the manner in which they are disposed. Notwithstanding all those beauties, *Bosman* thinks it greatly inferior to the former, and indeed to many other birds on the coast.

ABOUT *Apam* there is a bird, which for its beauty surpasses every other, the peacocks excepted, that our author ever saw; but he does not favour us with the name; though from his description it would appear to be a kind of parrot, the bill, claws, and size, exactly resembling that animal. The bill is yellow, the breast and belly of a fine green colour, and the back a mixture of grey, red, sky-blue, and a kind of violet plumage. The head, neck, and tail are of an excellent shining green, the feathers rising like a comb on the head. The eyes are large, and beautifully marked near the eye-lids with red rays that cannot be described in words. "To conclude," says he, "this bird is not to be paralleled." *Bosman* takes notice, that there are hundreds of large and small birds entirely unknown in *Europe*, even to the best naturalists, for which the Negroes themselves have no names. Among these he reckons a beautiful bird, that frequents the borders of rivers and lakes. It is about the size of a chicken, the upper part of his body black or brown, spotted with white, and the breast and belly a fine yellow or red. On the head stands erect a tuft of speckled smooth feathers, that gives a look of majesty to the bird, some of them falling down on his bill, which is remarkably thick and long in proportion to his body. *Foquenbourg* affirms that he saw peacocks near the river *Bourtry*; but as no other writer takes notice of that bird as a native of the *Gold Coast*, we are inclined to believe it the crown-bird, with the long spangled tail; for of these birds there are various kinds.

ARTUS, *Barbôt*, and *Bosman* describe a fowl peculiar to this country; to which, however, they give no name. This bird is of the size of a goose, his wings immoderately large and broad, covered with dark feathers, if they may be called so; for they more resemble hair. Under his bill he has a pouch or maw, about nine inches long, naked, and like the skin of the head of a turkey, in which he hoards his food. His neck is long, and his head large beyond all proportion to his body, bold, and uncommonly ugly; but his eyes are large, black, and lively, and his bill thick and long: his usual food is fish, of which he devours a quantity sufficient for four men, swallowing them whole with the greatest facility; as he likewise does rats, of which he is fond^a.

Bosman kept one at *Elmina*, which used to run tamely about the fort, and suffered himself to be handled by all sorts of people, whether strangers or others. When he caught a rat, he immediately swallowed it; and, if fondled, would disgorge it, as a present and mark of his gratitude, laying it at the person's feet who had taken the most notice of him. "It was ridiculous enough," says our author, "to see him fight, peck, and flap his wings round the boys in the fort, of whom he always had the better, if fish or rats were to be the reward of victory." *Smith* affirms, that this is the bird which the Negroes call *Pokkoe*, and is found in the greatest plenty on the banks of the river *Bourtry*^b.

c. THE same authors speak of another owl, about the size of the former; but with a neck so long, that his head is above six feet from the ground. His feathers are black, white, red, sky, and several other colours, intermixed in a very beautiful manner; his eyes large and yellow: and his usual residence on the banks of the river; for he is scarce ever seen any-where else. His name is equally unknown to the *Europeans* and Negroes; nor have naturalists classed him under any species of fowl. Indeed the account we have from voyagers is much too general to admit it. Another of these anonymous birds is described, with a long black bill, his body chequered with yellow and bright blue feathers, a black semicircle half-way round his neck, a long tail, composed of yellow, blue, and black feathers, and a few erect feathers of various colours on his head. We have no account of his size; nor of that of another fowl of the same species, differing only in the sharpness of his bill, in having the lower part of his body clothed with black feathers, while his back is adorned with a beautiful yellow and smooth plumage. Next follows a bird without a name, of much the same figure as the former; only with this difference, that his legs and toes are remarkably long, and his plumage a mixture of grey and yellow. The next is a small bird, about the size of a thrush, and shaped like a sparrow; his colour renders him very beautiful, his head and breast being black as jet, his wings and feet grey, and his neck and tail of a bright crimson hue. It is of so delicate a nature, that it cannot be kept alive for any time in a cage. But one of the most beautiful birds produced in *Guinea* is what *Bosman* describes as a sea-fowl, or rather a river-bird. His wings or the upper part of the body are intirely blue, somewhat inclining to a sky-colour. The plumage of his neck and tuft on his head are of the same dye, and his feet and bill of a fine coral red; but we are left in the dark both as to his name and dimensions^c.

^a Id. ibid,^b ART. p. 82. BARB. p. 175.^c P. 149.

° Aust. cit. ibid.

ALL the writers of voyages to *Guinea* mention a small bird peculiar to the *Gold Coast*, of a the granivorous kind; his neck, breast, or lower part of his body of a dark red, the head jet-black, except a beautiful yellow spot on the forehead; his back and wings jet-black, and his tail, which is long, a mixture of black, yellow, and red feathers. Another of the size of the former, resembles him likewise in plumage; only that the breast and neck are of a bright scarlet hue, the head of a beautiful yellow, and all the rest of a fine glossy black. To this may be added a bird of the size of a blackbird, which the Negroes call the *parry-bird*, from beautiful specks of white, terminating in rays, with which his head or body is covered. His voice, they say, is as loud as the roaring of a bull; but *Bosman* describes it only as a deep, hollow, and loud sound^p. Besides these, the *Gold Coast* abounds with becasigoes, partridges, linnets, larks, parroquets, parrots, canary-birds (which by the way are said to be peculiar to those islands), doves, wood-pigeons, geese, ducks, turkeys, and, in a word, all those birds known to *Europe*, or almost any other part of the world, excepting peacocks and ostriches, none of which were ever seen on the *Gold Coast*.

Of reptiles
and insects.

HAVING described the birds and quadrupeds in the best manner the authority of voyagers will permit, we now enter upon an account of the reptiles found on the *Gold Coast*, in which we fear we shall fall as short of an accurate relation, as in the former particulars. Those reptiles to which voyagers have given names, are snakes, toads, frogs, vipers, scorpions, land-crabs, snails, caterpillars, locusts, grasshoppers, hembottles, worms, and millepedes, &c. of each of which there is such a variety, as it would be impossible to describe. We shall therefore touch only upon those the most curious, and least known, in which number we must reckon those snakes of so monstrous a size, as almost to exceed credit. *Bosman* has seen snakes of twenty feet in length, and six in circumference, and he believes they are much larger in the inland countries; a supposition that *Artus* confirms, by assuring us, that he has seen snakes thirty-two feet long, and near ten feet round, containing whole oxen and men in their bowels^q: an assertion which we must leave to the reader to credit or not, as his judgment directs. *Bosman* says, that he found in the stomach of a snake a whole deer, and in another the body of a man, and yet neither of these exceeded twenty feet in length. Most of them are poisonous; but the small ones, about a yard long, variegated with white, black, and yellow spots, are venomous to an extreme; and *Bosman* was in danger once of losing his life by a snake of this kind^r.

THE same author relates, that several persons besides himself have seen dead snakes with distinct double heads, each of them having every organ belonging to that part; and *Artus* describes the dragon, or winged serpent, which he affirms he had seen more than once. This animal, says he, bears a mortal enmity to the elephant, with whom he is at eternal war. His tail is long, his teeth sharp, and his body spotted with blue and green, sometimes streaked; but he forgets to describe the wings. They are commonly ten ells in length, but they have been seen at least an hundred yards long. May not the reader believe the honest *Norwegian* prelate's account of the *Craken*, after this!

BOSMAN, who speaks on his own knowledge, and more within bounds, says, that the woods, the fields, the Negroes huts, the *European* forts, and even their bed-chambers, are frequently infested with snakes, where he has often killed them. One he describes about fourteen feet in length, with two claws, at the distance of two feet from the extremity of his tail, with which he helps to rear himself when he seizes his prey. His head, says he, resembles a pike, and the jaws are armed with teeth in much the same manner. He describes another snake about five feet long, with a broad flat head, a sharp tooth pointing from his jaw through the nostril, and his skin speckled with a variety of beautiful colours. With this tooth it is that he wounds his prey; and the Negroes have often experienced its sharpness, stumbling upon it when the animal is fast asleep after a hearty repast. This is probably the same animal naturalists call the horned serpent. In the year 1689, the Negroes killed a snake at *Axim* twenty-two feet long; and *Smith*, who saw it, affirms, that it contained a complete deer in the stomach^s. About the same time another was destroyed at *Bourtry*, in the belly of which was found the greatest part of a Negro it had devoured. They frequently have furious engagements with toads and porcupines, one of which encounters *Bosman* had once occasion to see, which afforded great diversion. At the *Dutch* fort at *Mawri*, the workmen found a large snake under a pile of stones, which they determined to seize. After removing a part of the rubbish, a slave seeing the tail peeping out between two stones, cut it off with his knife: imagining this must certainly destroy him, he proceeded to remove the rest of the stones. As soon as the snake found itself uncovered, it turned round, and spit its venom all over the face of the Negro, which immediately blinded him; however, with proper care, he recovered in a few weeks, and was perfectly restored to his sight^t. The author observes, from frequent experience among the Negroes, that the bite of a snake is attended with great pain, swelling, and violent inflammations, though seldom mortal: but he imagines that their poison dif-

^p Epist. 15.

^q P. 81. apud De Bruy.

^r Epist. 15.

^s SMITH, p. 149.

^t Epist. 15.
fers

a fers in quality according to the circumstances of their strength and resentment; since he has known the slightest bite from the same kind of snake, often attended with almost fatal consequences. The Negroes esteem them excellent food, and prefer their flesh to any kind of animal diet, without distinguishing whether they are poisonous or not.

SCORPIONS are found in great numbers on the *Gold Coast*; one kind very small, the other about the size of a large cray-fish, to which it has a strong likeness: but this difference of bulk makes none in the quality of their poison, which is equally mortal in all. *Bosman* gives an accurate drawing of one from the life; but he says, that he has seen some as large as a lobster, and the whole body covered over with long hair. The scorpion is indeed one of the most ugly, as well as the most noxious of all animals. Some of them b are provided with a sac full of poison, about half an inch wide, and situated near the tail, which they eject with great fury whenever they strike. The most certain antidote against the malignancy of this poison, according to *Barbot*, is crushing the scorpion into a poultice, and applying him to the wound^u. Another specific remedy, according to him and *Bosman*, is rubbing the wound with the penis of a child; a superstitious notion we imagine they must have borrowed of the Negroes.

EVERY part of *Guinea* is filled with large black spiders, resembling in figure and size the *tarantula*. This ugly animal the Negroes call *anonse*; his body is of an oblong form, his head flat, broader before than behind, and his legs as thick as a man's finger. *Bosman* took one in his chamber, which he sent over to *Europe*, as a present to some *virtuoso*. *Barbot* and *Smith* tell us, that at *Cape Coast*, in the rainy months of *June* and *July*, they find a kind of spider larger than a beetle, but flat like that insect, greatly resembling a small crab; nay, *Smith* affirms, that he once caught one as large as the greatest sized land crab. He could easily perceive that it was a female; for under the belly hung a sac, in which several young were contained: and the vulgar opinion is, that this monstrous insect is venomous^w.

AMONG the other poisonous animals produced here, the *centipedes* ought not to be forgot, as they are here found in great numbers. This is a flat insect, about nine inches long, spotted on the body, and the head armed by two long horns, with which it strikes. The sting of this animal is less malignant than the bite of the scorpion: it is, however, attended with great pain, and a considerable inflammation for several hours. *Smith* describes an animal, which he calls the *cockroach*, of a brown colour, the shape of a beetle, but two inches long in the body. This insect has an irreconcilable aversion to bugs, and is sure to extirpate those nauseous vermin where-ever they appear. We shall conclude this account of reptiles and insects with *Bosman's* relation of the ants on the *Gold Coast*. These vermin raise hills at least ten feet high, in the middle of the fields, and they frequently build large nests in the tops of lofty trees, whence they sometimes come down in myriads to the forts and chambers of the *Europeans*, and oblige them to abandon their beds in the middle of the night. They are so rapacious, that no animal can withstand them; for what individuals want in bulk, is sufficiently compensated by the number. They have frequently in the night attacked one of *Bosman's* live sheep, which he has found reduced to a perfect skeleton in the morning, and so artificially dissected, that the nicest anatomist could not exceed it. It is one of their amusements, says our author, to dissect fowls and chickens in this manner; nay, the very rats, with all their speed, cannot escape them. One of them no sooner lays hold of a rat, than that animal, as mischievous as themselves, is surely gone; for in attempting to make his escape, he is seized by a great number of others, who never part with him till a body sufficient to remove the prey to a safe place is assembled. *Bosman* has placed a worm or a beetle before one of them, who immediately went away, and returned in less than a minute with an army proportioned to the prey to be carried off. If this body proved insufficient, a messenger was detached for more; after which they seized their prey, and carried it away in good order, each of them visibly applying his strength in the proper direction to assist his associates. They are of various sizes, and of all colours. The sting of the red ant inflames to a great degree, and produces violent pain; but it soon wears off with the application of a little oil or honey. These are the least, and not much larger than the ants and pismires of *Europe*; though the other coloured ones are little short of an inch in length^x. But we will not indulge ourselves in all the marvellous stories related of these surprising animals, both in *Europe* and *Africa*.

THE want of flesh, and good beef, mutton, and pork on the *Gold Coast*, renders fish the more valuable and necessary, this being the principal support both of Negroes and *Europeans*. *Of the fish* The wisdom of Providence hath abundantly supplied the deficiency of the former, by prodigious shoals of the latter, with which all the sea-coasts and rivers of that country *found on the coasts, and in the lakes and rivers of the* abound. Both afford fish of various sorts, of the most delicious kinds; and particularly Gold Coast. the sea, which might supply ten times the number of the inhabitants. The first that is

^u BARBOT, p. 127.^w BOSMAN, BARBOT, & SMITH, *ibid*.^x BOSMAN, *epist.* 11.

mentioned by writers is the *Brazil* cod, about the size and nearly the shape of a *Newfound-land* cod. This is a fish in great repute for the delicacy of the flavour, the richness and fatness of the food. The next is a fish called *piste pamphier* by the Negroes; it is flat, about the size of a flounder, but greatly surpassing it in flavour and delicacy. Bream are caught in great abundance, and they are of three kinds, two of which are very fat and excellent; they go likewise by the name *brojead*. Among their sea-fish may be reckoned the bonettoe, jacoë, pike, stockfish, and above all, the pilchard, which is caught in the utmost abundance^a. In a word, no part of the world produces greater plenty, or variety; but as none are found that may not be met with on other coasts, in lakes, and rivers, it would be unnecessary to extend the article.

Of the trees,
shrubs, plants,
roots, pulse,
&c. of the
Gold Coast.

THE reader cannot expect that, in a general history, on so extensive a plan, we should specify minutely every production of a country; sufficient it is that we point out such as are peculiar to it, and the most useful to the natives, either in trade, or in supplying the necessities of life. To begin with the dendrology of the *Gold Coast*; the first tree we shall take notice of is the palm, whence the Negroes draw their wine. It indeed claims the pre-eminence, since, with the addition of a little bread and fish, it is the chief support of the natives. The first production of this tree is its nut, which roasted young, eats deliciously. When it is full-grown and ripe, it is covered with a brown shell, black on the hinder part. In this the oil is contained, obtained by expression, in the same manner as oil of olives. The natural colour of palm-oil is red; but if kept for any space of time, it usually turns white. Most of the *Europeans*, on their first arrival, think this oil nauseous, and to a great degree unpalatable; but to a Negro it affords the most luxurious sauce, and the former come by habit not to despise it. *Bosman* affirms, that he prefers it in several dishes to oil of olives, and is convinced by long experience that it is strengthening and wholesome. After the oil is expressed, the pulp is eaten by the natives; but *Europeans* give it to fatten their hogs; for which purpose it is excellent, rendering their flesh firm, solid, and sweet^b.

THE next and most valuable part of its produce is the wine, which they draw off by lopping the branches, and reducing the tree to a stump, when it is full-grown. After it has stood a few days in this condition, it is bored in the thickest part of the trunk, and a small pipe or reed introduced into the wound, which begins immediately to bleed, and continues dropping for the space of a month. When the tree is almost drained, a fire is kindled at the bottom, which makes it bleed afresh, till the whole juice is drawn off. They receive it into bottles and pitchers, in which it is kept for the year round; though, unlike other wines, it loses by age. The most agreeable way of drinking it is fresh from the tree, and then it is an exceeding pleasant liquor, but withal so strong, that it soon intoxicates. What the Negroes bring from the interior countries is adulterated, and mixed with water; yet it is greedily sought after by the meaner sort of people, who find means to produce the desired effects by increasing the dose. When the palm-tree is drained of the wine, it is of no farther use, as it never buds after: however, it serves for fuel, plank, and other household necessities; while its leaves, when green, are used in making ropes, nets, covering houses, and the like^c.

ANOTHER kind of palm-wine is peculiar to the country of *Fantin*, and called *quacker*, from its surprising exhilarating qualities. It exceeds the other greatly in delicacy of flavour, as well as in strength; half the quantity of what is usually taken of the other to enliven conversation, being of this more than the stoutest man is able to carry off. The tree whence it is drawn is a kind of dwarf palm. A third sort of palm-wine is called *pardon*, pleasant to the taste, but weaker than any of the former. This is drawn from a peculiar species of palm in the countries of *Ankobar*, *Abrokoe*, *Axim*, and *Ante*. The fourth and last kind is made in the countries of *Jabi* and *Adom*. The flavour is entirely different, but not less pleasant; and as to strength, it does not greatly exceed milk, to the taste of which it bears some resemblance. If it be not drank fresh from the tree, it loses all its flavour, the only quality it possesses; and keeping it for ten hours will make it sour as vinegar. This wine is called *crissia*, never used but for the sake of variety by the *Europeans*; although the Negroes are fond of it, from a notion that it occasions the parts of generation to grow to an enormous size; a quality in great esteem among them. *Bosman* is inclined to credit this notion, as he has frequently observed that the Negroes of those countries seem to confirm the truth of the remark, by an extraordinary proportion of this member^d.

THE trunk of a full-grown palm-tree is about six feet in circumference, and little more in height; but the branches shoot up at least twenty feet. The tree called *quacker* is about half the size; its branches are called *bamboes*, and used in covering houses, and several other purposes. On each side the *bamboe* grow the long slender slips, which are the leaves. The *pardon* grows after the manner of the coco-nut-tree, though upon an infinitely more slender^e.

^a Vid. auct. citat. ibid.

^b BOSMAN, epist. 16.

^c BARBOT, p. 152.

^d BOSMAN, ubi sup.
slender

a slender stalk; in the same way the *crissia*-tree likewise shoots up, though with this difference, that it does not exceed a fourth of the height or thickness of the other. From every trunk about five stalks or branches put forth, from each of which wine is drawn.

THE coco-tree claims the next place, as it is indisputably the most beneficial to mankind, except the palm, if the natives of the country knew how to improve the advantage in the manner they do in *Asia*. Here only the nut is used, merely for food, without any other convenience resulting from it. As this tree has already been described, we shall omit all particulars concerning it, although it is a native of the *Gold Coast*, and grows there in as great perfection as in any part of the globe.

IN the country of *Axim* grow great plenty of sweet and sour oranges; the first are excellent, and very little inferior to those in *China*. It is questioned, however, whether they are natives of the coast, as they only grow in a few places near the *European* settlements. Lime-trees are found all over the coast, especially at *Mouree*, where it is usual to prepare for sale above two hundred *auns* of lime-juice yearly, each *aun* valued at thirty shillings^c. This is a kind of liquid-measure, in use among the Negroes.

BOSMAN describes the *papay*-tree as intirely different from the account of other writers. Most authors that we have seen say, that it is no more than six feet high, bearing neither branches nor leaves; whereas, according to *Bosman*, some of them shoot up at least thirty feet. At first, indeed, the fruit grows at the top of the trunk, without branches; but as the tree grows older, it puts forth branches towards the top, which resemble so many fresh stocks growing out of the old, like it, bearing fruit at the higher extremity; from whence likewise spring other branches in the manner of reeds, a little crooked, but hollow, and at the extremity of these grow fine broad leaves, not unlike vine-leaves, but larger. The fruit, or what is properly termed the *papay*, is about half the size of a coco-nut, of an oval figure, green without, and white within; but with age this white declines to red. It contains a great number of sweet kernels, which in fact are the seeds whence the tree is produced; the rest of the fruit greatly resembles in taste the pompion. Multitudes of this kind of trees grow along the coast, and even the ignorant natives have distinguished them into male and female, because the former bears no fruit, but are in continual blossom; nay they have further observed, that the female bears in the greatest abundance when the male stands near; thus admitting the blossom of the female to be the proper nidus for the male seed^d. This remark may easily be accounted for, upon the system at present received by naturalists.

THE *banana*-tree grows here in great perfection; but the reader is by this time so well acquainted with its fruit, that we shall pass it over in this place. The gardens of the curious afford pomegranates; but, from all we are able to learn, the *Gold Coast* is not the natural soil of this tree. At *Mouree* is a vine, which *Bosman* calls the *Moureesse* vine, it growing in no other part of the coast. It produces a double crop of grapes, viz. in *August* and *January*, and would doubtless, says our author, yield a prodigious quantity, were it properly pruned and cultivated. It yields a delicious blue grape, but apparently not indigenous, as *Bosman* says that it is less juicy than their grapes in *Holland*. It is remarkable that vines will neither grow to any height, or produce fruit in any other part of the coast than *Mouree*, considering the richness of the soil, and warmth of the climate; but the heat of the sun may perhaps be too vehement for this plant. *Barbot*, *Bosman*, *Smith*, and *Artus* describe a fruit called the *Cormantin*-apple, because there it grows in the greatest abundance, which we believe is peculiar to this coast. It is about the size of a walnut, of a reddish colour, inclining to yellow, but the husk green. In the core are contained four large flat black kernels, surrounded by the pulp or fruit, which is red and white, of a pungent sweet taste, rather acid than sweet, like an unripe *China* orange. This fruit is pleasant, and refreshing to the sick; but especially useful in diarrhæas and fluxes, when boiled with palm-wine and sugar, being then gratefully astringent^e.

BOSMAN is extremely out of humour with M. *Foquenbourg*, for declaring, that round *Elmina*, for several miles, the country produces no trees, grass, plants, or blades of any kind; whereas the whole country is finely adorned with lofty trees and cooling shades, less fruitful indeed than other parts of the coast, but far from barren in any particular. Some of them furnish a shade so thick and cool, that art, says *Bosman*, may blush to see herself so far outdone by nature; it being impossible for human genius to contrive groves so well suited to the warmth of the climate, and the pleasure of sight. "I remember," says he, "to have read in *Olearius*, of trees large enough to shelter two thousand men with their spreading boughs, the fruit being so large, that the shell was capable of containing a shepherd and his whole flock; a particular I will not dispute with *Olearius*, but will affirm with him, that I have seen trees capable of shading not only two but twenty thousand men, were they to stand close; and so tall, that a musquet-shot could hardly reach the top." This is probably the *capot*-tree, so celebrated by naturalists, on which grows a

^c ARTUS, p. 82.^d BOSMAN, epist. 16.^e BARBOT, p. 200. ARTUS, & BOSMAN, ubi supra.

species of cotton, used here in stuffing beds, instead of feathers, which are too hot for the climate. The wood of the tree is light, porous, and pithy, scarce fit for any other purpose than the making canoes. At *Axim* there is one, which ten men could not grasp; and in the *Ilba del Principe*, or *Princes Island*, another, the trunk of which could not be surrounded by four-and-twenty men, their arms at the full stretch; not that the body itself is so enormous, but the sprouts adhere in such a manner, as seem to form one uniform trunk. In a word, the *Gold Coast* affords fruit-trees of all sorts, and wood for all purposes. About *Ante* are trees excellent for all manner of household furniture; and at *Rio Gabon*, great plenty of red and yellow wood. *Bosman* imagines, that good masts for shipping might be found in the country, were the natives to turn their attention to navigation and commerce.

Of the grain
and culinary
vegetables.

As to the grain of the coast, it consists of the great and small *mihio*, supposed to be the *Turkish* wheat, which ripens twice every year, affording a crop in *August*; and another in *January*. Rice is likewise produced in great abundance and perfection in all the low marshy grounds, and near the banks of lakes and rivers. The other vegetables, as yams, potatoes, pease, beans, &c. it would be tedious to enumerate: we must, however, give a short account of some species of beans peculiar to the country. One is of a large sort, the pod being two feet long, and three or four inches round, containing several large beans, of a bright red colour. Another sort is of directly the same shape and colour, but of the size of what we call a *Windsor-bean*. The last are reckoned wholesome and nutritive; and both kinds grow in the manner of *French-beans*, propt up, or creeping along the side of a hedge. A third sort of bean may more properly be called a root, as, like a potatoe, it grows underground, inclosed in a slender husk. It is by the natives called *jojooties*, and is extremely delicate and sweet, as well as wholesome. Another species of beans grow on a shrub like a gooseberry-bush. They have pods resembling those of green pease; but, as they are not much in request, authors do not describe them so minutely. A fifth sort is called *gobbe gobbes*, and grow too in a pod underground, shooting out a leaf above the surface of the earth. These are the worst of all beans, having something harsh and unpleasant in their taste; yet are they much valued by the natives. The sixth sort is also a subterraneous bean, known to the *Europeans* but a few years. These are called *Angola-beans*, and are supposed to have been transplanted from that kingdom. They are, when well fried, a very pleasant dish. A seventh and last kind grow also under the ground; but these are improperly termed beans, as they grow in no pod, though they bear some resemblance in taste to that species of pulse, but still more to the hazel-nut, when they are eaten raw, which is the most usual and best method. Sometimes they are triturated, soaked in water, and then pressed through a cloth. The liquor is boiled with rice, and in every part of the country is used for milk; and indeed might easily be mistaken for a dish of made milk, when relished with sugar and cinnamon^s.

HERE also grows the *Molaguetta*, or *Guiney pepper*; though not so abundantly as on the *Pepper Coast*; the *piement*, or *Spanish pepper*, cardamoms, and a number of roots, fruits, and grains, common almost to all countries. The *piement*, which is of two kinds, grows in great plenty upon a shrub, almost of the size of gooseberry-bushes in *Holland*. Both kinds are at first green; but afterwards change colour, the larger sort to a beautiful red, but the smaller to a red and black. The smaller is about a fourth of the size of the other; but then the plant that produces it is six times as high, but directly of the same species. Tobacco is also a native of the *Gold Coast*, produced in plenty, and consumed without discretion, no people on earth being so addicted to smoking. The usual pipe among them is a reed, with a stone bowl to contain the tobacco, which, instead of holding in their teeth, or in their hand, they rest upon the ground, and in this manner converse with great solemnity. Many of their pipes are six feet long, and might easily be mistaken for some badge of authority, but from the eternal smoke proceeding from them. So fond of this plant are both the male and female *Negroes*, that they will suffer extreme hunger rather than want tobacco, which is absolutely necessary to their felicity. This leaf grows here about two feet high, near eight inches long, and three broad; the plant bears a small bell flower, which, when ripe, turns to seed.

WE shall conclude this short and imperfect account of the natural produce of the *Gold Coast* by mentioning a species of cabbage, which the *Dutch* call *kool*, and the natives *beefi*. This they chew like tobacco or beetel in the mouth, swallow the juice, and spit out the fibrous parts. The taste is harsh and bitter, and its astringency is not inferior to the *arum*; yet it is diuretic, and as such frequently used by the *Europeans*ⁿ. To this may be added the vast quantity of salt made on the *Gold Coast*; but as this is an artificial production from the sea-water evaporated, we shall omit it, to proceed to the history of the *Ivory Coast*.

^s Bosm. epist. 16.

^e BAR. p. 201. Bosm. ibid. ART. apud De Bruy, p. 83.

ⁿ Bosm. epist. 16.